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THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS

FURNEAUX

VOL. II.

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ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI LIBRI

THE

'ANNALS' OF TACITUS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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VOL. II

BOOKS XI—XVI

WITH A MAP

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PREFACE.

THE text of this volume, like that of the former, is mainly that of Halm (ed. 4, Leipzig, 1883)[1], but departs from it somewhat oftener, usually in the direction of retaining or approaching more closely to the Medicean readings[2].

In the commentary, I have to add to the acknowledgements made in the first volume that of assistance frequently derived from the edition of Émile Jacob (Paris, 1877)[3], then unfortunately overlooked, and those of Professor Holbrooke (London, 1882)[4], and of Pfitzner, (Gotha, 1885), which, as also a further portion (Fasc. v–viii, pp. 481–928) of Gerber and Greef's Lexicon, have appeared since that volume was completed.

Among new works bearing on the subject-matter in general, the chief place is due to the fifth volume of Professor Mommsen's 'Römische Geschichte' ('die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian,' Berlin, 1885)[5], and

[1] In the first volume, Halm's third edition (1877) was used; the text of which in several places differs from that of the later recension.

[2] See notes on 11. 24, 11; 30, 3; 12. 25, 3; 31, 2; 32, 1; 44, 5; 60, 3; 68, 2; 13. 17, 2; 21, 3 and 9; 34, 5; 47, 4; 56, 6; 14. 7, 2; 10, 5; 26, 3; 31, 4; 40, 4; 43, 4; 59, 6; 60, 6; 15. 9, 1; 21, 3; 28, 2; 43, 1; 44, 6; 45, 6; 51, 1; 55, 1; 58, 3; 68, 3; 16. 12, 3; 26, 3. I have also not followed Halm's present edition in omitting from the title of the work the word 'Annalium,' which, though resting on no authority, seems to have become indispensable from common use.

[3] M. Jacob's first volume (Books i–vi.) reached a second edition in 1885.

[4] This date was before the publication, but after the substantial completion, of my former volume.

[5] The references are throughout made both to the original work and to the English Translation (1886).

to the third volume (in two parts) of the same author's 'Römisches Staatsrecht' (Leipzig, 1887, 1888). To both these works great and frequent obligations must be acknowledged, though far fewer than would have been due had I been able to consult them in the Introduction to the previous volume [1].

Many other important sources to which I have been indebted for information bearing on this volume separately or on special parts of it, will be found mentioned in notes prefixed to several portions of the Introduction and to the Appendices [2].

The map of Armenia and the surrounding countries, given at the end, is indebted, as regards its physical features, to Kiepert, but has been adapted to its purpose by the omission of a great number of names not belonging to the present narrative, and by the insertion of several modern names.

It is hoped that the Indices to the whole work here added may be found sufficient for practical purposes. The first includes all the proper names in the text, and such other matter as appeared to be of sufficient importance: the second is intended to be supplementary to it, and to relate chiefly to the Introductions and Appendices, leaving the majority of the notes to be found by reference to the text to which they belong.

I cannot but fear that many readers will consider the Introduction and notes to these Books inordinate in length, especially as so much general matter had been treated once for all in the former volume: but for

[1] I should also add that in this volume the third edition (1887) of the first and second volumes of the 'Staatsrecht' have been used and referred to. The references in my former volume were to the second edition; the pages of which are indicated on the margin of the third. Also in my former volume the first, in the present the second edition, of the second and third volumes of Marquardt's 'Staatsverwaltung' are referred to.

[2] See pp. 1, 5, 19, 49, 96, 126, 208, 570, 629.

this apparent excess I believe that some justification can be offered.

It should be borne in mind that the whole time covered is somewhat longer; the narrative having been supplemented by summaries[1] so as to extend over the thirty-one years from the death of Tiberius to that of Nero. Also this period is far more fruitful in important events and has attracted considerably more notice from recent writers than that preceding it. The full investigation of the life and rule of Claudius by Lehmann[2], and the still more learned and elaborate treatise of H. Schiller on the Neronian period[3], have no counterpart on a similar scale relating to the time of Tiberius. Special attention has also been bestowed by recent scholars on the narrative of Eastern affairs during this period[4]; and the chapters relating to the conquest of Britain, though but a small portion of the narrative of Tacitus, have deeply interested all antiquaries in this country[5], and form a subject on which more is naturally expected from an English than from a German editor of the Annals. Even the single chapter, or portion of a chapter, on the persecution of the Christians, has received special attention from the chief recent ecclesiastical historians, and has raised many questions which could not be here passed over[6].

Under these circumstances it has seemed desirable to place before general students such a statement and criticism of the chief results of special investigation in these subjects as could be fairly based on the narrative of

[1] See Introd. ch. ii. and Appendix iii.

[2] See note on p. 5.

[3] See note on p. 49. The importance of this work and that above mentioned will be seen from the constant references made to them.

[4] See note on p. 96.

[5] See note on p. 126. It may be also noted that, both in this chapter of the Introduction and in that on Parthia and Armenia, the whole period is reviewed from the death of Julius Caesar to that of Nero.

[6] See Appendix ii. after Book 15.

Tacitus, and should help them to estimate the general value of his work as a historical authority. I may add that it has also been my wish to make as complete as I fairly could the commentary on a part of the author which is not generally so much studied in England as to be likely often to encourage the undertaking of fresh editions by future scholars.

In conclusion, I have to return my best thanks to the Delegates of the University Press for accepting this work, and to their staff for the care and accuracy shown in the printing and revision.

LOWER HEYFORD RECTORY, OXFORDSHIRE:
June, 1891.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 32, note 15, *for* 11. 8, 1, *read* 11. 18, 1.
" 97, line 2, *for* Atrabanus *read* Artabanus.
" " line 15, *for* to any other part of the empire, *read* on any other frontier of the empire.
" 377, note on l. 10, *for* c. 48, 7, *read* c. 42, 7.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE TEXT OF THESE BOOKS AND THE SECOND MEDICEAN MANUSCRIPT[1].

THAT which is now known as the second Medicean MS. of Tacitus is a manuscript in Lombard characters, generally assigned to the latter half of the eleventh century, and thought by Ritter to have been one of the many transcripts of works of ancient authors made at that date in the great monastery of Monte Casino.

The latter part of the MS. consists of the works of Apuleius, and contains the following subscription, 'Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi Romae felix Olybrio et Probino cons. . . . Rursus Constantinopoli recognovi Caesario et Attico conss.' These dates are respectively A.D. 395 and 397, and are taken to be those of the transcription and revision of the archetypal MS.; but whether the same archetype or another of the same date contained the Tacitus, as well as the Apuleius here copied, is in no way evident.

Nothing appears to be known of the history of this MS. until the time of Poggio Bracciolini, who received it at Rome in 1427 from Nicola

[1] The matter of this chapter is chiefly derived from the Preface of Baiter to the second edition of Orelli, and from that of Ritter to his edition of 1864.

Nicoli of Florence, one of the agents employed by him for collecting manuscripts. In acknowledging its receipt, Bracciolini writes as follows (Oct. 21): 'Misisti mihi librum Senecae, et Cornelium Tacitum, quod est mihi gratum: at is est litteris longobardis et maiori ex parte caducis, quod si scissem, liberassem te eo labore. Legi olim quemdam apud uos manens litteris antiquis; nescio Coluciine esset an alterius. Illum cupio habere uel alium qui legi possit: nam difficile erit reperire scriptorem, qui hunc codicem recte legat; ideo cura ut alium habeam, si fieri potest.' On further examination, he appears to have determined not to keep it, and writes again to Nicoli (June 5, 1428): 'Dedi Bartholomaeo de Bardis decadem Livii et Cornelium Tacitum, ut illos ad te mittat: in tuo Cornelio deficiunt plures chartae uariis in locis.' The manuscript thus returned to Nicoli was bequeathed by him to the Convent of St. Mark; as appears by an inscription upon it, 'Conventus S. Marci de Florentia Ordinis Praedicatorum de hereditate Nicolai Nicoli Florentini viri doctissimi.' From thence it was transferred to the Laurentian Library, where it is at present preserved. The manuscript is written on parchment, and the portion containing Tacitus must have consisted when complete of 105 leaves (now reduced to 103 by the loss of two leaves containing respectively Hist. 1. 69–75, and H. 1. 86–2. 2), and contains all that we have of these later Books of the Annals and the whole extant part of the Histories, all numbered consecutively as Books XVI–XXI. At the end of the several Books is a subscription, 'Cornelii Taciti Liber . . . explicit, incipit . . .' The abrupt conclusion of the 16th Book of the Annals has however no such subscription, and the first sentence of the Histories is written in red letters of larger size, so as in some sort to mark a new commencement. Also there is no subscription at the end of Book XXI (Hist. 5), which leaves off in the middle of a column, so as to show that there was no more in the exemplar.

It will be seen above, that, even in the time of Bracciolini, the handwriting, besides being in the difficult Lombard character, had in many places become faded and indistinct by time[1]. Since that date, a later hand has endeavoured to reproduce the text of these passages in the interlinear spaces; and, through errors committed in this attempt, many false readings have subsequently passed current as the true Medicean text.

Many other manuscripts[2] of this portion of the works of Tacitus exist,

[1] A facsimile of part of 15. 44, executed by Professor Vitelli, of Florence, is given by Dr. C. F. Arnold and M. Hochart, in their treatises on this chapter. This would give a specimen of the character used, but not of its faded and indistinct condition.

[2] Some twenty or more now existing are enumerated in the Prefaces of Walther and Ruperti.

but none of them can claim any earlier date than the middle of the 15th century. Many are known not to have been direct transcripts of the Medicean, and very few are even supposed to be such. The best known of them are classed by Walther and Ruperti in two main groups. The one consists of five[1] expressly stated to have been transcribed from a 'Codex Genuensis' now lost, and a sixth[2], the text of which closely resembles theirs. Another group of six[3], called by Walther (with less propriety) the Roman group, shows traces of a common exemplar, distinct from the 'Genuensis.' To these a third group should be added comprising two Florentine manuscripts in the Laurentian Library[4], which appear to approach most nearly to the Medicean text. The affinities of the others[5] have not been traced.

Respecting the source of the 'Genuensis' and other parents of these MSS. nothing can now be known. It should however be noted that the loss of the two leaves in the First and Second Books of the Histories[6] had certainly taken place before 1542[7], and may have been one of the mutilations complained of by Bracciolini in 1428[8]; but the lost matter is preserved in all the inferior manuscripts[9]. This would show that the Medicean, if it is their ultimate source, had been already transcribed before this mutilation happened to it; and it is also evident from the correspondence that some other copy of Tacitus had been seen by Bracciolini[10]. An alternative theory, that these MSS. were not derived from the Medicean, but from some other old MS. coordinate with it and

[1] Two in the Vatican Library (1958 and 2965), and three in England, erroneously called 'tres Oxonienses.' Two of these are indeed in Oxford, one in the Bodleian Library, the other in that of Jesus College; but the third ('Harleianus') is with the other Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

[2] 'Guelferbytanus' (also called 'Gudianus') in the Library of the Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel. This manuscript, generally called 'G,' is very often cited by editors.

[3] Two in the Vatican (1863 and 1864), two in Paris ('Regius Parisiensis' and 'Corbinelli'), the 'Farnesianus' (now in the Library at Naples), and the 'Rudolphi Agricolae' (used by Lipsius and other editors), cited frequently as 'Agr.'

[4] An account of these and a third in the same Library is given by Baiter. The two cited as 'a' and 'b' are so far considered the best of all the inferior manuscripts, that the most recent editors base the text upon them in the two places of the Histories where the Medicean text is now lost.

[5] Among these is that called 'Budensis,' once belonging to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, collated by Rhenanus and afterwards by Oberlin. Its text is said to be intermediate between the two first families above noted.

[6] See above, p. 2.

[7] This appears from the collation of Victorius, noted below (p. 4).

[8] See above, p. 2. It has been thought possible that he only refers to the abrupt beginning of Book 11, and to the abrupt endings of Book 16, and Hist. Book 5: but these would hardly justify the expression 'deficiunt plures chartae uariis in locis'; which indeed is in any case exaggerated, as must also have been the 'litteris . . . maiori ex parte caducis' of the earlier letter.

[9] It is however to be noted that they mostly fail to note the end of the First and beginning of the Second Book of the Histories.

[10] See above, p. 2.

proceeding from the same archetypal MS., has been adopted by some editors, notably by Walther, who has carefully given in his notes, as of value, all such of their various readings as were known to him. Recent editors, however, have generally held that all the other MSS. are ultimately derived from the Medicean, and that their readings are only worth quoting, either as successful emendations of its errors, or as perhaps preserving its text in places where it has now become illegible.

This portion of the works of Tacitus became thus known to the Italian scholars eighty years earlier than the first six Books of the Annals[1]; but in other respects the history of its text has been less fortunate. The first Medicean, besides being in itself a better manuscript than the second, was the sole source of the Books contained in it, and had therefore necessarily to be used in printing them; but in the case of the other Books, other more accessible and far more legible manuscripts were exclusively followed, whether for subsequent transcripts or early printed editions, and the Medicean was wholly or comparatively neglected.

The 'editio princeps' of Vindelin de Spira, ascertained to have been published at Venice in 1470, is said to have been printed from a MS. now lost, but then existing in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, which appears to have belonged to that styled by Walther the 'Roman' group of MSS. The next edition, that of Franciscus Puteolanus of Parma, believed to have been published at Milan in 1475, is based on some manuscript of the 'Genuensis' family[2]. That of Beroaldus, the 'editio princeps' of the whole of the Annals (Rome, 1514), though perforce following the first Medicean for the first six Books, was content to take the rest from Puteolanus.

The earliest known collation of the second Medicean MS. is that of Petrus Victorius (Piero Vettori), a learned Florentine of the 16th century, who annotated the results of his study of it on a copy of the edition of Beroaldus, preserved in the Library at Munich, adding this inscription at the end of the Histories: 'Recognovi cum vetusto exemplari literis Langobardis scripto, ne ea quidem in conlatione omittens quae corrupta aliquo pacto videbantur, ne locus coniecturae emendaturo deesset. Est autem codex e Divi Marci Bibliotheca. Florentiae MDXLII. Idibus Ian. P. Victorius.' It does not however appear that this collation was used by, or known to, any earlier editor than Walther[3]. The collations known to scholars were those of Curtius Pichena (given in his edition of

[1] See Introd. to vol. i, p. 5.

[2] For these and other particulars see the Prefaces of Ruperti and Walther. Neither the edition of de Spira nor that of Puteolanus themselves contain a title-page or other record of the date or place of publication. The name of Spira is given in some verses at the end; that of Puteolanus in a Dedication or Preface.

[3] Walther, Praef. xxxvii.

1607), of Iac. Gronovius (in his edition of 1720), and of Franc. del Furia (in Bekker's edition of 1831). All these collators appear to have not unfrequently erred in assuming the readings given by the later hand of the interlineator to be a faithful copy of the original: but the later collations of Baiter (given in Orelli's edition) and of Ritter (in his edition of 1864) leave probably little or nothing further to be ascertained as to the true readings of the Medicean text of these Books.

CHAPTER II.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS BETWEEN THE END OF BOOK VI AND BEGINNING OF BOOK XI.

NOTE.—In this chapter, especially in the portion belonging to the principate of Claudius, frequent obligations have to be acknowledged to Dr. H. Lehmann's 'Claudius und seine Zeit,' Leipzig, 1877.

Principate of Gaius.

A. U. C. 790; A. D. 37; March 16.

AFTER sending the will of Tiberius to the Senate by Macro[1], Gaius himself escorted the remains to Rome and was received with universal acclamation[2], and invested with the titles belonging to the principate[3]. His earliest act was to go in person to the islands of Pandateria and Pontia, where his mother and eldest brother had been buried, to collect their remains and transport them with all funeral honours to the Mausoleum of Augustus[4].

On the 1st of July he assumed the consulship with his uncle Claudius (who had never hitherto filled any senatorial magistracy), but resigned it in two months to the suffecti who had been previously designated[5]. He introduced young Tiberius Gemellus to public life, made him 'princeps iuventutis' and adopted him; dignified his grandmother Antonia with the title of Augusta, and associated the names of his sisters with his own in the 'sacramentum[6]'; paid (with additions) all the legacies under the will of Tiberius, as well as those of Livia Augusta (hitherto unpaid)[7], and the

[1] On the provisions of this will and the extent to which they were cancelled, see note on 6. 50, 9.

[2] Suet. 13.

[3] Dio, 59. 3, 2. See Introd. i, vi, p. 68.

[4] Suet. 15.

[5] Dio, 59. 6, 5; 7, 9.

[6] Suet. 15.

[7] See on 5. 1, 6.

'congiarium' which had been promised on his own entry into public life [1]. In this and other ways the accumulations of Tiberius, amounting to 2700 million H. S.[2], disappeared in less than a year. Profession was made of abolishing trials for 'maiestas' and of destroying the records of all previous delations, especially those against his mother and brothers. Exiles were restored and prisoners released [3], and the proscribed writings of Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and Cassius Severus were allowed free circulation [4].

Personal friends received more substantial marks of favour. Herodes Agrippa, who had been in bonds and in danger of life under Tiberius, received an important portion of Palestine, with the regal title [5]; young Rhoemetalces received the kingdom of Thrace; his brother Cotys, that of lesser Armenia [6]; Sohaemus that of Ituraea [7]; Commagene, then part of the province of Syria, was restored to Antiochus, a prince descended from its ancient kings [8].

In the eighth month of his rule [9], an illness, generally ascribed to intemperance, appears to have permanently aggravated a previous tendency [10] to intermittent insanity, and to have caused the vices of his character to burst through restraint. The first indication of this was seen in the despatch of an order to compel the suicide of young Tiberius [11], whom he charged with praying for his death [12]. Another distinguished victim was the Emperor's father-in-law, M. Silanus, one of the foremost men in Rome, of whose repute he is stated to have been jealous [13].

A. U. C. 791; A. D. 38. M. AQUILIUS, C. F., JULIANUS, P. NONIUS, M. F., ASPRENAS [14], COSS.

Several popular acts are still recorded, the restoration (in form at least) of the popular Comitia [15], the remission of the 'ducentesima [16],' liberality to sufferers after a fire, infusion of new provincial blood into the equestrian

[1] Dio, 59. 2, 2.

[2] Suet. 37. Dio (59. 2, 6) quotes two different estimates, and makes the money last somewhat longer. It would be equivalent to about £22,000,000.

[3] Among the latter Dio (59. 6, 2) notes Pomponius (see note on 5. 8, 4): we know also that Cn. Domitius and Vibius Marsus (6. 48, 1) were under accusation, if not in custody.

[4] Suet. 16. See 4. 21, 5; 35, 5.

[5] The history of Agrippa is given at length by Josephus (Ant. 18. 6). This and the other appointments perhaps belong more properly to the following year.

[6] See note on 2. 67, 4.

[7] See 12. 23, 2, and note.

[8] See note on 2. 56, 5.

[9] This date is given by Philo (Leg. 2).

[10] Suet. states (c. 50) that he had been subject to epilepsy as a boy.

[11] Philo, Leg. 5; see 6. 46, 5, and note.

[12] Dio, 59. 8, 1.

[13] See note on 6. 20, 1. On the dual government then introduced into Africa, see below, p. 18.

[14] The names are given in full in the 'Argumentum' to Dio, Book 59.

[15] See note on 1. 15, 1.

[16] See note on 2. 42, 6.

order[1]. Other prominent persons however perished, as Macro, to whom he had owed so much, and Macro's wife, Ennia, to whom he had formerly promised marriage[2]. The scandal of his open incest with Drusilla was yet further increased by his demanding her deification and other extravagant honours at her death[3].

By this time the treasury had been emptied by lavish expenditure of all kinds, especially by unparalleled magnificence in public entertainments. Gaius was thus driven to replenish his funds by confiscation; and numbers are stated to have been selected for condemnation, really on the ground of their wealth, ostensibly on such charges as that of having aided Seianus against Agrippina and her house, on the testimony of the records which he had pretended to burn[4].

Already Gaius began to desire divine honours for himself. The known antipathy of the Jews to this cultus was made the occasion for a ferocious persecution of them by the Greeks of Alexandria, abetted by Avidius Flaccus, the praefect of Egypt[5]. A visit paid by Agrippa to the city, on his way from Rome to take possession of his principality, furnished a pretext for a still further outbreak[6]. His influence with Gaius appears to have assisted in procuring the removal of Flaccus, whereby the Jews of Egypt obtained some temporary respite[7].

A. U. C. 792, A. D. 39. C. CAESAR II, L. APRONIUS, L. F., CAESIANUS[8], COSS.

Gaius resigned the consulship in thirty days to Sanquinius Maximus; his colleague held it for six months[9]. The suffecti for the rest of the year were Cn. Domitius Corbulo and Cn. Domitius Afer[10].

Herodes Antipas, who had gone to Rome to sue for an increase of dominion, was exiled to Lugdunum, and accompanied thither by his wife, Herodias[11]. Mithridates, who had become king of Armenia by the aid of Tiberius[12], was summoned to Rome and detained in custody[13].

To this year belongs the narrative of the most celebrated of the extravagances of Gaius, the construction of a bridge, formed chiefly of the ships that should have brought corn to Italy, across the gulf from Puteoli to Baiae; apparently for the mere purpose of crossing and recrossing it in a triumphal pageant[14]. Other schemes of a more practical

1 Dio, 59. 9, 5.
2 See on 6. 45, 5.
3 See Introd. i. ix. p. 145.
4 Dio, 59. 10, 7.
5 Philo in Flacc. 4, foll.; Leg. 11, foll.
6 Philo in Flacc. 5.
7 Id. 12, foll. Flaccus was exiled to Andros, and there subsequently put to death by order of Gaius.
8 See note on 3. 21, 6.
9 Dio, 59. 13, 2.
10 Dio, 59. 15, 5; 20, 1. The former is the famous general, the latter the great orator.
11 Jos. Ant. 18. 7.
12 See 6. 32, 5, etc.
13 See on 11. 8, 1.
14 Dio, 59. 17.

character may possibly belong to the same date, such as the commencement of an aqueduct[1], and of harbours of refuge for the corn ships on either side of the Sicilian strait[2], and a project of cutting through the isthmus of Corinth[3]. Numerous devices are also recorded for extorting funds to replenish the treasury. Among those put to death are mentioned Calvisius Sabinus and his wife Cornelia, Titius Rufus, and a praetor Junius Priscus[4]. To this period belong also the accusation and peril of Domitius Afer, and the narrow escape of Seneca[5].

In the latter part of the year he set off suddenly to Gaul, ordering large levies to meet him there[6]. No warlike operation, save a sham incursion across the Rhine, is recorded; but the expedition was the means of suppressing an apparently formidable conspiracy[7] originated by Lentulus Gaetulicus, legatus of Upper Germany[8], who appears to have been disarmed and put to death without a struggle[9]. In connection with this plot, Lepidus, the former husband of Drusilla, was put to death, Agrippina and Julia were banished to the island of Pontia[10], and others shared a similar fate. As a further expedient to raise money, the treasured heirlooms of the imperial house were sent for to Lugdunum and sold at an auction at which he was present and stimulated the bidding[11]. He appears also at this time to have married his last wife Caesonia[12].

A. U. C. 793, A. D. 40. Gaius Caesar III, Sole Consul[13].

He entered on the consulship at Lugdunum, but resigned it to two suffecti on Jan. 13. Ptolemaeus, king of Mauretania, was summoned by him to his presence and put to death[14]. The army is said to have been led to the coast as for a descent on Britain, and bidden to gather shells as spoils of the ocean, and to have retired after building a lighthouse on the spot[15], taking with them a British prince, Adminius son of Cunobelinus, who had joined them voluntarily[16].

Gaius returned to Rome on his birthday (Aug. 31), with special indi-

1 See on 11. 13, 2.
2 Jos. Ant. 19. 2, 5.
3 Suet. 21.
4 Dio, 59. 18, 4, 5.
5 Dio, 59. 19.
6 Suet. 43, foll.; Dio, 59. 21, foll.
7 Dio, 59. 22, 5.
8 For a further account, see below, p. 18.
9 A date is supplied by the record of an offering for the detection of this conspiracy on Oct. 27 (see below, p. 18).
10 Dio, 59. 22, 6–9.
11 Dio, 59. 21, 5.
12 Since the death of Drusilla, he had already married and divorced Cornelia Orestilla (wife of C. Piso) and Lollia Paulina (on whom see 12. 1, 3).
13 This is explained by his ignorance of the death at Rome of his colleague designate (Suet. 17).
14 Dio, 59. 25, 1: cp. 4. 23, 1.
15 Suet. 46; Dio, 59. 25, 2; the expedition is alluded to, as a mere project, in Agr. 13. 4.
16 Suet. Cal. 44.

cations of hostility to the senate and nobles [1]. Among those put to death were Vitellinus Cassius and his father Capito [2]; while Scribonius Proculus was assassinated to please him by the senate during its sitting [3].

He is now stated to have assumed the attributes, dress, and insignia of various gods and even goddesses [4], and to have exacted the divine honours paid to each, also to have brought to Rome and adapted to his own likeness famous statues of gods from Greece and elsewhere, and to have meditated setting his effigy up in various famous temples [5].

A deputation from the Jews of Alexandria, headed by Philo, was sent to plead on behalf of the religious scruples of the Jews [6], but considered themselves fortunate in escaping with their lives [7].

Petronius, the legatus of Syria, was commanded to set up a statue of the emperor within the Holy of Holies in the Jewish temple. The earnest remonstrances of the Jews to Petronius, backed up by his own intercession and that of Agrippa, procured a temporary remission of the sentence, but a final and peremptory decree is said to have been sent afterwards, and the crisis to have been averted only by the emperor's death [8].

At Rome men saved themselves only by abject flattery, in which L. Vitellius (who had earned a reputation in Syria by having extorted homage and hostages from Artabanus) was conspicuous [9].

A. U. C. 794, A. D. 41. C. CAESAR IV, CN. SENTIUS SATURNINUS, COSS.

A conspiracy was formed by Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus, tribunes of the praetorian guard, in which the emperor's chief freedman Callistus and others took part. Gaius was assassinated during the Palatine Games, Jan. 24 [10].

Principate of Claudius.

The senate met hastily to discuss the situation, and debated on the restoration of the Republic, but separated without coming to a decision [11]. Outside, all was in confusion; the German guards had taken vengeance, and had slain persons of distinction unconnected with the conspiracy [12];

[1] Suet. 49.
[2] Dio, 59. 25, 6.
[3] Id. 59. 26, 2.
[4] Philo, Leg. 11–15; Dio, 59. 26, 5, foll.
[5] Dio, 59. 28, 2, foll.
[6] That this was after his return from Gaul, appears from its coincidence with the order to Petronius (Philo, Leg. 26), and the mention of their having sacrificed for his German campaign (Id. 45). Josephus connects it with the outbreak of the previous year (Ant. 18. 8, 1).
[7] Philo, Leg. 44–46.
[8] Philo, Leg. 29–42; Jos. Ant. 18. 8, 2, foll.
[9] Dio, 59. 27, 4: cp. 6. 32, 6.
[10] The whole plot is related at great length in Jos. Ant. 19. 1.
[11] See the long account of these events in Jos. Ant. 19. 2–4.
[12] Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 17.

the populace were clamouring for the names of the assassins, but were somewhat cowed by the boldness of Valerius Asiaticus[1]. Meanwhile, some of the praetorians had found Claudius hidden in the palace, had saluted him as imperator, and carried him to the camp, where on the next day, after promising them a donative of 15,000 H. S. each[2], he had accepted their sacramentum; and the senate, after some negotiation in which Herodes Agrippa had taken a prominent part, found itself left with only insignificant military authority, and had no resource but to ratify this choice[3].

His first act on entering the senate, after thirty days' interval[4], was to order the execution of Chaerea and of Lupus (who, by order of the former, had put to death Caesonia and her child): Sabinus, though exempted from this sentence, committed suicide[5]. All others were embraced under the terms of a general amnesty[6]; but the assassination of Gaius left lasting effects in the jealous precautions taken to search all visitors to the princeps for hidden arms[7].

On the twentieth day of his rule (Feb. 13), his wife, Valeria Messalina, gave birth to a son, afterwards known as Britannicus[8].

The first care of the new rule was to remedy the general disorganisation resulting from the late tyranny, to re-establish the constitution on principles professedly agreeing with those of Augustus, and to deal with conditions of disturbance and anarchy in various provinces and vassal kingdoms[9].

Victories were gained in this year over the Mauri and Maurusii in Libya, and over the Chatti in Germany, from whom the last of the three eagles lost with Varus was recovered[10].

The baneful influence of Messalina begins already to exert itself. Julia, daughter of Germanicus, who (with her sister Agrippina) had been recalled from exile by Claudius at the beginning of his rule, excited her

[1] See note on 11. 1, 2.

[2] Suet. (Cl. 10) notes this as the first example of that evil practice ('primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pigneratus').

[3] Of the imperial titles, it is noted that he did not accept that of 'pater patriae' (Dio, 60. 3, 2). It was assumed at the beginning of the following year (see Lehmann, p. 197). He followed Tiberius and Gaius in not using the 'praenomen imperatoris.' See Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 796.

[4] Dio, l. l.

[5] Dio, 60. 3, 4; Jos. Ant. 19. 4, 5.

[6] Suet. Cl. 11; Dio, l. l.

[7] See note on 11. 22, 1.

[8] For the date of his birth, see note on 12. 25, 3. Suet. states that he was at first called 'Germanicus.'

[9] The measures taken are fully described below (pp. 24 foll.).

[10] In Dio, 60. 8, 7, the victory over the Maurusii is ascribed to Galba, that over the Chatti to Gabinius: but Galba was at this time legatus of Upper Germany, and probably gained this victory over the Chatti; Gabinius (who was his successor) is recorded to have gained successes over the Chauci and to have taken a cognomen from them (Suet. Cl. 24). For the recovery of the other eagles, see 1. 60, 4; 2. 25, 2.

jealousy by her beauty, independence, and intimacy with Claudius, and was attacked on a charge of adultery with Seneca, who was banished to Corsica, Julia being deported to Pandateria, where she was soon afterwards put to death[1].

A. U. C. 795, A. D. 42. CLAUDIUS CAESAR II[2], C. CAECINA LARGUS[3], COSS.

The Mauri were further defeated by Suetonius Paulinus, and Mauretania was finally reduced and organised in two provinces by his successor, Cn. Hosidius Geta[4].

Appius Junius Silanus, who had been sent for as a friend from his province in Spain, had given offence to Messalina (to whose mother, Domitia Lepida, he was married), and was put to death at her instigation and that of Narcissus, who worked on the fears of Claudius by a tale of a dream[5]. This murder is represented as the principal cause[6] of a formidable conspiracy set on foot by Annius Vinicianus[7], and supported by many nobles[8], especially by Furius Camillus Scribonianus, who as legatus of Delmatia had command of two legions close to the frontier of Italy. Camillus endeavoured to terrify Claudius into abdication by an insulting letter[9], and professed an intention to restore the Republic[10], but himself aspired to the imperial dignity. The conspiracy collapsed in five days[11] by the return of the soldiers to their allegiance[12]; Camillus was killed[13], and Vinicianus committed suicide[14]. A bloody retribution followed; a number of the nobles being brought to trial before the senate in the presence of Claudius; when many senators and knights were tortured, and Messalina and the freedmen are said to have turned the occasion to account by getting those condemned who had offended

[1] Dio, 60. 8, 5. On her exile under Gaius, see above, p. 8. That the place of her second exile and death was Pandateria, appears from 14. 63, 2.

[2] Claudius laid down the consulship March 1, and was succeeded by Cornelius Lupus (Lehmann, p. 196).

[3] On this person, see 11. 33, 3, and note.

[4] Dio, 60. 9. Lehmann (p. 256) places the constitution of the province three years later. Its Era is reckoned from the death of its last king in 793, A. D. 40 (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 324).

[5] Dio, 60. 14, 3: cp. 11. 29, 1, and note. For the pedigree of the Junii Silani, see Introd. i. ix. 139.

[6] Dio, l. l.

[7] On this person, see 6. 9, 5, and note. He appears to have been a nephew of M. Vinicius, who was husband of the Julia mentioned above as put to death.

[8] One of them was Q. Pomponius (see 13. 43, 3, and note).

[9] Suet. Cl. 35.

[10] Dio, 60. 15, 3.

[11] Suet. Cl. 13. So Tacitus says (H. 1. 89, 2): 'Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita.'

[12] The two legions (VII and XI) were rewarded with the title 'Claudia fidelis pia' (Dio, 60. 15, 4).

[13] Dio states (l. l.) that he killed himself, but Tacitus (H. 2. 75, 3) gives the name of a soldier who was rewarded for killing him. See also Plin. Ep. 3. 16, 9. His successor in Delmatia was the father of the Emperor Otho (Suet. Oth. 1).

[14] Dio, 60. 15, 5.

them [1], and screening those who bribed them. The most memorable death was that of Caecina Paetus and Arria his wife [2].

A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43. CLAUDIUS CAESAR III [3], L. VITELLIUS II, COSS.

The great event of this year was the invasion of Britain by the Roman army under A. Plautius Silvanus, who was afterwards joined for sixteen days by Claudius himself [4]. It was probably also in this year that the dissensions between Gotarzes and Vardanes enabled Mithridates, formerly king of Armenia, to recover that country with the aid of some Roman troops [5]. In this year also [6] Messalina is stated to have caused the death of Justus Catonius [7], the praef. praetorio (who had intended to give information of her immorality), and Julia, the daughter of Drusus and wife of Rubellius Blandus [8].

A. U. C. 797, A. D. 44. C. PASSIENUS CRISPUS II [9], T. STATILIUS TAURUS [10], COSS.

Early in this year Claudius returned from Britain, having been altogether six months absent from Rome, and celebrated his triumph, which governors of provinces and even exiles were allowed to return and witness [11]. He also held games in honour of his victory [12]. His infant son took the name of Britannicus, and many others received honours and decorations [13]. In the same year [14] Macedonia and Achaia were given back to the senate [15]; the quaestorial districts in Italy were abolished [16], and quaestors instead of praetors placed over the aerarium [17]. M. Iulius Cottius received his father's dominion (the Cottian Alps) with the title of king, and Rhodes was deprived of its freedom for outrage on Roman citizens [18]. To this year also belongs the death of King Herodes Agrippa, the partition of his dominions, and the appointment again of a procurator of Judaea [19].

[1] It is possible that the consulars, Lusius Saturninus and Cornelius Lupus, whose deaths are ascribed to the bidding of Messalina and agency of Suillius (13. 43, 3-5) may have been among this number, as also some of the 'equitum . . . agmina' there alluded to. There is, however, another recorded conspiracy four years later (see below, p. 13).

[2] Dio, 60. 15, 6-16, 5. The story of Paetus and Arria is fully told in Plin. Ep. 3. 16: cp. Mart. 1. 14.

[3] Claudius was really 'suffectus' (Suet. Cl. 14), but the name of his predecessor is lost (Lehm. p. 211).

[4] For a full account of this, see below, ch. v.

[5] See 11. 8, 1-9, 3.

[6] Dio, 60. 18, 4.

[7] For a former notice of him, cp. 1. 29, 2, and note.

[8] See 13. 32, 5 (and note), and the mention of her accusation by Suillius (13. 43, 3).

[9] On this person, see 6. 20, 2, and note.

[10] See 12. 59, 1, and note.

[11] Suet. Cl. 17.

[12] Dio, 60. 23, 4; Suet. Cl. 21.

[13] Dio, 60. 23, 2: see also Lehmann, p. 237.

[14] Dio, 60. 24.

[15] See 1. 76, 4, and note.

[16] See 4. 27, 2, and note.

[17] See 13. 29, 2, and note.

[18] Dio, 60. 24, 4.

[19] See 12. 23, 2, and note.

A. U. C. 798, A. D. 45. M. VINICIUS II[1], T. STATILIUS TAURUS CORVINUS[2], COSS.

Galba became in this year proconsul of Africa and achieved considerable success there[3]. Claudius is stated to have anticipated and explained an eclipse falling on his birthday[4]. Probably in this year took place the rebellion of Mithridates, king of Bosporus, who was defeated and driven from his kingdom in the following year by A. Didius Gallus, legatus of Moesia[5].

A. U. C. 799, A. D. 46. P. VALERIUS ASIATICUS II[6], M. SILANUS[7], COSS.

M. Vinicius, the consul of the preceding year, was poisoned at the instigation of Messalina, who feared that he would take revenge upon her for the murder of his wife Julia[8].

Another conspiracy was formed in this year by Asinius Gallus, but proved to be insignificant, whence he escaped with the penalty of exile[9]. Statilius Corvinus appears to have been joined with him, and the plot is said to have extended to the emperor's freedmen and slaves[10].

A. U. C. 800, A. D. 47. CLAUDIUS CAESAR IV, L. VITELLIUS III, COSS.

Early in the year Claudius and Vitellius laid down the consulship, and assumed the office of censor, which had been for some seventy years in abeyance[11].

In this year A. Plautius Silvanus returned from Britain[12] and received the rare distinction of an ovation[13]. His successor was P. Ostorius Scapula[14]. Galba returned to Rome in the same year from Africa[15].

It is stated that information was given of another plot, but that no

[1] On this person, see 6. 15, 1, and note.
[2] See note on 12. 59, 1.
[3] Suet. Galb. 7.
[4] Dio, 60. 26, 1.
[5] See 12. 15, 1, and note.
[6] See 11. 1, 1, and note. Dio states (60. 27, 1) that he resigned the consulship voluntarily.
[7] This person is given in Dio as the consul of the year, and is the 'abnepos Augusti' born in the last year of that emperor (see Introd. i. ix. 139). An Aquillius is given in some inscriptions as consul with Asiaticus, and Lehmann (p. 260) thinks that he must have preceded Silanus, who was probably suffectus early in the year.
[8] Dio, 60. 27, 4.
[9] Dio, 60. 27, 5.
[10] Suet. Cl. 13. Lehmann suggests (p. 261) that this plot may have occasioned the deaths of Cornelius Lupus and Lusius Saturninus (see 13. 43, 3) and of Asinius Celer, Pedo Pompeius, and Rufus the praef. praetorio (see Sen. Lud. 13, 5). But we have no means of determining between this and the previous conspiracy (see above, p. 12).
[11] See 11. 13, 1, and note.
[12] Dio, 60. 30, 2.
[13] See 13. 32, 3, and note.
[14] See 12. 31, 1, and note.
[15] Suet. Galb. 8.

proceedings were taken against any of the persons implicated, except Valerius Asiaticus[1].

CHAPTER III.

ON THE VIEW GIVEN BY TACITUS OF THE CHARACTER AND GOVERNMENT OF GAIUS, CLAUDIUS, AND NERO.

I. *Gaius.*

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

THE few scattered allusions in the extant works of Tacitus to the rule of Gaius and events which occurred under it receive some light from what is said in the first six Books of his earlier life and the circumstances which tended to form his character up to the time when he assumed the government.

We hear of him as, at two years old, the unconscious sharer in the perils of the German mutiny, carried off in his mother's arms[2] to find a safer refuge among the Treveri than in the heart of the Roman legions[3]. We are also given to understand that the sight of the 'fosterchild of the legions[4],' wearing the tiny sandal modelled on that of the common soldier of the ranks[5], contributed most of all to the revulsion of feeling that turned the arms of the mutineers, in rude camp justice, against each other[6]. The incident had not escaped the watchful eyes of Tiberius, or of Seianus, who nursed the seeds of suspicion in his master's mind, as to the motives of a mother who could allow a Caesar to bear such a nick-name as 'Caligula[7]', one which, we may believe, long stood him in good stead in the mind of the soldiers.

[1] Such is the statement of Dio (60. 29, 4), which, if true, must refer to the charge made against him of intending to fly to the German armies (11. 1, 2). At some time before the beginning of the extant part of the Eleventh Book of the Annals must also have taken place the putting to death of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, his wife Scribonia, their son Cn. Pompeius Magnus (the husband of Antonia, daughter of Claudius), and other members of that family (Sen. Lud. 11. 2, 5); also the marriage of Antonia to Faustus Sulla (Suet. Cl. 27).

[2] 1. 40, 4.

[3] 1. 41, 2.

[4] 'Legionum alumnus' (1. 44, 1). An erroneous subsequent belief, founded on the title ('castrorum filius') assumed by him (Suet. Cal. 22), that he was also born in the camp, is shared by Tacitus (see 1. 41, 3, and note).

[5] 1. 41, 3.

[6] 1. 44, 2; cp. Suet. Cal. 9.

[7] 1. 69, 5.

The boy, with his brothers and sisters, shared the triumph of his father[1], was one of the two with him at his death in Syria, and followed the mournful procession of his mother with the remains[2]. After this, Tacitus makes no mention of him for several years, during which time we are told by Suetonius that he was under the tutelage first of his mother, then of his great-grandmother Augusta[3], and, after the death of the latter, under that of his grandmother Antonia.

The far-reaching aims of Seianus are stated to have included a plan for his assassination at the same time with that of Tiberius[4].

He assumed the toga virilis at a later age than his brothers and without the distinctions granted to them[5]; and then or soon afterwards received in marriage Junia Claudilla, daughter of M. Silanus, and accompanied Tiberius to Capreae[6], where most of his next four years were spent, years which must have done much to form his character. We are to think of him as at once schooling his violent and impulsive temper[7] to live under the suspicious glance of those penetrating eyes, as 'veiling the ferocity of his spirit under a mask of submission[8]', and 'learning every artifice of falsehood in the intimacy of his grandfather[9].' The successive stages in the fate of his mother and brother failed to elicit a word from his lips and appeared to make no impression on his mind: his one aim from day to day was to study the mood of Tiberius and adapt every word and look to it; so that the witticism spread that 'never was there man who would be a better slave or a viler master[10].' Tiberius, who himself had under Augustus passed through a similar period of disguise and repression, while to outward appearance satisfied with his submissiveness, was not likely to be really deceived by it. He gave him no higher magistracy than the quaestorship[11] (carrying with it admission to the lowest rank of senators), and no other mark of honour but the pontificate[12], and not seldom let fall expressions which showed

[1] 2. 41, 4.

[2] 3. 1, 5; cp. 2. 70, 2, and note.

[3] The statement of Suetonius (Cal. 10) that he passed into her household on Agrippina's banishment, is inconsistent with the narrative of Tacitus, who places the latter event after the death of Augusta (5. 3, 2): but Agrippina was already in disgrace (see 4. 54, 3, and note), and may have been deprived of the custody of the boy; who seems certainly to have stood in some close relation to Augusta, as he was selected, in preference to either of his elder brothers, to pronounce the 'laudatio' at her funeral (5. 1, 6).

[4] 6. 3, 4.

[5] Suet. states (Cal. 10) that this did not take place till his nineteenth year (784, A.D. 31). The fifteenth year was the usual time.

[6] 6. 20, 1 (where see note).

[7] In 6. 45, 5 he is called 'commotus ingenio;' in 11. 3, 2 Asiaticus is represented as contrasting the 'impetus Gai' with the 'calliditas Tiberii.'

[8] 'Immanem animum subdola modestia tegens' (6. 20, 1).

[9] 'Simulationum falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat' (6. 45, 5).

[10] See the whole passage, 6. 20, 1, 2.

[11] Dio, 58. 23, 1.

[12] Dio, 58. 8, 1.

that he had read his character rightly: 'He would have Sulla's vices without his virtues[1],' 'He would be a serpent to the Roman people, a Phaethon to the world[2].'

The old man would gladly have so ordered the succession[3] as to set aside the adoptive grandson for the grandson by blood; but the knowledge that Tiberius Gemellus was too young, and that in any case the tide of popular favour would run high for the son of Germanicus, led him to leave the future to take its own course, though he could see from the scowl with which the elder looked on the younger what that course would be[4].

Gaius again had shrewdness enough to see that, whether Tiberius intended to attempt to provide for the succession or not, the real masters of the situation were the praetorians, and that their praefect would be his best ally. Nor was Macro in his turn slow to 'worship the rising instead of the setting sun,' and even to sacrifice his wife's honour to cement the alliance[5].

All could see the direction in which affairs were tending; and the eminent senator, L. Arruntius, is represented as choosing immediate suicide, rather than await a more rigorous slavery, under the rule of an ignorant youth 'brought up under the vilest influences, with Macro to guide him[6]'.

The end came in due course, not without dark stories of the personal share of Macro and Gaius in its acceleration[7]; and from this point the guidance of Tacitus is lost to us.

We are led however to believe, from what has been already noted, that Tacitus would have regarded his subsequent conduct, as he has that of Tiberius, as that of a natural tendency revealing itself, though by less gradual stages, on the mere removal of enforced disguise. We should suppose him to have entirely disbelieved that the popular acts and professions of the young prince at the beginning of rule showed any sincere intention to govern justly and moderately, or that the succeeding insanity, whatever its nature and degree[8], which by most accounts was as much

[1] 6. 46, 7.

[2] 'Exitio suo omniumque Gaium vivere, et se natricem (serpentis id genus) P. R., Phaethontem orbi terrarum educare' (Suet. Cal. 11).

[3] On the indirect power of the princeps to do this, see Introd. I. vi. p. 82.

[4] 6. 46, 1, foll. The story told by Josephus (Ant. 18. 6, 9) of a designation of Gaius as successor, is generally disbelieved. In the will of Tiberius the two youths had an equal position (Suet. Tib. 76).

[5] 6. 45, 5; 46, 6.

[6] 6. 48, 4. That Tacitus fully accepts this view, is evident from the words added: 'documento sequentia erunt bene Arruntium morte usum.'

[7] 6. 50, 8 (where see note).

[8] Tacitus denotes his insanity by the expressions 'turbidus animi' (H. 4. 48, 2), 'Gai turbata mens' (13. 3, 6). The expression, 'commotus ingenio,' applied to him at an earlier date (see above, p. 15), has a different meaning.

the effect as the cause of reckless profligacy, had any other effect on his moral character than so far as it led him more completely to drop the mask, cast away the last restraints of common decency and prudence, and follow the bent of a nature long since thoroughly vitiated[1].

When however we consider that, out of the four Books and a half given to the events of the ten years succeeding the death of Tiberius (a larger amount than is ever elsewhere allotted to a similar space within the period of the Annals), probably two Books were occupied with those of this principate of hardly four years' duration, we may feel sure that so weighty a historian found in it material of more historical importance than such as survives to us in Suetonius or Dio[2].

It is also to be borne in mind that his purpose professed at the beginning of his work, of holding a balance between the extravagances of adulation and abuse[3], and his belief that he has succeeded in doing so, applies to Gaius as well as to the other princes contained in it, and makes it probable that in his case, as we have already seen in that of Tiberius, some of the scandals and outrages which other historians have raked together would have been discredited, and many incredible exaggerations reduced to their just dimensions.

One general trait of considerable interest has been preserved to us in the incidental mention that the disordered intellect of Gaius was nevertheless consistent with considerable oratorical vigour[4]; a statement which may well be illustrated by the epigrammatic point of some of his personalities[5], and the shrewd, however merciless, logic pervading his repartees and other reported utterances.

Some of the principal remaining allusions to his acts show that Tacitus followed the general account of the absurd fiasco of the German expedition[6], and considered that its failure, combined with the characteristic caprice of Gaius himself, caused the abandonment of what he believed to have been a seriously entertained project of invading Britain[7]. It is disappointing that we have here no suggestion of a rational explanation

[1] The stories of his youthful profligacy, though not expressly confirmed by Tacitus, receive some support from 6. 9, 2.

[2] See the remarks of Dean Merivale, at the beginning of ch. 48 of his History.

[3] 1. 1, 5.

[4] 'Etiam Gai Caesaris turbata mens vim dicendi non corrupit' (13. 3, 6): cp. Suet. Cal. 53.

[5] E. g. his description of M. Silanus as a 'golden sheep' ('pecudem aureum'), in 13. 1, 1; of Augusta as 'Ulysses in petticoats' ('Ulixem stolatum') in Suet. Cal. 23, and of the writings of Seneca as 'mere disputations' ('commissiones') and 'sand without lime' ('arenam sine calce') in Id. 53.

[6] 'Ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae' (G. 37, 5). The attack seems to have been directed on the Canninefates, whose chief 'multa hostilia ausus, Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium inpune spreverat' (H. 4. 15, 3).

[7] 'Agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae, et ingentes adversum Germanos conatus frustra fuissent' (Agr. 13, 4).

of these events which seems not impossible. Lentulus Gaetulicus, legatus of Upper Germany, already formidable under Tiberius, and influential with the army of Lower Germany, as well as master of his own[1], was apparently organising a conspiracy, connived at by perhaps both the surviving sisters of the Emperor, and supported by Lepidus, his brother-in-law and kinsman[2]. It is possible to suppose that this treason on foot was already known, and that the projected German and British expeditions were no more than the alleged object for collecting in Gaul such an army as would suffice to cow the German legions, and suppress the danger without bloodshed[3]; and that in all the rest we have only some clumsy attempts to sustain the pretext[4].

We have also a criticism by Tacitus on the blundering manner in which Gaius, suspicious of the eminence of M. Silanus, corrected the anomaly, previously deemed harmless, by which, in Africa alone among all the senatorial provinces, the proconsul had command of a legion and of the auxiliaries attached to it[5]. His introduction of a dual government, by placing the legion under a 'legatus Augusti,' whose authority clashed with that of the proconsul, was fruitful, as might have been expected, in jealousy and discord[6]; but the change so far commended itself to his successors that the old anomaly was never restored, though care was taken at a subsequent time to remove the evil of an 'imperium in imperio,' by constituting Numidia as a separate province under the legatus, and concentrating the whole military force within it[7].

A single sentence relating to the insane command of Gaius that his statue should be set up in the temple at Jerusalem, may be quoted as so far showing a difference from Josephus as apparently to represent an outbreak to have actually commenced[8].

[1] See 6. 30, 3, foll., where the formidable position of Gaetulicus is shown, and his menacing letter to Tiberius given as generally believed.

[2] See Dio, 59. 22, 5, 6. Tacitus apparently believed in both the treason of Lepidus and the ambitious aims of Agrippina: cp. 14. 2, 4 ('quae puellaribus annis stuprum cum Lepido spe dominationis admiserat'). Both sisters were exiled.

[3] That the conspiracy was dealt with soon after the entry of Gaius into Gaul, is shown by the date of the offering of the Arval Brothers at Rome (Oct. 27, 792, A.D. 39), 'ob detecta nefaria con[silia] Cn. Lentuli Gae[tulici]' (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2029).

[4] See Merivale, ch. 48, p. 439. Dio (59. 21, 2) gives a less probable account, representing some imaginary rising in Gaul as the pretext, and a desire to extort money from the wealthy there as the real motive.

[5] See Introd. 1. ch. vii. p. 98.

[6] 'Legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis finibus, sub D. Augusto Tiberioque principibus, proconsuli parebant. Mox C. Caesar, turbidus animi, ac M. Silanum obtinentem Africam metuens, ablatam proconsuli legionem misso in eam rem legato tradidit. Aequatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus, et mixtis utriusque mandatis discordia quaesita, auctaque pravo certamine' (H. 4. 48, 1). It would appear that the proconsul still commanded some of the auxiliary troops.

[7] See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. pp. 308–310.

[8] 'Dein iussi a C. Caesare effigiem eius

Within these narrow limits is confined all the help that we can obtain from Tacitus towards judging Gaius either in youth or manhood; nor have we any reason to suppose that this history, if it had come down complete to us, would have tended to reverse, however it might in degree have modified, the judgment which has gibbeted this tyrant among the monsters of mankind.

II. *Claudius.*

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

NOTE.—In this section many obligations have to be acknowledged to Dr. H. Lehmann's work, referred to above (p. 5).

THE remaining fragment of our historian's narrative of the principate of Claudius, though comprising probably more than one third of the whole, fails us in the most important part of his rule, as well as in the period immediately preceding it. It is also unfortunate that Tacitus has not thought fit to give at the close of his life any general summary of his character, as is done in the Annals for Tiberius [1], and in the Histories for Galba [2], and also (more briefly) for Otho [3] and Vitellius [4].

What is left to us cannot be justly estimated without reviewing at some length such account as we have of the fifty-five previous years of his private and public life.

On his early history Suetonius [5] is our sole authority. It is from him that we get the picture of the boy born barely a year before his father's death, harassed in childhood by such a succession of illnesses as permanently to affect mind and body, regarded with contempt by his relations, with aversion even by his mother [6], kept in retirement while his popular

in templo locare, arma potius sumpsere; quem motum Caesaris mors diremit' (H. 5.9,4). Cp. Jos. Ant. 18. 8,9; B. I. 2. 10,5. The only extant reference to this matter in the Annals (12. 54, 2) is mutilated.

[1] 6. 51.

[2] H. 1. 49, 3–8.

[3] Id. 2. 50, 1.

[4] Id. 3. 86, 1–3.

[5] Cl. 2–4.

[6] 'Portentum eum hominis dicebat, nec absolutum a natura sed tantum inchoatum, ac si quem socordiae argueret, stultiorem aiebat filio suo Claudio.'

and gifted brother was pushed forward rapidly in public life, and known by only one redeeming trait, his early passion for study. Augustus indeed, though by no means allowing him to make an exhibition of himself in public, showed some regard for him in private life, and had the insight to see that when he could command his faculties, he was by no means the fool he seemed[1]: yet even he, though thus showing more consideration than other and nearer relatives, was so far dissatisfied with him as to allow him no other distinction than an augurship, and to give him only a low position and trifling legacy in his will[2]; while from the stern and ungenial Tiberius he had less indulgence to expect. He was now earnestly desirous of filling the magistracies of state, but was put off with the 'ornamenta consularia'; a further request was met with the contemptuous gift of a few gold pieces to spend at the Saturnalia[3]; and he retired into shadow during the rest of this prince's rule, with no further distinction than that of a place among the 'sodales Augustales[4].' Though now the head of the Claudian house[5], second only in dignity to the Julian, he had no position in the senate[6], and merely ranked as a knight[7]. A trivial incident showing the tendency of all men to take no account of him[8] gives Tacitus an opportunity for the bitter comment, 'the more I think on ancient or recent examples, the more is the mockery pervading human affairs in all matters made evident to me. By reputation, by promise, by the respect of men, any one seemed rather destined to imperial dignity than he whom fortune was reserving in secret as the future prince.'

Thus to the twenty-four years of childhood and youth under Augustus, are to be added twenty-two more, passed in complete retirement under Tiberius, in which, despised by those of his own rank, and bashful in good society, he took refuge in low habits and low company[9]. These surroundings

[1] The letters of Augustus to Livia, preserved in Suet. Cl. 4, give by far the best evidence as to the condition of Claudius in early life. Distinction is drawn in them between his demeanour and his actual intelligence. In one he says 'misellus ἀτυχεῖ, nam ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις, ubi non aberravit eius animus, satis apparet ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγένεια.' He will often ask him to dinner 'ne solus caenet cum suo Sulpicio et Athenodoro' (literary friends). In another letter he wonders how one who talked so inarticulately could declaim so well.

[2] Suet. 4.

[3] Suet. 5.

[4] 1. 54, 2.

[5] This he had become on the adoption of his elder brother Germanicus by Tiberius.

[6] Suet. mentions (6) a resolution of the senate to give him a complimentary quasi-position in that body, which Tiberius cancelled on the ground of his imbecility.

[7] He was twice selected by that order as their spokesman in deputations to Tiberius (Suet. 5).

[8] 3. 18, 5.

[9] Suet. describes him (Cl. 5) as acquiring a propensity to drinking and gambling 'ex consuetudine sordidissimorum hominum.' Julius Paelignus is mentioned as one of his boon companions 'cum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum iners otium oblectaret' (12. 49, 1).

intensified his natural vices and eccentricities, and permanently formed his character. Disgusting manners, gluttony, drink, lust, gambling [1], became the propensities of such a life, redeemed to some extent by the literary pursuits [2] which alone kept him up to any higher level. Indications are not indeed altogether wanting that his nearness to the ruling house still made him a person of some consideration. He was married successively to two women of high family, Plautia Urgulanilla and Aelia Paetina [3]; it was a valuable stepping-stone to Seianus to affiance a daughter to his young son Drusus [4]; even Tiberius in his last moments considered him among possible heirs, were it not for the weakness of his mind [5], and left him a better position in his will than he had held in that of Augustus [6].

On the accession of Gaius, he emerges from a position of obscurity and neglect, and of personal safety assured thereby, into one of greater outward dignity, combined with greater real degradation, and no slight actual peril. From a mere knight he becomes senator and consul [7], to be taken to task in his magistracy and all but deposed from it [8], and to be treated with studied contempt in the senate-house [9]; he is promoted to a priesthood, to find himself ruined by the expenses of assuming it [10]; he is sent by the senate as spokesman of its deputation to Gaius in Gaul, to find the distinction go near to cost his life, and (according to some accounts) to be glad to escape with a ducking in the river [11]; he is not only the constant victim of the flouts and blows of Gaius himself [12], but also the butt for all the rude horseplay and practical jests of courtiers and buffoons at the imperial feasts [13].

Tacitus would probably have shown us not only what was thus patent

[1] See Suet. Cl. 33, and other places.

[2] 'Bonarum artium cupiens erat' (6. 46, 2). On his literary works, see 13. 3, 1 and note.

[3] The former is described in Suet. Cl. 36 as 'triumphali' (see note on 4. 22, 3), the latter as 'consulare patre.' On the pedigree of the former, see 2. 34, 3; 4. 22, 3 (and notes); Lehmann, p. 88.

[4] 3. 29, 3.

[5] 'Imminuta mens eius obstitit' (6. 46, 2).

[6] Suet. Cl. 6.

[7] He was consul with Gaius in July 790, A. D. 37, and held office two months. He also sometimes presided for his nephew at games and received applause (Suet. Cl. 7).

[8] Suet. 9.

[9] Suet. states (l. l.) that after his return from Gaul, his 'sententia' was always asked last of all the consulars, i.e. not only not above, but even somewhat below, his actual rank.

[10] The expenses are put at the extraordinary sum of eight million H.S. (Suet. l. l.). The priesthood was that to Gaius himself as Jupiter Latiaris, for which other rich men were similarly victimized (Dio, 59. 28, 5). He was also a 'sodalis Titius' (Insc. Henzen, 5399).

[11] Gaius considered himself treated as a boy by having his uncle thus sent to him (Suet. l. l.). The latter incident is related with doubt ('ut non defuerint qui traderent,' etc.).

[12] Seneca (Lud. 15, 2) makes Gaius claim him as a slave in Hades: 'producit testes, qui illum viderant ab illo flagris, ferulis, colaphis vapulantem.'

[13] Suet. 8.

to all, but also what may have lain beneath the surface; whether not only this tame submission to every kind of insult, but even some studied exaggeration of his natural weakness and eccentricity, may not have been assumed for self-protection [1], as according to the old tale was the demeanour of Brutus under Tarquinius, or as had been the servility of Gaius himself under Tiberius [2]. It can, indeed, be hardly doubted that his position had another side to it, at a time when all thinking men could foresee that the existing tyranny must needs be shortlived; that its outcome would not be (as some fondly dreamt) a return to the old Republic, but the succession of some other princeps; that while direct or collateral descendants of Augustus lived, their names would weigh powerfully in the scale against any others; and that within that circle Claudius, with all his drawbacks, was most prominent [3].

It was not without political foresight that the freedman Callistus chose to pay court to Claudius rather than destroy him [4]; that his old friend Herodes Agrippa still kept up his intimacy [5]; that the senate as a body paid him what was evidently intended as a compliment by choosing him on the deputation above referred to [6]. Nor can we suppose him to have been himself so obtuse as not to keep an eye on his own prospects throughout his apparent effacement; nor was it without a political motive that he contracted during this period a far higher matrimonial alliance than any of his previous ones, by taking to wife Valeria Messalina, who was a direct descendant, through both her parents, from Octavia [7], and might have added to the chance of any of his possible rivals by a similar connection.

It is also easy to see that in his actual elevation to the principate deeper causes were working than a mere soldier's freak, however true may be the account which has come down to us of the circumstances of the moment when a sudden and terrible catastrophe brought him

[1] His own subsequent assertion that such was the case, was disbelieved at the time (Suet. 38), but is, to some extent, not improbable, though the history of his childhood sufficiently shows that his condition was mostly congenital. The supposed allusion to his self-effacement in coins inscribed 'Constantia Augusti' (Eckh. vi. 336; Cohen, i. 251, 4) is somewhat fanciful.

[2] See above, p. 15.

[3] Claudius, though not adopted into the family of the Caesars, was on his mother's side a direct descendant of Octavia, and his brotherhood to the popular Germanicus counted for something. 'This too is a Germanicus,' is the expression ascribed by Josephus (Ant. 19. 3, 1) to the soldier who found him hiding. The names of other descendants of Augustus or Octavia then living will be seen from the pedigrees in Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 140.

[4] Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 10.

[5] He had been brought up with him in early youth (Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 4), and had evidently still the position of a trusted friend when he acted as negotiator between him and the senate after the death of Gaius (Id. 19. 4).

[6] See above, p. 21.

[7] See the pedigrees, Introd. i. ix. p. 140.

unawares in full view of the end for which he and his adherents may have been none the less deliberately laying their plans.

Our most serious loss is that of the record and judgment of Tacitus respecting the first and best years of this principate, one which we can the better realise by reflecting how much less we should have known of the rule of Tiberius, if the first three Books of the Annals had not come down to us. As regards mere material, it is no doubt true that our other authorities here do more to fill the gap. Josephus, by large portions of his narrative, and especially by the original texts of edicts of the emperor and of Petronius, his legatus in Syria, preserved in it, has given us valuable information on many subjects, especially on the policy adopted towards the Jewish race[1]: a few facts of historical interest may be found among those noted by the elder Pliny; to his nephew we owe the touching history of Paetus and Arria[2]; and the reader may derive entertainment, if not instruction, from Seneca, whose disregard, not only for truth, but even for his own consistency, allows us to find, in what he says of Claudius, an equally extreme instance of each of the kinds of falsification, in which Tacitus tells us that the histories of the whole period covered by his Annals abounded[3]. In the 'Consolatio' addressed from his place of exile to Polybius[4], the resources of language can hardly find terms for the gentleness and clemency[5] of the prince under whom it was the freedman's happy lot to live; and under whom even exiles rested in peace[6]. Fortune is prayed to preserve one granted to the relief of a worn-out age, and herself bidden to learn from him to be merciful[7]. He is himself imagined as drawing on the unrivalled stores of his eloquence and learning to address topics of consolation to his minister[8]; whom the writer bids to seek his own solace in the sunshine of that presence[9], of that deity within whose influence no sorrow can reach him[10]. It is hard indeed to believe that we are reading from the same author whose pen has described a monster of cruelty to us in the 'Ludus.' Some allowance must be made for the difference in date of the two pictures[11];

[1] It is also to Josephus that we owe the only account given with full detail of the death of Gaius and elevation of Claudius (Ant. 19. 1–4). For the edicts above referred to, see below, p. 29.

[2] Ep. 3. 16; see also Mart. 1. 14. Tacitus, who alludes to the story in 16. 34, 3, no doubt gave it full prominence in its place, and it is probably from him that the abridged version in Dio, 60. 16, 6 was derived.

[3] 'Florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae' (1. 1, 5).

[4] It is written ostensibly to him on the loss of a brother, but the person really addressed is Claudius.

[5] See 6, 5; 13, 3; 4; 17, 3, etc.

[6] 13, 4.

[7] 16, 6.

[8] 14, 1–16, 3.

[9] 12, 3.

[10] 8, 1.

[11] Even at the date of the earlier trea-

for the rest, the servile flattery and scathing satire must be left to counterbalance and discredit each other.

Our only continuous and consecutive narrative, that of Dio, shrinks into the epitome of Xiphilinus at a point a little before that at which we recover the guidance of Tacitus, and is, unfortunately, somewhat meagre as a whole in proportion to the general scale of the history[1]; but on many important points, especially on the conquest of Britain, is our sole detailed authority.

From these sources, aided by the miscellaneous 'farrago' of Suetonius, our record of the first six years of this prince's rule has to be gathered[2], so far as it is needful for the present purpose to trace its outlines.

It must be borne in mind that Claudius and his advisers, while thus taking the reins at a moment's notice, succeeded to no such well-ordered empire as had been transmitted by Augustus to Tiberius and by him to Gaius, but to one full of confusion and misgovernment. The bloody deed of Jan. 24 had revived the memory of the Ides of March of B.C. 44, and had shaken the foundations of Caesarism; the threads of continuity had been snapped, the State had been two days without a princeps, and the restoration of the Republic had been debated as an open question[3]. The executions and extortions of the late tyranny had thoroughly alienated the rich, while the populace, though probably fortunate enough to be ignorant of their peril, and deploring the loss of what must have seemed a golden age of amusements[4], were in imminent danger of all the horrors of famine[5]. Abroad, Gaius had unsettled everything and settled nothing; had pillaged Gaul[6], stirred up the long slumbering hostility of the German tribes, driven Palestine into open rebellion, flouted the deputation sent to plead for the persecuted Jews of Alexandria, had created or deposed vassal princes at the humour of his caprice, and, by the murder or detention of their legitimate rulers,

tise, the hands of this 'mitissimus princeps' were already stained with the blood of Silanus (see on 11. 29, 1), and with all the severities consequent on the detection of the conspiracy of Camillus Scribonianus. Each treatise was written only for the purpose of the moment, the former to procure the writer's return from exile, the latter to amuse Nero and his friends at the Saturnalia immediately following his accession.

[1] To the narrative of these thirteen years one Book is allotted. An equal space is given to the short rule of Gaius, while with that of Nero three whole Books are occupied.

[2] Such further evidence as can be gathered from coins and inscriptions has been carefully collected by Lehmann (App. pp. 1–66).

[3] See Jos. Ant. 19. 1–3.

[4] The popular indignation at the death of Gaius is described in Jos. l. l.; 19. 1, 20, etc.

[5] Seneca (de Brev. Vit. 18, 5), who traces the cause to the withdrawal of cornships to make the useless bridge across the bay of Baiae, states (probably with exaggeration) that only corn enough for seven or eight days was left in Rome. Dio (59. 17, 2) represents the famine as already felt.

[6] See Dio, 59. 21, 2; 22, 3, etc.

had left Mauretania a prey to war, Commagene to anarchy, and had abandoned the great kingdom of Armenia to the control of Parthia [1].

The difficulties of this situation were dealt with by the new government in a spirit of deliberation and forethought hardly to be expected of persons taken unawares. The most urgent danger, that of famine, appears to have been averted for the present by energetic temporary measures [2], and was to be lessened in future by great improvements projected in the harbourage of Ostia [3]. Another necessary of life was to be provided in abundance by taking up vigorously and carrying out to its accomplishment the aqueduct begun by Gaius [4]. Another great work, undertaken at an early date [5], the tunnel from Lake Fucinus to the Liris, appears to have had some relation to the food supply; but it is difficult to see what result commensurate with the enormous cost could ever have been expected [6].

Another question pressing for immediate decision was that of those compromised in the recent conspiracy. Tyrannicide could not be tolerated, and therefore the actual assassins had to die; but of the rest, even those who had been talked of as aspirants to the principate, or who had advocated the restoration of the Republic, were included in a comprehensive amnesty, and even allowed to win further distinctions; a similar pardon being also extended to those who had heaped insults on Claudius at his nephew's bidding [7].

The emperor had also to define the rule to which he had succeeded; and in this it is hardly too much to say that the lines of the imperial constitution had to be retraced. The memory of the late tyranny was effaced, the insane titles adopted by Gaius were abolished, his 'acta'

[1] On all these points, see further explanation below (pp. 29, foll.).

[2] Those mentioned in Suet. 18, appear to belong to a later date; but some of the coins referred to by Lehmann (p. 135) bearing the words 'Ceres Augusta,' the 'modius,' etc., appear to belong to this first year and to refer to measures then taken.

[3] See Suet. 20. Dio (60. 11) places the beginning of this work in his second year (also one of dearth). In spite of all that was done, Rome was again threatened with imminent famine in 804, A.D. 51 (12. 43, 2); and Puteoli seems still to have remained the great landing-place of the Alexandrian fleet (Sen. Ep. 77, 1). That the work was unfinished at his death would appear from medals in which Nero credits himself with it ('Port. Ost. Augusti'): see Eckh. vi. 276; Cohen, i. 280, 33. The port of Ostia seems still to have been insecure (see 15. 18, 3).

[4] This work was probably not immediately taken up. It is mentioned by Tacitus as if completed in 800, A.D. 47, but the inscription (see note on 11. 13, 2) gives a later date.

[5] The statement of Suet. (Cl. 20), that the work took eleven years, would show it to have been begun in the first year of Claudius: see 12, 56, 1, and note.

[6] See note (l. l.).

[7] Dio, 60. 3, 4-7. Valerius Asiaticus, who had glorified the assassination (Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 20), and appears to have aspired to the principate (Id. 4, 3), was allowed afterwards to take part in the expedition to Britain and to hold a second consulship (see 11. 1, 1; 3, 1).

rescinded, his exiles, especially his two sisters Agrippina and Julia, recalled, many of his extortions and confiscations restored to the sufferers or their heirs, his statues were silently removed, his debased coinage was called in[1].

In name and form, the Augustan idea of a citizen prince was to be restored. The most sacred oath of Claudius was 'per Augustum[2]'; and, to associate himself with a divine ancestry, he procured for his grandmother Livia a tardy deification, with special honours to keep up her name[3]. Further respect was shown to the memory of his still popular brother Germanicus, his father Drusus, his mother Antonia; and even her father M. Antonius was honourably mentioned[4]. By thus prominently bringing into notice his relationships to the previous ruling house, and by himself assuming the cognomen 'Caesar,' he would endeavour to sustain the fiction of a continuity of succession; though his name was still significant of a change; the house of the Julii Caesares, to which Augustus and his successors had nominally and by adoption yet belonged, having been left without any male representative at the death of Gaius, while no such family as the 'Claudii Caesares' had ever existed, and the name would seem to an antiquarian genealogist a strange misnomer. From this time, therefore, it was distinctly to be understood that 'Caesar' had passed from a family name to an imperial title.

The Claudian name was sufficiently near to the Julian to prevent the few remaining great houses from feeling degraded by its exaltation, and some of the most prominent were conciliated by politic alliances. The infant Octavia, whose name recalled the sister of Augustus (her ancestress in a threefold line), was promised in marriage to L. Junius Silanus, the great-great-grandson of Augustus[5], while Antonia, the emperor's daughter by Paetina, was betrothed to Cn. Pompeius Magnus[6], a representative not only of that famous name, but also of the Calpurnii Pisones, the Licinii Crassi, and Scribonia.

Besides thus winning the support of great families, he conciliates the senate as a whole by the deference paid to its authority[7]. It was to be

[1] For these and other similar measures, see Dio, 60. 4, 6, &c.; Suet. Cl. 11.

[2] Suet. Cl. 11.

[3] Dio, 60. 5, 2.

[4] Dio, 60. 5, 1; Suet. Cl. 11.

[5] For the descent of Octavia and of Silanus, see Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 141.

[6] He is named in Suet. Cl. 27; Dio, 60. 5, 7; in Sen. Lud. 11, 5, he is called 'Crassi filius.' On his tomb, recently discovered near the Porta Salara, he is styled 'Cn. Pomp., Crassi f., Men(enia tribu), Magnus, Pontif., Quaestor Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germanici soceri sui.' His father was the consul of 780, A.D. 27 (see 4. 62, 1, and note), his mother a Scribonia, daughter of Pompeia (see note on 2. 27, 2). Claudius afterwards put Pompeius to death and married Antonia to a representative of another great family, Faustus Sulla (Suet. l. l.).

[7] Among lesser compliments may be noted the assignment of reserved seats in the circus (Suet. Cl. 21; Dio, 60. 7, 4).

consulted on all matters of state [1], as in former times; even the restoration of exiles was submitted to its approval [2], and the allowance of a small guard of honour to the emperor within its precincts was asked as a favour [3]: and not only at the outset, but throughout his rule, he shows himself desirous to keep up the dignity of that body, by purging it of unworthy members [4], and by infusing into it new and healthier blood [5] from the ranks below [6], and even from provincial sources [7]. A similar recruiting, later in the course of his rule, of the ranks of the patriciate [8], would make it easier to fill the few priestly offices still confined to that body [9]. Other acts, extending to all ranks alike, were probably in effect an especial boon to the upper classes. The law of 'maiestas,' by which Tiberius had decimated the senatorial and equestrian aristocracy, was allowed to sink into oblivion [10], and the princeps solemnly swore that no Roman citizen should be put to torture [11]. It was no doubt by these and other similar measures that Claudius won a permanent place among constitutional 'principes [12],' and earned the title of 'libertatis vindex [13],' while he compensated the lower orders for the curtailment of the great shows and largesses of Gaius [14] by the gradual abolition of his imposts [15], and by this and other means gained no slight popularity [16].

Important regulations were also made in the administration of the finances of the empire, which must have become altogether disorganised.

In respect of the 'aerarium publicum,' it was perhaps a mere stroke of antiquarianism to transfer the charge from praetors to quaestors; nor was the change beneficial, except so far as it substituted selection for the haphazard of the lot, and allowed time to gain experience by prolonging the tenure of office [17].

Far more permanent and more important changes were intro-

He also promoted the activity of the body by enforcing attendance more strictly (Dio, 60. 11, 8).

[1] Jos. B. I. 2. 11, 2.

[2] Suet. Cl. 12.

[3] Suet. l. l. Such a guard had been asked for by Tiberius, but as a pretence, after he had ceased to attend the senate (6. 15, 5).

[4] 11. 25, 5; 12. 52, 4; Dio, 60. 11, 8; 29. 1.

[5] The remarks of Tacitus (3. 55, 4) may refer to this as well as to a later date.

[6] Dio, 60. 29, 1.

[7] See below, p. 33.

[8] 11. 25, 3.

[9] See 4. 16, 2.

[10] Dio, 64. 4, 6. For its revival, twenty-one years later, see 14. 48, 2.

[11] Dio, 60. 15, 6. This had never been, strictly speaking, legal, but had been often practised by Tiberius and Gaius.

[12] In the 'lex de imperio Vespasiani,' the only precedents cited for the powers to be conferred on that prince are those of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius.

[13] This title seems only found on an inscription of Cyzicus (C. I. L. vi. 1. p. 841), but is in agreement with the words 'Libertas Augusta,' and with the 'pileus' found on coins (Eckh. vi. 229, 246; Cohen, i. 254, 47, 48.

[14] See Suet. Cal. 18; Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 11.

[15] Dio, 60. 4, 1.

[16] Suet. Cl. 12.

[17] See 13. 29, 2 (and notes), where the further change made by Nero is mentioned.

duced in respect of the vast revenues under the direct control of the princeps[1].

On the division of the empire made by Augustus, the income of the Caesarian provinces had been as matter of course received by him, no doubt with some such understanding as existed with regard to the 'manubiae' of a general, that it should be expended on the public service, and possibly subject to a formal liability to render account, had any of his fictions of surrendering his imperium become a reality. As a fact, some statement of accounts was made from time to time by Augustus and his immediate successors[2], nor can it be doubted that he and they observed a careful distinction between their 'patrimonium' and the income received in virtue of their office[3], though both alike were designated as 'res suae,' 'res familiaris,' &c.[4], and though there is no sufficient trace of any central department of imperial finance[5], which, so far as it was centralised at all, must have been administered by the princeps personally.

It is apparently from the time of Claudius[6] that we begin to find used in contrast to 'aerarium' the term 'fiscus,' or 'fiscus Caesaris'; and, as the choice of this name would seem to have been determined by its use under the Republic to denote the public store kept in the treasury or sent from it to a magistrate[7], and under the early Empire as a name for the exchequer of this or that separate province or department[8], it had attached to it, notwithstanding its distinction from the aerarium, the associations of a public fund of some sort.

[1] On this whole subject, see Hirschfeld, Unters. pp. 1–10 and 285–287: Momms. Staatsr. ii. 998, foll. The various points in dispute between these eminent writers cannot here be discussed.

[2] Suet. says of Gaius (Cal. 76), 'rationes imperii, ab Augusto proponi solitas, set a Tiberio intermissas, publicavit.' Tiberius had probably not dropped the practice until his retirement to Capreae. It does not seem to be traceable later (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1025).

[3] This is clearly shown in the account given by Suet. (Aug. 101) of the will of Augustus, and of the statement with which he accompanied it: see note on 1. 8, 3.

[4] See 4. 6, 5; 12. 60, 6, etc., and the expression of Augustus (Mon. Anc. 3. 34), 'quater pecunia mea iuvi aerarium.'

[5] The 'fisci' of separate provinces are noticed below (note 8).

[6] Tacitus uses this contrast in speaking of affairs under Tiberius (2. 47, 3; 48, 1; 6. 2, 1; 17, 1), but is thought to be using the language of his own times, and to speak more correctly when he says simply 'sibimet seposuit' (6. 19, 1). No trace of this meaning of 'fiscus' is found in the 'Monumentum Ancyranum,' or in any writer before Seneca, who says (de Ben. 60. 7, 3), 'Caesar omnia habet, fiscus eius privata tantum et sua.'

[7] Thus Cicero (Verr. 3. 85, 197) opposes it to the private 'cista' of the magistrate himself: 'H.S. quos mihi senatus decrevit, et ex aerario dedit, ego habebo et in cistam transferam de fisco.' Suet. (Aug. 101) speaks similarly of the sum stored up ('confiscata') by Augustus to pay his legacies.

[8] Thus we find in inscriptions of the early empire the expressions 'fiscus Asiaticus,' 'Gallicus,' 'Judaicus,' 'frumentarius,' etc. These several 'fisci' are distinctly mentioned in Suet. Aug. 101 ('quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis, et vectigaliorum residuis').

It is also from this date that the great department 'a rationibus,' with its presiding freedman[1] and its staff[2], appears to originate, or at least to attain its importance, still indeed, and for some time to come, in form and in the rank of its functionaries, a mere department of the household of the princeps, but not, as it would seem, without some quasi-magisterial accountability on the part of its chief[3].

It is impossible here to trace the consequences of the change thus initiated, or to show how the 'fiscus,' though still in a juristic sense quasi-private property[4], became more and more distinct from the 'res privata principis[5],' and gradually gathered into itself all the revenues of the empire[6].

In foreign affairs the most pressing question was that of the Jewish race, both in their own land and elsewhere. In Judaea, jealous at all times of even the ordinary incidents of Roman sovereignty[7], the desperate struggle provoked by the insane command of Gaius to erect his statue in the temple had indeed collapsed together with its cause[8]; but the recollection of the intended outrage survived, recalling dangerous memories of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, and ready on any pretext to burst into a flame[9]. By withdrawing the insignia of Roman rule from the country, and placing Agrippa over the whole dominion which his grandfather had held under Augustus[10], the double end was gained of rewarding a valuable ally, and of securing the temporary tranquillity of the country, under the rule of one who, though personally dissolute and worthless, had the popularity[11] which a native prince alone could win.

The Jews of the 'Diaspora' were dealt with by two edicts in similar terms, the one relating to those of Alexandria, the other to those of the empire generally[12]; in both of which the exceptional privileges allowed

[1] Pallas (see 11. 29, 1, and note) had probably no real predecessor, though earlier traces of the term 'a rationibus' are found: see Friedl. i. 152, foll.; Hirschfeld, 132; 286; and C. I. L. vi. 8409.

[2] 'Adiutores a rationibus' and other subordinate titles are found from this date (Hirschf. 33, foll.).

[3] Cp. the stipulation of Pallas in 13. 14, 2 ('pares rationes cum republica haberet'), and note there.

[4] Cp. Ulp. Dig. 43. 8, 2, 4 ('res fiscales quasi propriae et privatae principis sunt'): also the language of Nero (15. 18, 4) 'se annuum sexcentiens sestertium reipublicae largiri.'

[5] Hirschf. 9, foll.; Momms. ii. 962, 1.

[6] The gradual extinction of the 'aerarium' as a state treasury is traced in Hirschf. 19–23.

[7] The census had given rise to the insurrection of Judas of Galilee (Acts 5. 37), and after its suppression the lawfulness of tribute continued to be a burning question (Matt. 22. 16, etc.).

[8] H. 5. 9, 4.

[9] On this state of Jewish feeling, see Momms. Hist. v. 519–525 (E. T. ii. 195–201).

[10] Jos. Ant. 19. 5. 1. The district of Chalcis in Syria was also erected into a kingdom for his brother.

[11] Jos. Ant. 19. 7, 3, etc.

[12] Id. 19. 5, 2, 3.

by previous emperors to the Jews are fully guaranteed[1], and insults to themselves and their religion, such as a subsequent edict of Petronius, legate of Syria[2], shows to have been even afterwards prevalent, were forbidden. The warning added in one of these edicts to the Jews themselves shows that they also had similarly transgressed, and throws light on another act of opposite spirit, whereby the Jews in Rome itself (their only considerable settlement in the west[3]) were punished for some act of turbulence by expulsion[4], or at least by inhibition from exercise of their worship[5]. This edict of intolerance would however seem to have been (as in a former case under Tiberius[6]) only temporarily or partially carried out[7].

In Armenia, the position held under Tiberius was reestablished by releasing[8] and sending back Mithridates, the king originally chosen by him[9], who was enabled by the temporary weakness of Parthia to recover and maintain his authority[10].

The appointment of another Mithridates to the kingdom of Bosporus was less successful[11].

In Commagene, the wiser arrangement of Tiberius, who had constituted it as a province[12], was not reestablished, but Antiochus, whom Gaius had made king of the country but afterwards deposed and detained at Rome, was sent back[13]. The other vassal kings whom it had pleased Gaius to set up, such as Cotys of Lesser Armenia[14], Sohaemus of Ituraea[15], were left in possession. In another corner of Asia, the small free state of Lycia paid the penalty of its turbulence and anarchy in the loss of its independence[16], a change which resulted in its complete Hellenization[17]. The Rhodians soon afterwards suffered a similar penalty, but only temporarily[18].

In Mauretania, a restoration of the former state was impossible.

[1] These included not only the toleration of their religion, but also considerable self-government (Momms. v. 491, E. T. ii. 165, etc.), and freedom from military service (Id. 510, 723, E. T. ii. 186, 200).

[2] Jos. Ant. 19. 6, 3.

[3] Momms. 499; E. T. ii. 173.

[4] Acts 18. 2; Suet. Cl. 25, whose words ('inpulsore Chresto tumultuantes') have given rise to much discussion. The case of Aquila shows that Christian Jews shared the fate of their brethren.

[5] This version (Dio, 60. 6, 6) may be reconciled with the former by supposing either (with Mommsen) that the one sentence was tantamount in effect to the other, or that it preceded and led to the other.

[6] See 2. 85, 5, and note.

[7] Their subsequent presence in Rome is shown in the Epistle to the Romans (e. g. 16. 3), and in Acts 28. 17.

[8] See 11. 8, 1, and note.

[9] 6. 32, 5.

[10] 11. 8, 2. For his subsequent fate, see below, Ch. iv.

[11] The reasons of his appointment are unknown. For the sequel, see 12. 15-21.

[12] 2. 42, 7; 56, 5.

[13] Dio, 60. 8, 1: see 12. 55, 3, and note.

[14] See 11. 9, 3, and note.

[15] See 12. 23, 2, and note.

[16] See note on 13. 33, 4.

[17] See Mommsen, v. 307; E. T. i. 333.

[18] See note on 12. 58, 2.

Ptolemaeus had been summoned to Rome, and afterwards executed by Gaius[1], and had apparently left no heirs. His freedman Aedemon had raised the standard of national independence, and had led into the fastnesses of Mount Atlas the wild tribesmen[2], many of whose fathers had troubled the Romans already under Tacfarinas[3]. Roman forces appear to have been already sent against them by Gaius[4]; but it was not till the second year of Claudius that their subjugation was accomplished by the able generals Suetonius Paulinus and Hosidius Geta[5]; after which the country was divided into two provinces under procurators[6], with considerable military force[7], and the process of civilization and Romanization begun under Augustus received a further impulse[8].

It is, however, rather in the history of the European than of the Asiatic or African provinces that the government of this prince constitutes an era. It was probably from an exaggerated deference for the constitution of Augustus, coupled with the desire to show respect to the senate, that Macedonia and Achaia were given back to the rule of senatorial proconsuls and the change made by Tiberius in the interest of the provincials themselves was reversed[9]. A far more considerable and beneficial change was that by which the large dependent kingdom of Thrace was reduced in 799, A.D. 46, to a province[10]. The circumstances which led to the change are unknown to us; but we have sufficient evidence in past history that the kings set up by Rome were here, as elsewhere, unable to command the obedience of their subjects[11], and were only kept on their thrones by frequent interference of their protectors[12]; and that the direct government of part of the country, under the form of wardship, had shared the usual fate of half measures[13]; while the great value of the country as a recruiting ground was only to be turned to account at the cost of insurrection[14]. The change appears not to have been accomplished without bloodshed[15], but to have been thoroughly successful. Order was maintained by a procurator[16], and a garrison of two thousand troops[17]; and 'hardly any province furnished so

[1] Dio, 59. 25, 1.

[2] 'Romana arma primum Claudio principe in Mauretania bellavere, Ptolomaeum regem ulciscente liberto Aedemone, refugientibusque barbaris ventum constat ad montem Atlantem' (Plin. N. H. 5. 1, 1, 11).

[3] 4. 23, 1.

[4] It is stated in Dio, 60. 8, 6, that Claudius accepted the title of imperator for successes gained here before he was princeps. This fact may have misled Pliny (see note above) into the belief that the war began in his rule.

[5] Dio, 60. 9, 1: see above, p. 11.

[6] H. 1. 11, 3.

[7] H. 2. 58, 2.

[8] See Momms. v. 648; E. T. ii. 333.

[9] See 1. 76, 4, and note.

[10] Jerome, Chron.: see 2. 64, 3, and note.

[11] 'Ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti' (4. 46, 2).

[12] 3. 38, 4, etc.

[13] 2. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4.

[14] 4. 46, 2.

[15] See 12. 63, 3, and note.

[16] H. 1. 11, 3.

[17] Jos. B. I. 2. 16, 4.

numerous men for all parts of the war forces, especially the cavalry and the fleet, as this old home of gladiators and mercenary soldiers [1].'

In Gaul it is reasonable to suppose that such seeds of disorder as had survived the suppression of the rising under Tiberius [2] may have been quickened into further vitality by the baleful presence of Gaius and his army in 792, A.D. 39, and the following year. This may serve to explain a repressive measure of considerable importance, whereby a former decree of Tiberius for the extirpation of Druidism was to be repeated and energetically carried out [3]. The object was to remove a national hotbed of sedition, and to bring under Roman influence those of the nobility hitherto educated in the schools of the priests [4]; a result which the events of a generation later would show to have been very imperfectly attained. Otherwise these great provinces were to be dealt with by concession of privileges [5], and by the patronage which it was natural that an emperor born in Gaul should lavish on them.

In Germany the long quiet following on the recall of Germanicus and downfall of Maroboduus (interrupted only by the unsubdued revolt of the Frisians in 781, A.D. 28 [6]) had been rudely broken by the absurd invasion of Gaius [7]; and we find the peace of the frontier threatened. The once formidable Cherusci [8] seem already to have begun to sink into insignificance [9]; and are only heard of some years later as stooping to accept a Romanised prince, son of the renegade Flavus, as their chief [10]; but their standing rivals the Chatti [11] brought upon themselves an invasion, in which the last of the three eagles lost with Varus was incidentally recovered [12]; while the Chauci [13], notwithstanding a chastisement at the beginning of this period from Q. Gabinius Secundus [14], were still emboldened six years later to pillage the Gallic coast with small piratical ships [15]. This raid was energetically repulsed by Corbulo, who had also reduced the Frisii to submission, and was preparing a bold forward

[1] Momms. v. 193; E. T. i. 212.

[2] 3. 40–46.

[3] See note on 14. 30, 1. The passages there cited may be reconciled by supposing the earlier measure to have been ineffectual. It is also thought that one motive for the invasion of Britain may have been to complete this destruction.

[4] See Momms. v. 102; E. T. i. p. 112.

[5] See below, p. 33.

[6] 4. 72–74.

[7] See above, p. 17.

[8] 1. 56, 7, and note.

[9] Their decay in the time of Tacitus is described in G. 36. Their feud with the Chatti is alluded to in 12. 28, 2.

[10] On Italicus and his vicissitudes, see 11. 16–17.

[11] See 1. 55, 1, and note.

[12] Dio, 60. 8, 7. A subsequent predatory raid is described as punished by P. Pomponius, and as resulting in the restoration of some captive survivors of the army of Varus (12. 27, 3; 28, 2).

[13] On this tribe, once, in part at least, subject to Rome, see 1. 38, 1, and note. They must be supposed to have recovered their independence when the Romans withdrew.

[14] He received the surname 'Chaucicus' (Suet. Cl. 24).

[15] 11. 8, 1, foll.

movement which would have carried him even beyond the Weser[1], when he was peremptorily ordered to withdraw behind the Rhine, and to evacuate even what he had already won. This policy, whether of timidity or prudence[2], became a permanent law; and although some tribes[3] still remained in subjection, and tracts of pasture land are retained for the commissariat of the legions[4], no trace of military occupation on the right bank of the Lower Rhine remains[5].

All other military achievements of this period are eclipsed by the invasion and permanent occupation of Britain, the first and (till the time of Trajan) the only great departure from the cautious policy bequeathed by Augustus to his successors[6], and (as Claudius and his flatterers were never weary of repeating[7]) the first and only establishment of a trans-oceanic province. We need only note here the forethought and strategic ability with which it was carried out, on a scale which recognised at once the practicability and the difficulties of the enterprise[8].

This review of the foreign policy of Claudius would still be incomplete without a notice of the manner in which he conceives and carries out, with a boldness far beyond that of his immediate predecessors, the Roman idea of consolidation consequent upon conquest. Personal predilection, as well as the ripeness of the country for the application of the principle, combine to make Gaul the chief field in which this policy is displayed. It may probably have been from him that Vienna received its full burgess rights[9]; and the general measure by which the highest civic privilege, the 'ius honorum,' was extended to those who in all the three provinces of Gallia comata had hitherto enjoyed a more limited citizenship, and Aeduan senators were seen at Rome[10], marks a step more in accordance with the bold ideas of the dictator Caesar[11] than with those of the early principate. Generally, the large increase of civic population noted at his census[12] is probably due in no small measure to his own comprehensive policy; and the sarcasm of Seneca[13], who, himself one of the greatest gainers by former bestowal of 'civitas'

[1] By attacking the 'Chauci maiores': see 11. 19, 3, and note.

[2] Tacitus ascribes it to jealousy (11. 19, 7); but it is probable that the force required in Britain necessitated an unambitious policy in Germany.

[3] The Canninefates and part of the Frisians (probably the 'Frisii minores'): see Momms. v. 115; E. T. i. 126.

[4] 13. 54, 2.

[5] Momms. (l. l.). It should be remembered that the Rhine frontier here is that of the Alt-Rhine (see on 2. 6, 5).

[6] 1. 11, 7.

[7] See 'Oratio Claudii' (App. to Book 11), i. 40, and note.

[8] See below, ch. v.

[9] See 'Oratio Claudii,' ii. 16, and note.

[10] 11. 25, 1.

[11] Cp. the pasquinade quoted in Suet. Jul. 80 'Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in Curiam.'

[12] 11. 25, 8, and note.

[13] In the 'Ludus' (3, 3) Clotho is made to say that she wished to spare his life, 'dum hos pauculos, qui supersunt, civitate donaret. Constituerat enim omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos to-

on provincial subjects, lends his pen to give expression to the exclusiveness of Roman aristocracy, is only discreditable to himself.

Colonisation, always a powerful engine in the Romanization of the empire, had been in abeyance since the days of Augustus, but now receives an energetic impulse. To Claudius the famous towns of Augusta Treverorum[1] (Trier or Treves) and, in his later years, Colonia Agrippinensis[2] (Köln), and Camulodunum[3] (Colchester) owed their status; while less celebrated instances such as Sabaria[4] (Stein) in Pannonia, Aequum[5] in Delmatia, Apri[6] in Thrace, Iconium[7] in Lycaonia, Archelais[8] in Cappadocia, Ptolemais[9] (Acre) in Syria, and no less than six places (Tingi, Lixus, Iol or Caesarea, Oppidum Novum, Rusucurium, and Tipasa) either colonised or otherwise endowed with civic or Latin rights in the newly constituted provinces of Mauretania[10], show a steady purpose carried out in all parts of the empire.

The names assumed by towns, as Claudiopolis[11] (Bithynia and Cappadocia), Neo-Claudiopolis[12] (Galatia), Claudia Paphos[13] (Cyprus), seem to point to a gift of some favours or privileges which we cannot identify, as may also be the case with some of the many statues, medals, &c. belonging to this time, found in various places throughout the Roman world[14].

This sketch of the general policy at home and abroad, as initiated at the outset, and in many points consistently maintained throughout[15], will sufficiently support the credit for statesmanship which must be awarded to Claudius personally or shared by him with advisers[16] whom he had at least the good sense to follow; and will show how great deduction must be made from the representations of Roman satirists. Yet the satire is

gatos videre': but she will let him perish, 'quoniam placet aliquos peregrinos in semen relinqui.'

[1] This colony probably belongs to the time of Claudius, but is of uncertain date: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 126; Momms. Hist. v. 90; E. T. i. 99.

[2] 12. 27, 1.

[3] 12. 32, 5.

[4] Pl. N. H. 3. 27, 24, 146.

[5] See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 146.

[6] Id. 159.

[7] Id. 206.

[8] Id. 215.

[9] Pl. N. H. 5. 19, 17, 75.

[10] Marquardt, 328, 329.

[11] Id. 198, 215.

[12] Id. 201.

[13] Id. 234.

[14] Many such are cited in the sketch given by Lehmann, pp. 157–195. It should be noted in the above list that where we have only the name to go by, the foundation might equally have been due to Nero; but in most of the cases mentioned there are distinct grounds for assigning it to Claudius.

[15] It will be seen from the references that several of the matters mentioned belong to the later period, covered by the extant Books of the Annals.

[16] Among persons of the position of senators and statesmen, his most trusted adviser must have been L. Vitellius, a man of base character but of undoubted ability (see 6. 28, 1; 32, 5, etc.). Galba was also among his most intimate friends (Suet. Galb. 7); but it is impossible to distinguish their sphere of advice from that of his three great freedmen (see below, pp. 38, 39).

not without foundation in so far as the scheme of government was even at the outset impracticable or inconsistently carried out, and passed into a system showing manifold special vices of its own as time went on.

In the first place, it must have been plain to all who had insight, that the professed return to the Augustan idea of a dual government shared between the princeps and the senate was not really a *bona fide* restoration of what even at its best had been in many important points no more than a fiction [1]. The senate, shattered by a reign of terror of almost ten years' continuous duration [2], had neither the prestige nor the moral dignity to resume its lost position; nor have we any record of such discussion of public questions as is found in the best years of Tiberius [3], or even such as the policy of the early Neronian government [4] and the independence of individual senators (as Thrasea [5]) combined to realise for a short time afterwards. It was therefore no less perhaps from the necessity of the case than from the deliberate intention to encroach, that the political importance of the emperor's own functionaries is now so greatly augmented, and that from this period is mainly to be dated a new departure in the system of government, by which more and more of the work of the state is taken out of the hands of the senate and its magistrates, and knights, or freedmen, as ministers of the emperor and responsible to him alone, are found presiding over new departments of state at home [6], or with increased power and independence throughout the empire [7]. Again, the circumstances under which Claudius had attained his power had stamped a character upon it and formed a precedent.

[1] See Introd. I. vi. pp. 79–81.

[2] Since the fall of Seianus there had been no respite, except the short reaction at the first accession of Gaius.

[3] See 4. 6, 2, and note.

[4] See 13. 4, 3, and note.

[5] See 13. 49, 1, etc.

[6] These changes are fully set forth in Hirschfeld's work (see especially the summary in p. 281 foll.). The great department 'a rationibus' has been already noticed (see above, p. 29): from this time dates also the great importance of those 'ab epistulis' and 'a libellis,' the former as that through which passed all despatches to or from generals and governors, the latter as the channel of all petitions. A procurator and staff replaces the 'quaestor Ostiensis' (Hirschf. p. 139), and probably the other quaestors with 'provinciae Italicae' (see 4. 27, 2, and note); other such officers relieve the quaestors of 'stratura viarum' (Hirschf. p. 152); functions hitherto belonging to senators pass to a 'praefectus curatorum alvei Tiberis,' 'procurator ad ripas Tiberis,' and 'procurator aquarum' (Id. pp. 153, 163); and the increased supersession of other tribunals by that of the princeps brings in a 'procurator a cognitionibus' (Id. p. 208).

[7] Besides the judicial powers given to 'procuratores rei familiaris' (12. 60), it is noticed that the procurators governing provinces become more numerous and less dependent. Hirschfeld thinks the procuratorship of Judaea (which was subordinate to the legatus of Syria) the only province thus definitely organised under Augustus (p. 288); and it is certain at any rate that the provinces under knights, even if not (as he thinks) mere military 'praefecturae' without civil jurisdiction, were, at first, few and unimportant (see Introd. i. vii. p. 99): under Claudius even the newly acquired and extensive provinces of Thracia and the two Mauretaniae were held by governors of this rank, and even a freedman (Felix) is procurator of Judaea.

Himself the most unmilitary of emperors, he owed his imperium to the soldiers' oath, in which the senate had afterwards acquiesced; and this subordination of the senatorial decree to the military 'praerogativa,' purchased by a lavish donative, is seen again at the accession of his successor [1], and acquires a still more terrible prominence in later history. If again, as is probable, the military garrison of Rome was at this time substantially increased [2], the change must have been forced on the observation of all.

Nor were the character and surroundings of Claudius favourable to a permanent realisation of any good ideal of government, whether personal or constitutional, supposing him to have honestly contemplated it. Even the best side of his secluded life, his historical study, while it was in no respect a sufficient substitute for the great military achievements and important civil duties which had formed the training of Tiberius, had the positive fault of infecting his administration with the pedantry of a bookworm, and the vanity natural to one extolled by his courtiers as a miracle of learning and wisdom [3], and thus laid him fatally open to the assaults of pasquinade and satire. The Roman aristocrats, who cordially disliked the idea of admitting the natives of 'Gallia comata' within their ranks, would gladly seize on the abundant ground of ridicule afforded by the rambling erudition with which the proposer obscured rather than illustrated the practical reasons for the change [4]. The antiquarianism that could not be satisfied with the actual exercise of censorial powers, but must needs revive the censorship itself [5], could only bring out into stronger light the incongruities and inequalities of his action in the office [6]; while, in smaller matters, those who had their jest

[1] 'Sententiam militum secuta patrum consulta' (12. 69, 3).

[2] That the praetorian cohorts, which were nine in number under Tiberius (4. 5, 5), were not less than twelve in the time of Nero, is shown by the inscription to Gavius Silvanus, cited on 15. 50, 3. As the increase is not noted in any extant part of the Annals, it is suggested by Mommsen (Hermes, xvi. 643–647) that it was made by Claudius on his accession, in recognition of their services, and may have been mentioned in its place by Tacitus. He thinks it also probable that the urban cohorts, though they had not rendered similar service, became at the same time, perhaps, six. Their numbers are reckoned on continuously from those of the praetorians, and we find a Sixteenth urban cohort in an inscription of 819, A.D. 66 (Wilm. 1617), and it is suggested that the cohorts named as xvii and xviii (H. 1. 80, 1, and Med. text of H. 1. 64, 6) were urban. Of these, however, the former is generally taken to have been a 'cohors vigilum' (see Suet. Cl. 25); and in the latter place the text has generally been altered..

[3] The prevailing tone of flattery may be judged from Seneca's 'Consolatio ad Polybium' (see above, p. 23).

[4] See the fragments of the speech (Appendix to Book 11). A similarly disproportionate pedantic retrospect prefaces his real reason for granting immunity to the island of Cos (12. 61). The edict on the citizenship of the Anaunians, dated March 15, A.D. 46 (discovered in 1869), is noted by Mommsen (Hermes, iv. 99–131) as showing a similar pedantry in the strange grotesqueness of its style.

[5] See note on 11. 13, 1.

[6] See Suet. Cl. 16, where account is

at the shortlived addition of letters to the alphabet[1], the affectation of archaic spelling[2], the attempt to rescue from deserved decay the obsolete lore of the aruspices[3], might also have the satisfaction of pointing out that their august professor did not after all know the ancient meaning of the term 'libertinus[4],' and had forgotten his own researches on the computation of an Etruscan 'saeculum[5].'

Again, much as we may set down to a conscientious intention to discharge a public duty, and to a desire of emulating Augustus[6], we must ascribe also in no small degree to vanity and self-conceit that passion for the personal exercise of judicial functions which all authorities attest[7], and which, notwithstanding the record that many of his decisions were shrewd and original[8], and that some of the principles of law embodied in his judgments or legislative enactments are quoted with approval long afterwards by juristic writers[9], could not have worked generally for the public benefit. Even in ordinary cases such encroachment by the princeps in Rome and by his procurators elsewhere[10] on the ordinary tribunals was an injudicious weakening of their authority; nor could all the assiduity of Claudius prevent accumulation of arrears and harassing delays, shortened (if we are to believe our authors) by very summary modes of expedition[11]; while, in cases involving graver charges, 'a prince who centred in himself all functions of law and magistracy[12]' was but calling into existence and enriching a crowd of accusers to whom condemnations and collusive acquittals alike were profitable[13]. They felt they had only to study the humours of a single person, devoid of

given of his censorial acts, of his fifty edicts in one day, and of the grotesqueness of some of them.

[1] 11. 13, 3; 14, 5. None of them appear subsequently, except in very few inscriptions of the time of Nero.

[2] The form 'ai' is used for 'ae,' as in Insc. Or. 650, 714, etc.

[3] 11. 15, 1.

[4] Suet. Cl. 24. The distinction there drawn does not appear certain (see note on 11. 24, 7).

[5] On the modes of computation, see note on 11. 11, 2. Suet. states (Cl. 21) that Claudius, in his historical writings, had investigated and approved the calculation of Augustus, which he set aside in his own celebration.

[6] Suet. Aug. 33.

[7] Sen. Lud. 7. 4; Suet. Cl. 14; Dio, 60. 4, 3.

[8] Suet. Cl. 15.

[9] See Gaius, 1. 151, 171; Ulp. 11. 8; Dig. 4. 4, 3; 40. 15, 4, 1; Just. Inst. 3. 3, 1; Cod. Just. 5. 30, 3.

[10] On this extension of their jurisdiction towards the end of his rule, perhaps a consequence of the organisation of the 'fiscus' (p. 28), but prompted no doubt by his freedmen in the interest of their order, see 12. 60, and notes. It must have involved the evil of making the same person prosecutor and judge.

[11] The statement of Suet. (l. l.), 'absentibus, secundum praesentes facillime dabat,' may perhaps be the sober truth under the satire of Seneca (Lud. 12. 3, 37; 14, 2), that he decided after hearing one side or often neither; which itself even is probable in an irresponsible judge, surrounded by courtiers applauding his acumen and despatch.

[12] 'Cuncta legum et magistratuum munia in se trahens princeps materiam praedandi patefecerat' (11. 5, 1).

[13] On their venality, and the attack made upon them in the senate, see 11. 5-7.

mental equilibrium [1], deciding without publicity and without appeal, and subject to opportunities of domestic pressure beyond anything which could be applied to even the most subservient senate [2]. The result is a general sense of scandalous injustice, which it is one of the most popular acts of his successor to remove [3].

Nor was it only as an inspired judge or legislator, but also among the conquerors of the world, that his own vanity or the language of flatterers led him to aspire to fill a niche in history. That the British expedition should be commemorated in magniloquent words and stately memorials, and by claiming the right, so rarely exercised, to extend the 'pomerium' [4], and that he should consider that his own campaign of sixteen days [5] entitled him to the honour of a full triumph, was perhaps to be expected: it is more characteristic of the man, that in the space of some twelve years he should have twenty-seven times [6] received the title of 'imperator' [7] for victories, many of which seem to defy all attempt at identification [8], and should have kept up the fiction of incessant military glories by the prodigality with which he showered triumphal distinctions on his subordinates [9]. Other qualities resulting equally from his antecedents were still more mischievous.

It was a standing anomaly of the constitution that many offices which in a modern state would be important departments of the civil service were regarded as no more than posts in the chief citizen's household, unworthy of the dignity of any person above the rank of a freedman [10]. The consequent exaltation of the importance of persons of no recognised political status, checked at first by the aristocratic sympathies of Augustus and Tiberius [11], and hardly gaining time for full growth under Gaius [12],

[1] 'In cognoscendo et iudicando mira varietate animi fuit' (Suet. l. l.).

[2] See the account (11. 1–3) of the trial of Asiaticus 'intra cubiculum,' and of the influence exercised in it by Messalina and Vitellius.

[3] See the disclaimer of Nero (13. 4, 2).

[4] See 12. 23, 4, and notes; where it is shown that this line of limitation had lost all real importance.

[5] Dio, 60. 23, foll.

[6] See the inscription at the Porta Maggiore (Or. 54), etc.

[7] On this title see 2. 18, 2, and note. Augustus, for the achievements gained by himself or his generals during more than fifty eventful years, received it twenty-one times (1. 9, 2). Tiberius, who had already earned the title under Augustus (1. 3, 1), counts it but eight times at his death (Insc. Or. 691).

[8] Lehmann endeavours diligently to trace the occasions, but hardly succeeds in convincing.

[9] See 11. 20, 5, and note; Suet. Cl. 24.

[10] The chief instance is that of the three great departments (see above, p. 35) entrusted to Pallas, Narcissus, and Callistus (on whom see 11. 29, 1, and note).

[11] Cp. 4. 6, 7 ('modesta servitia, intra paucos libertos domus'), and note. Even under Tiberius a freedman became, at least for a time, praefect of Egypt (Dio, 58. 19, 6); and instances occur, both under him and under Augustus, of vast wealth gained by freedmen of the imperial household: see Friedl. i. 76, 77.

[12] Callistus had already attained under him a position of immense influence (Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 10).

finds its complete development under a prince who had been taught by fifty years of seclusion to hold little intercourse with statesmen and to be swayed by domestic counsels. Hence the intrigues of the palace play a part unknown before in the history of the government, and important events turn on the schemes of freedmen[1]; who, themselves excluded from the highest privileges of citizenship, had not the responsibility of public men and were not often likely to have patriotic aims, and who form a league under the baleful leadership of Messalina, for the gratification of her caprice and lust and for her and their own enrichment. Those who desired magistracies or other dignities had to beset the doors of these influential persons[2] and to win their support by bribes[3]; a system of universal corruption, outstripping all previous experience, sets in, and the 'avarice of the Claudian times'[4] becomes a by-word. Many of the wise schemes which have been mentioned to this emperor's credit become tainted with the prevailing venality; the extension of civic privileges degenerates into a sordid traffic[5]; great public works furnish opportunities for the peculations of the directing freedman[6]. Agrippa wins by bribery a boon destined to cost streams of blood a generation later, the indulgence of his regal ambition to fortify Jerusalem[7]. After his death, whatever good had been done in Judaea by a conciliatory policy is undone by the misgovernment of Cumanus and Felix[8]; the latter of whom especially was enabled by the overwhelming influence

[1] That the influence of his three principal freedmen (see above, p. 38) was in no way restricted to their department, is evident from their action in respect of his last marriage (see 12. 1, 2), and from many other places. Other names of note belonging to this rank are those of Polybius, Felix, Harpocras, and Posides (Suet. Cl. 28). See also Friedl. i. 78.

[2] Seneca states (Ep. 47, 9) that he had seen the former master of Callistus waiting at his doors in vain.

[3] *Μεσσαλῖνα οἵ τε ἀπελεύθεροι . . . τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐπιτροπείας καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ἀφειδῶς ἐπώλουν καὶ ἐκαπήλευον* (Dio, 60. 17, 8): see also Suet. Cl. 29; and the flattery of Pallas by the senate related in 12. 53, 2.

[4] H. 5. 12, 5: cp. the contrast suggested by Nero in 13. 4, 2.

[5] Claudius Lysias says (Acts 22. 28) *πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκτησάμην*, and Dio states (60. 17, 6) that Messalina and the freedmen regularly sold the 'civitas,' at first for large sums, afterwards for a mere trifle.

[6] See what is said of the Fucinus tunnel in 12. 57, 4. The accusing authority (that of Agrippina) is the worst possible; but the vast wealth amassed by Narcissus makes any such charge probable in itself. The fact that the great Claudian aqueduct had already fallen out of repair in 815, A.D. 62 (see the insc. of Vespasian, Or. 55), suggests a similar story.

[7] 'Per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto iure muniendi, struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum' (H. 5. 12, 3). The two statements of Josephus, that Agrippa was forbidden to go on with his work by Claudius, on the information of the legatus of Syria (Ant. 19. 7, 2), and that the walls were left unfinished by his death (B. I. 2. 11, 6) are perhaps reconcileable with each other and with Tacitus. That much had been previously done for the restoration of what had been destroyed by Pompeius (H. 5. 9, 1), is evident from the history of the siege.

[8] See 12. 54. Both these governors are represented as making profit out of the brigandage which they permitted.

of his brother Pallas to persist for years in 'exercising the right of a king with the nature of a slave'[1]; nor is it to be wondered at that from the death of Agrippa the originating causes of the Jewish rebellion are to be traced[2]. In another part of the East, a Roman officer is bought to connive at the atrocities of Radamistus, and bribes his own soldiers to do the same[3]; and the governor, apparently one of the freedman class, is similarly induced to support that prince's seizure of Armenia[4], with the result of throwing the whole country again into the power of Parthia[5]. M. Silanus, a man of the highest rank, is stated to have made a sordid traffic of his proconsulate of Asia[6], in 808, A.D. 54.

But in the case of Claudius, as in that of Tiberius, far the gravest evils rose from timidity armed with an absolute power[7]. Messalina and Narcissus had learnt even at the outset, in the case of Appius Silanus, the ease with which, by playing upon his fears, he could be got to take the life of any eminent citizen[8]. Nor was it long before graver causes of fear took hold of him. An organised conspiracy, such as Tiberius, and afterwards Nero, had to face at a late period of their rule, befel him in his second year[9], and launched him at once on a course of sanguinary terrorism in which constitutional privileges were cast aside[10]; and the ease with which one man of mark after another was struck down taught him the despot's well-known lesson, how far he could safely venture. Those known by name to us[11] were probably only the most prominent among many victims. At another time a noble household was wrecked at a blow, by the execution of his own son-in-law Pompeius Magnus, together with his father Crassus, his mother Scribonia, and others[12].

Messalina, the prime mover in most of these cruelties[13], is described by Tacitus (to judge from the fragment remaining to us) in much

[1] H. 5. 9, 5.
[2] See Mommsen, Hist. v. 527; E. T. ii. 203.
[3] See 12. 45, 5; 46, 5. Dio states (61. 6, 6) that this officer was replaced by an equally corrupt successor, who had been 'praef. vigilum.'
[4] 12. 49, 2.
[5] 12. 50-51. See below, ch. iv.
[6] See note on 13. 1, 1.
[7] His general timidity is described in Suet. 35, 36.
[8] For the story, see note on 11. 29, 1.
[9] This conspiracy (on which see above, p. 11) is said to have arisen from the distrust inspired by the murder of Silanus. One of the conspirators, Q. Pomponius, was already menaced with accusation by Suillius (13. 43, 3). Several other attempts against Claudius are recorded, but some, at least, were probably stories made up to work on him.
[10] His solemn promise to subject no citizen to torture was set aside (Dio, 60. 15, 6).
[11] See above, l. l.
[12] Sen. Lud. 11, 2. Those of the family whose names are given as Tristionia and Assarion cannot be identified.
[13] See 13. 43, 5, etc. It is to be noted that Nero, who had no motive to spare Claudius, is there made to state, on the authority of that prince's private documents, that he had never forced any one to undertake an accusation.

the same terms as by others; as one whose unbridled profligacy made a pastime of the interests of the state [1], whose influence was used solely to exalt her favourites or to destroy those who disdained her advances, or in any way crossed her path. Of the 'many murders perpetrated at her bidding' [2], we may take as a sample the case with which the Eleventh Book opens, in which, to appease the mere jealousy of wantonness and the further promptings of cupidity, four lives at once are sacrificed [3]. It is her will to destroy a rival in the affections of a pantomimist, and yet to spare her favourite himself; and the coveted possessions of the senator on whom the charge is shifted make him all the more a welcome victim. Men of the highest rank are ready in a moment to effect her purpose; a consular accuser rakes together all the antecedents of the accused to secure a conviction, and when even the intimidation exercised by her own presence [4] was insufficient to coerce her husband's judgment, when the graver charges are on the point of ignominiously breaking down, and the defence had even extorted some touch of womanly feeling from herself [5], the most influential senator of the day steps in to gratify her still relentless purpose by ensuring the fate of the accused through a ready stratagem [6], while she herself, by mere force of threats, terrifies Poppaea into suicide [7]: two eminent knights are attacked by the well-worn artifice of a dream story, and condemned by a subservient senate to complete her vengeance [8]; and the dotard, who had even forgotten that any charge against Poppaea existed [9], has instilled into him a vindictive hatred of the memory [10] of the man whom, if left to himself, he would have acquitted, and is persuaded to heap rewards on those who had taken even an insignificant share in the transaction [11].

To such a narrative the only fitting climax is supplied by that of her last catastrophe; in relating which Tacitus pauses for a moment to bespeak the readers' credence by an earnest protestation that he has added nothing to the record of his authorities [12]. The story as it stands is indeed of so astounding a character that it has been thought that in some of its most important particulars we have an audacious

[1] 12. 7, 5.

[2] 11. 28, 2. Among those specified are those of Appius Silanus (see above, p. 40), Julia, the daughter of Germanicus (Dio, 60. 8, 5), her husband, M. Vinicius (Id. 27, 4), Julia, daughter of Drusus (Id. 18, 4), Justus Catonius, the praefect of the praetorians (Id. 18, 3), Polybius (Id. 31, 2). Dio also states that she made the conspiracy of Camillus a pretext for destroying those obnoxious to her, and on the other hand saved those who bribed her (Id. 15, 5; 16, 2).

[3] See 11. 1–4, and notes.

[4] 11. 2, 1.

[5] 11. 2, 3.

[6] 11. 3, 1.

[7] 11. 3, 5.

[8] 11. 4, 1, foll.

[9] 11. 2, 5.

[10] See 'Or. Claudii,' ii. 14, and note.

[11] 11. 4, 5.

[12] 11. 27, 1, 2.

falsehood, resting probably on the memoirs of Agrippina[1], and that the true version is that given by Suetonius alone, and by him mentioned only to be dismissed, that Claudius, in fear of an alleged omen, portending danger to the husband of Messalina, endeavoured to avert it by becoming a consenting party to her marriage with Silius[2]. It would remain to be supposed that Narcissus was still able to compass her destruction and that of her partisans by turning the emperor's fear into another channel, and representing the political dangers[3] of the alliance which, acting no doubt under the advice of his freedmen, and probably of Narcissus himself, he had but just sanctioned. Whether this supposition, added to the difficulty of explaining how, in a matter of such notoriety, so important a circumstance as the previous cognizance of Claudius could have been effectually concealed from the contemporary and eminent authorities whom Tacitus has followed, is not even more incredible than the story handed down to us, is an open question. In either case we have the same fine-woven tissue of intrigue; the plot on foot can only be betrayed by a counterplot; should she once so much as gain a hearing, all is lost, and the intended victim would join the chief offender in taking vengeance on those who sought to save him.

Messalina has neither found nor deserved to find apologists; but there may be reason to believe that the memoirs of her rival have furnished exaggerations of her enormities. It is difficult to believe that so much wickedness can have been crowded into a married life which seems to have begun at about the age of fifteen, and ended at about that of twenty-three[4]. Juvenal's terrible description of her worst orgies[5], though not uncorroborated by other writers[6], is yet neither supported by the hostile Seneca[7], nor by what is extant of Tacitus. To some such extent alone

[1] On these, see Introd. i. p. 11.

[2] 'Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit, quod nuptiis, quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit, inductus quasi de industria simularentur, ad avertendum transferendumque periculum quod imminere ipsi per quaedam ostenta portenderetur' (c. 29). Suet. implies that some fiction only of a marriage was consented to; but Merivale, who accepts this version (ch. 50), considers that he must also have legally divorced her.

[3] The view taken by Tacitus, that Silius contemplated some appeal to force, derives support from the presence of the 'praefectus vigilum' and the procurator of the school of gladiators (11. 35, 7) among his accomplices.

[4] See Merivale, l. l. Her age is inferred from that of her mother, whose years are said not to have differed much from those of Agrippina (12. 64, 5). As the latter was born in 768, A.D. 15 (see Introd. i. pp. 139, 145), we should hardly suppose Domitia Lepida to have been born earlier than A.D. 9 or 10, or to have become a mother earlier than about A.D. 25.

[5] Juv. 6, 115–132.

[6] Plin. N. H. 10. 63, 83, 172; Dio, 60. 18, 1. Some modern authorities have supposed her stricken with a form of insanity known apparently to physicians as nymphomania.

[7] Seneca had owed his banishment to her and his recall to Agrippina, yet he speaks of her fate (Lud. 11, 5) without

have we the means of criticising the unanimous testimony which has covered her name with infamy.

The guilty wife is no sooner in her grave than her successor comes to the front, and supplies a dominant influence for the remainder of this rule. By her lineage, higher than that of even Messalina or Claudius [1], she would bring as her dower an accession of strength even to a prince; and few women had learnt so much from the schooling of vicissitudes. In her thirteenth year she had been passively given in marriage [2] to one whose character was said to be as detestable [3] as his rank was exalted; at her widowhood, in her twenty-fifth year, she is found 'prostituting herself to Lepidus in the hope of empire [4],' sent into exile, stripped of property, separated from her two-years' old son. Restored to position at her uncle's accession [5], and further enriched by a subsequent marriage and widowhood [6], she begins a new career of ambition, binding the wealthiest freedman to her interest by unscrupulous profligacy [7], and winning for her son a prominence which had nearly cost their lives [8].

In causing the fall of her rival she may probably have taken no part [9]; but in the intrigue of which the palace again becomes the focus she throws her own blandishments into the scale [10]; and, if we are to believe our authorities, the incestuous marriage was won by previous incest [11].

Nor was she to be satisfied with the position of an emperor's wife; she would be all, and more than all, that Livia had been to Augustus, and govern the Roman world under the shadow of a feeble husband or a stripling son. In the words of Tacitus [12], 'all power centred in a woman; but the reins of bondage were now drawn with a firm and masculine hand: there was all outward show of decorum, and often dignity, and such immorality alone as served her interests'; and the domestic history of the remaining years is little more than a record of the stages by which

saying a word of her crimes. Merivale notes that, though she had procured Seneca's banishment, she had evidently not laid hands upon his wealth.

[1] See her pedigree, Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 145; see also 12. 42, 3.

[2] 4. 75, 1.

[3] Tacitus gives no judgment on his character. Velleius calls him (2. 10, 2) 'nobilissimae simplicitatis iuvenem'; but Suet., who describes him (Ner. 5) as 'omni parte vitae detestabilem,' alleges some facts in support. His statement is however questioned by Schiller (p. 61, 5).

[4] The account given by Dio (59. 22, 6–8) is thus supported by Tacitus (14. 2, 4). It is added by Dio and Suet. (Cal. 24) that she and Julia were habitually treated with outrage by Gaius and his crew.

[5] Dio, 60. 4, 1.

[6] After endeavouring to secure Galba (Suet. Galb. 5), she had married Crispus Passienus (Id. Ner. 6), on whom see 6. 20, 2, and note; Lehmann, p. 231, foll. He may have died during his second consulship in 797, A.D. 44, as a 'suffectus' is found in his place as early as May 4 of that year (see Lehm. 236; Schill. 65, 3).

[7] 12. 65, 4; 14. 2, 4.

[8] 11. 12, 1.

[9] This would seem to follow from the fact that her enemy Narcissus, not her partisan Pallas, was the mover in it (11. 29, 2).

[10] 12. 3, 1.

[11] 12. 5, 1.

[12] 12. 7, 6.

she advanced her own position and that of her son[1]. She amasses wealth first and foremost[2]; for in that age every man had his price: the recall and advancement of Seneca[3] gives her the popular position of a protectress of culture[4], and the most brilliant writer and most versatile politician of the day as her ally. Above all, she takes care to secure a far stronger interest, by obtaining the command of the praetorians for her nominee[5]. The outward marks of ascendancy come in due course. She is the first emperor's wife to receive the title of 'Augusta'[6], the first whose name is joined with his on the coinage[7], the first woman after whom a colony is named[8]: at the pageant of Caractacus[9] and the opening of the tunnel of Lake Fucinus[10], she sits as the emperor's equal at his side. In the case of Vitellius[11], she showed her power to protect her partisans, in those of Lollia Paulina[12], and of Calpurnia[13], her power to destroy real or possible rivals; and, while pushing the popularity of her son[14], and reserving what duties were odious for her husband[15], she appeared willing to let the realization of her final aims wait on the course of nature. But new dangers gathered round her path. Besides a powerful hostile party in the senate[16], Narcissus, a deadly enemy, neither to be reconciled nor supplanted, was at the emperor's side, and was organising a fresh intrigue[17] with the same steady purpose which had struck down Messalina in the plenitude of her power. He had personally nothing to hope from Britannicus, whom he had probably joined with others in supplanting[18]; but he was menaced by still more imminent danger from Agrippina and her son: while Claudius lived he was safe, and it was only on the latter side that the life of Claudius was threatened[19]. Hence he bent all his energy to undo the past, to restore the emperor's affection for his son by blood, and to destroy the intruders. Agrippina's first attempt to attack him through the failure of the Fucinus tunnel[20] had evidently failed, and his prompt countercharge[21] had probably lodged

[1] The stages of Nero's advancement are given below in their place (p. 51).

[2] 12. 7, 7.

[3] 12. 8, 3.

[4] 'Laetum in publicum rata ob claritudinem studiorum eius' (12. 8, 3).

[5] 12. 42, 1–2.

[6] 12. 26, 1. Livia did not receive this title till the death of Augustus (1. 8, 2); Messalina was never formally allowed it (Dio, 60. 12, 5), though it is given to her in some provincial coins.

[7] See Eckh. vi. 257; Lehmann, B. iv. 595; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 831.

[8] 12. 27, 1.

[9] 12. 37, 5.

[10] 12. 56, 5. Another distinction is mentioned in 12. 42, 3.

[11] 12. 42, 4–5.

[12] 12. 22, 1, foll.

[13] 12. 22, 3.

[14] 12. 58, 1.

[15] 12. 59, 1.

[16] This is shown not only by the attempt to overthrow Vitellius, but still more by the actual condemnation of her instrument Tarquitius Priscus (12. 59, 4).

[17] 12. 65, 2, foll.

[18] The first steps of this are represented as taken 'arte eorum quis ob accusatam Messalinam ultio ex filio timebatur' (12. 9, 2).

[19] See the difficult passage 12. 65, 2, 3.

[20] 12. 57, 4.

[21] 12. 57, 5. The change of mind in

more deeply; and she, though victorious in their great trial of strength in the case of Domitia Lepida [1], and successful also in procuring the execution of a favourable will [2], could not but be aware of the growing reaction in favour of Britannicus [3], and of the ominous hints [4] betokening a change in the emperor's mind, which might break out at any moment to her destruction. Her resolution was soon taken [5], nor had she long to wait for her opportunity: Narcissus had so little measured the daring of the woman whom he had now defied to the death, as to be induced to leave his post for a health resort [6]; and his few days of absence sufficed to seal the fate of his patron [7] and his own [8].

Unfortunately for the reputation of Claudius, the 'laudatio,' in which Seneca had extolled his forethought and wisdom in terms too fulsome for the senate's gravity [9], has perished, while the 'Ludus,' in which the same ready pen was describing a perfectly opposite character almost before the ink of the former composition was dry [10], survives, and has influenced all later narratives. It cannot, therefore, be matter of wonder that modern criticism has raised the question whether we have not, in the accounts of this prince, a conflict of satire with sober history [11], and whether the undoubted evidence of painstaking and successful government [12] must not discredit a host of anecdotes of incapacity and folly. Too much may have been made of his grotesque physique and manners, his total want of self-possession, uncontrollable bursts of laughter, tottering gait, trembling head, drivelling lips, and other such abnormities [13], fatal defects from a Greek or Roman standpoint, but not inconsistent with ability and shrewdness [14]. Nor would Tacitus, who has certainly

Claudius, producing such remarks as are noted in 12. 64, 4, seems to date from this time.

[1] 12. 64, 4, foll. That Narcissus was straining all influence against Agrippina is shown from 12. 65, 2; and Lepida was the grandmother of Britannicus. Agrippina had however also another object in view, to secure her own undivided ascendancy over Nero (12. 64, 6).

[2] On this disputed point, see 12. 69, 5, and note.

[3] See 12. 65, 5.

[4] Claudius was reported to have said ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται, and to be intending to give Britannicus at once the toga virilis, 'ut tandem populus R. verum Caesarem habeat' (Suet. Cl. 44).

[5] 12. 64, 4.

[6] 12. 66, 1.

[7] On the discrepancies of detail in the story of the death of Claudius, see notes on c. 66-67.

[8] 13. 1, 4.

[9] 13. 3, 2. Its tone may have resembled that of the 'Consolatio ad Polybium' (see above, p. 23). The deification which followed seems hardly to have been taken seriously (see note on 13. 2, 6).

[10] It was produced at the Saturnalia, little more than a month afterwards.

[11] See Merivale, Hist. ch. 49, 50.

[12] See above, pp. 24-34.

[13] See Sen. Lud. 5, 2, &c.; Suet. Cl. 30; Juv. 6, 622. That his countenance was handsome when in repose is admitted by Suet. and fully borne out by his extant effigies.

[14] The parallel which has been drawn between Claudius and James I of England (Macaulay, Essay on Lord Nugent's memorials of Hampden) is certainly close as regards many of his peculiarities. In the following description: 'his big head, his slobbering tongue, his quilted clothes, his rickety legs, his goggle eyes, stood

done him more than justice as an orator, both by exemplification and estimate[1], have called him imbecile on the strength of such failings as he hardly cares to notice, such as his pedantry and vanity[2], or even the absurd inequality and absence of all dignity and proportion in his edicts and other public utterances[3]. The justification of such a term is rather to be found in his unconsciousness of patent facts going on around him, his apathy, weakness of will and purpose, readiness to be swayed by those who had the last word with him, qualities by no means resting on the sole evidence of satire.

That his nature was to some extent always such, Tacitus undoubtedly, and perhaps erroneously, believed[4]; but on the other hand, much of the contrast between the good and evil reports of him is explained by difference of time, and by circumstances which probably did not escape an acute historian. It is in the outset of his rule that nearly all his wisest acts are reckoned[5], when his own energies were at their best, and when all about him, from senators to freedmen, must have seen that their interest lay in producing a good impression to contrast strongly with the preceding tyranny. It is after six years of wearying routine and unrestrained sensual indulgence that we find him in the premature senility and decay which Tacitus represents, and which he may have traced, as in the case of Tiberius, step by step; leading to a stage in which the speech on the Gallic question is almost a solitary flash of energy, and such senseless extravagances as the preparation of a great fleet for a sham fight on lake Fucinus are hardly to be distinguished from the wild excesses of Gaius[6]; while the general state of relaxed tension, in which Rome is again brought as near to famine as it had been under the misgovernment preceding his rule[7], important imperial interests are allowed to be endangered by a Felix[8] or a Paelignus[9], and weak

out in as grotesque a contrast with all that men recalled of Henry VIII or Elizabeth, as his gabble and rhodomontade, his want of personal dignity, his vulgar buffoonery, his coarseness, his pedantry, his contemptible cowardice' (Green, Short Hist. p. 464), we might almost read Claudius for James, and Augustus or Tiberius for Henry or Elizabeth.

[1] The version of his speech given in 11. 24, must be pronounced, in comparison with the fragments of the actual oration, to be the very reverse of a caricature; and the estimate of his oratory in 13. 3, 6 ('nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireres'), is rather above than below his merits.

[2] See above, p. 36.

[3] Here again, such traits as are noted in Suet. Cl. 14, 15, 40, etc. find a counterpart in the publications of James I 'on subjects which ranged from Predestination to tobacco' (Green, l. l.); for which Henri Quatre called him 'the wisest fool in Christendom.'

[4] See the expressions noted above, p. 20.

[5] See above, p. 25, foll.

[6] See 12. 56, 1, foll. We must suppose the whole of this great fleet to have been either built on the spot and left there afterwards to decay, or conveyed to and from the place with enormous labour.

[7] 12. 43, 3.

[8] 12. 54, 1, foll.

[9] 12. 49, 1, foll.

governors are not seldom sent even to the most important provinces, as Didius to Britain[1], Quadratus to Syria[2]; and no less his own astonishing ignorance of, or indifference to, the immorality of his wife[3], and the scandalous traffic[4] of which the colossal fortunes amassed by his freedmen was patent evidence, must be held to go far to bear out the charge against him. It is probably also in the later period that the alleged judicial scandals[5], so far as they are well founded, must be placed; and if the account of the trial of Asiaticus is to be believed, any other such cases are probable. The story of his abject prostration during the crisis of Messalina and Silius must have been known to many[6] and cannot well be a fabrication; and the description of his state of mind during the intrigues for his subsequent marriage[7], though resting, no doubt, on private sources only, derives credit from what was plainly matter of public record, his speech to the praetorians emphatically renouncing all idea of matrimony[8], the immediate sequence of a decree to enable him to marry Agrippina[9], and the extraordinary reasons announced by him for his selection[10].

After this marriage, under the influence of a more imperious will, he is still further effaced, and appears to originate nothing. He does his wife's bidding in all that tends to advance herself and her son, and in destroying the last safeguards that surround Britannicus[11]. He moves a law, and expressly assigns the credit of it to Pallas[12]; he proposes a gift of indemnity, expressly as a boon to his physician Xenophon[13]. Otherwise, his chief function is to condemn and punish[14], which appears to have been no uncongenial task to him. For it is his cruelty, far more than any other quality, that has left an indelible stain upon his character[15], and requires as its most lenient explanation the supposition of such callous apathy as is the natural outcome of imbecility. The number of his victims is made to reach a formidable total of all ranks and classes[16]; and we have hideous tales of the levity with which he

[1] 12. 40, 7.

[2] 12. 48, 1, foll.; 54, 6. The boast made at the close of his life, that no foreign disaster had befallen the empire under him (13. 3. 1), is less due to himself or his officers than to such external causes as the weakness of Parthia (11. 8, 2). See above, p. 40.

[3] This must be at least generally true, whatever view is taken (see above, p. 42) of the marriage with Silius.

[4] See above, p. 39.

[5] See above, p. 37. Lollia is expressly said (12. 22, 2) to have been condemned unheard.

[6] The usual train of the emperor must have been present with him: see 11, 31, 1, etc.

[7] 'Ipse huc modo, modo illuc, ut quemque suadentium audierat, promptus' (12. 1, 4).

[8] Suet. Cl. 26.

[9] 12. 1–7; Suet. l. l.

[10] Suet. Cl. 39.

[11] 12. 41, 8.

[12] 12. 53, 2.

[13] 12. 61, 2.

[14] 12. 59, 1, etc.

[15] The whole real force of the 'Ludus' turns on this point: see also Suet. Cl. 34, and the expression 'omnem Claudii saevitiam' in 13. 43, 3.

[16] In Sen. Lud. 14, 1, the text is dis-

ordered executions[1] and forgot that he had ordered them[2], and of his keen delight in witnessing the butchery of the executioner and torturer[3]. Many of these traits of utter insensibility must have been shown, not only in the privacy of the palace, but before the eyes of Rome; and if these are not to be set aside as fabrications, we have no reason to doubt the statement, that at the death, however deserved, of one who had been for some ten years his wife he 'showed no sign of hate, joy, resentment, sorrow, nor in short of any human feeling[4],' and that he 'had neither likes nor dislikes, except such as were instilled and dictated[5].'

III. *Nero.*

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

puted, but, as read by Haase, gives 'occisos senatores xxx, equites R. c.c. ceteros ccxxi, ὅσα ψαμαθός τε κόνις τε.' Suet. (Cl. 29), who appears to follow Seneca, gives the number of senators as thirty-five, the knights at more than three hundred, but omits mention of the others. A sufficient number of names of senators put to death, forced to suicide, or otherwise made away with, can be made out from various sources (see above, pp. 11–14, etc.), to render it probable that, if we had the complete record of Tacitus before us, such a number as that given by Seneca or Suet. could be made up: we have small means of identifying the knights (see 11. 4, 1; 35, 6; 36, 4, and above l. l.); but Tacitus speaks (13. 43, 3) of 'equitum Romanorum agmina damnata': as to the third item, we are altogether in the dark, unless the stories alluded to in Suet. 34 and the vast number of 'sontes' in 12. 56, 5 may illustrate it. It should also be observed that in such a list, just and unjust condemnations are massed together.

[1] Seneca speaks (Lud. 6, 2) of a familiar wave of his hand by which he gave the sign for executions.

[2] Suet. Cl. 39; Dio, 60. 14, 2. The 'multi' of Suet. is probably one of his usual exaggerations, perhaps taken from Seneca, who (Lud. 14, 5) makes Claudius meet his victims in the lower world, and ask 'quo modo huc venistis?'

[3] Suet. Cl. 34. If there is any truth in the statement of Seneca (de Clem. 1. 23, 1), that more parricides were condemned under him in five years than in all the generations before, we should suspect that some at least were condemned unjustly to give him opportunities of witnessing the punishment.

[4] 11. 38, 3.

[5] 12. 3, 3.

NOTE.—Throughout this section, especial and constant obligations must be acknowledged to H. Schiller's 'Geschichte des Römischen Kaiserreichs unter der Regierung des Nero'; Berlin, 1872.

Our history of this prince in Tacitus is on the whole as complete as that of Tiberius: in both some notice is given of the previous life, and a full history is preserved of the greater part of the rule; in both an important portion is lost to us which is ill made up by what can be gleaned from other sources. In the case of Nero, the fact that the lost portion includes the end involves also the loss of any general judgment which the historian may have thought fit to give by way of summary.

We have the notice of his mother's marriage to Gnaeus Domitius, who united a descent on his mother's side from Octavia to the high lineage of his paternal family[1], and who afterwards narrowly escaped peril of his life by the opportune death of Tiberius[2]. His son, originally named Lucius Domitius, was born at Antium on Dec. 15, 790, A.D. 37[3], and he himself died of a dropsy at Pyrgi about two years later[4]. His death was almost immediately followed, or perhaps preceded, by the exile of Agrippina[5]; and the child, thus left practically an orphan, fell under the charge of his aunt Domitia Lepida, but returned after little more than a year to that of his mother on her restoration by Claudius[6]. It is idle to speculate on the supposed effects of his aunt's neglect or indulgence at this early age[7]; but his subsequent intimacy with her, kept up till she fell a victim to the jealousy of Agrippina thirteen years later[8], may not have been without a share in determining his propensities. Besides receiving back from Claudius his paternal inheritance, which Gaius had seized[9], the boy was further enriched by that of his step-

[1] 4. 75.
[2] 6. 47, 2; 48, 1.
[3] Suet. Ner. 6.
[4] Suet. Ner. 5. On his character, see above, p. 43, note. Suet. makes him remark cynically at the birth of his son, 'nihil ex se et Agrippina nisi detestabile et malo publico nasci potuisse.'
[5] The date of this event is fixed by that of the detection of the conspiracy of Gaetulicus (see above, p. 18), and must have been about the end of 792, A.D. 39; so that, if Suet. (Ner. 6) is right in making the death of Domitius precede it, the words 'trimulus patrem amisit' can only at the utmost mean that the child had then completed his second year.
[6] Suet. l. l.
[7] Suet. gravely states that she placed him 'sub duobus paedagogis, saltatore atque tonsore.' It is possible that her indulgence in after life (12. 64, 6) may have partly consisted in bringing him into intimacy with such persons.
[8] See above, p. 45.
[9] Suet. l. l.

father Crispus Passienus[1], and would seem to have been under the 'tutela' of Asconius Labeo[2], and to have at this time received instruction from two persons, one of whom, named Burrus, must have known Greek[3], while the other was the ingenious but utterly profligate and unscrupulous Anicetus[4]. The perils to which his own exalted rank, no less than his instrumentality, however passive, in his mother's schemes, exposed him, were skilfully turned to account by surrounding his boyhood with a halo of legend, and describing the assassins sent by Messalina as scared away by tutelary serpents[5]. The sympathy enlisted by this and other such devices, manifesting itself in an unmistakeable preponderance of applause in favour of the grandson of Germanicus on his first public appearance with his younger rival Britannicus in the 'ludus Trojae' at the secular games[6], would naturally have increased his danger, had not Messalina been turned from her schemes of vengeance by the keener passion[7] which in the next year impelled her to her death.

A new chapter in the youth's life opens in 802, A.D. 49, with the exaltation of his mother; who, though all her schemes centred in his advancement, disciplined him with the full force of her imperious nature[8], and, seeing that at this stage of his life the prestige of an education which none could hope to rival would be above all things helpful to him, lost no time in placing him under the instruction of the greatest literary genius of the age[9]; who, being besides indebted

[1] This was perhaps as early as 797, A.D. 44 (see above, page 43, note).

[2] 13. 10, 1.

[3] This Burrus is mentioned in Jos. Ant. 20. 8, 9, as παιδαγωγὸς τοῦ Νέρωνος, τάξιν τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος ('ab epistulis Graecis'); which latter office we should suppose him from the words to have been still holding at the time spoken of (A.D. 60 or 61). It seems better, with Friedländer (i. 162) and others, to distinguish him from Afranius Burrus, than, with Mommsen (Hist. v. 529, 1; E. T. ii. 206, 1), to identify them. Josephus had already in the same chapter (20. 8, 1) mentioned the latter, and had correctly designated him, and would hardly, in mentioning the same person so shortly afterwards, have given a wholly different description of him without any apparent reason. Also the offices held by this person are those usually held by freedmen, whereas Afranius Burrus must have been a Roman knight, and is stated to have had a distinguished military career (12. 42, 2): nor is the venality and corruption imputed by Josephus to the person here mentioned in accordance with the character generally attributed to the praefect.

[4] See 14. 3, 5, and note.

[5] See 11. 11, 6, and note.

[6] 11. 11, 5; 12, 1. The two boys were then nine and six years old.

[7] 11. 12, 2.

[8] See the contrast drawn in 12. 64, 4, between her treatment of him and that of his aunt.

[9] The antecedents of Seneca can here be only briefly noted. Born at Corduba probably three or four years before the Christian era, he had been brought in childhood to Rome, where his father the rhetorician had reached equestrian rank. The son had attained the quaestorship (ad Helv. 19. 2), and was a leading senatorial pleader by the time of Gaius, who had marked him for death in a fit of jealousy, but hearing that he was likely soon to die naturally, dismissed him from consideration (Dio, 59. 19, 7) with some contemptuous remarks on his composi-

to her for his restoration from an eight years' banishment, and for his advancement to the praetorship[1], might be relied upon to understand that he was summoned for a double purpose, and was also to lend all the resources of his versatile intellect to the furtherance of her schemes[2].

As to the actual course of instruction, we are told[3] that the boy touched all subjects desultorily, that his mother dissuaded him from philosophy as unsuitable to his position[4], that his teacher, seeking to enlist his admiration for his own style, discouraged the study of the great orators of antiquity[5], that not only during the most youthful period of his rule, but for some years afterwards, his more formal utterances were all composed for him[6]; and the pursuits in which his energy found scope[7] were assuredly not inspired by Seneca, who may probably have understood that the ulterior purposes indicated above were the most real end to be served by his presence.

It remains only to note the stages of his advancement. Those who had overthrown Messalina thought it their interest to supplant Britannicus[8]; and anything could be got out of Claudius in his present mood[9]: so immediately after Agrippina's marriage an address from the senate procures the betrothal of Octavia to the stepson[10]; a tale magnified by Vitellius having previously sufficed to set aside the already affianced

tions and style (see above, p. 17, 5). In the first year of Claudius, Messalina procured his relegation to Corsica, on a charge of adultery with Julia, daughter of Germanicus (Dio, 60. 8, 4), which, as coming from such a source, is generally disbelieved. The only assumption of his guilt in Tacitus is placed in the mouth of his enemy and accuser Suillius (13. 42, 3), and his banishment is alluded to as 'iniuria' (12. 8, 3); but Dio, who is persistently hostile to him elsewhere, not only (61. 10, 1) takes this charge as proved, but also accuses him of similar misconduct with Agrippina; any intimacy with whom was probably supposed by Roman scandal to take this form. Of his extant writings, the 'Consolatio ad Marciam' has been thought to date before his exile; the 'Consolationes' 'ad Helviam' and 'ad Polybium,' which (besides some epigrams) were certainly written during it, show how readily he could adapt himself to the mood of Stoicism or flattery. If Dio (l. l.) is to be believed, he even wrote at this time a panegyric on Messalina and the freedmen, which he afterwards suppressed.

[1] 12. 8, 3.

[2] 'Ut Domitii pueritia tali magistro adolesceret, et consiliis eiusdem ad spem dominationis uterentur' (12. 8, 3).

[3] Suet. Ner. 52.

[4] That this study, beyond a certain point, was not thought desirable for Romans of rank, is to be gathered from Agr. 4, 4.

[5] Suet. l. l.

[6] The censure 'primum ex iis, qui rerum potiti essent, Neronem alienae facundiae eguisse' (13. 3, 3), is palliated by his youth; but the same was still the case five years afterwards (14. 11, 4), and perhaps still later. On the other hand, Nero is made to speak of himself as owing to his teacher the acquisition of a power of impromptu reply (14. 55, 1).

[7] See 13. 3, 7. An exception may seem due in respect of his turn for versifying; but Seneca was believed to have followed rather than guided his bent in this direction (14. 52, 3).

[8] 'Arte eorum quis ob accusatum Messalinam ultio ex filio timebatur' (12. 9, 2).

[9] 'Nihil arduum videbatur in animo principis,' &c. (12. 3, 3).

[10] 12. 9, 1.

L. Silanus[1]: a year later (803, A.D. 50), Pallas persuades his patron with equal facility that the adoption of the already designated son-in-law is recommended by precedent and policy[2]; and L. Domitius at twelve years old passes over the head of Britannicus as Nero Claudius Caesar. In the following year[3] he is pushed on before the usual time to assume the toga virilis, and steps at once into the position of a recognised successor as 'princeps iuventutis,' is designated to receive the consulship in his twentieth year, and at once to hold 'proconsulare imperium' everywhere except within the walls of Rome, and to become member of all the great priestly colleges[4]. The auspicious event is commemorated by largess to soldiers and people, and the heir is paraded at the votive games in the state dress of a magistrate. Two years later (806, A.D. 53) the betrothal of four years' standing is crowned by marriage; and the prestige of his culture is sustained by a series of orations, composed no doubt by the instructor, but gracefully delivered by the pupil, in a vein of popular generosity, to obtain privileges or subventions for various communities[5]. We may suppose also that during this period, it was not forgotten in his interest, that he had independent claims, irrespective of his adoption by Claudius, to be treated as the direct and true representative of the Julian Caesars[6].

The succession could hardly seem to be in doubt[7]; and the position of Nero had to all appearance more to gain than to lose by time; but Britannicus, however studiously effaced, paraded in a childish 'praetexta' to point the contrast to his rival's robe[8], and given in charge, on the pretext of a rash jest, to guardians chosen by his stepmother[9] and altogether faithless[10], had yet his partisans; and the threatened counter-plot of Narcissus[11], in an indirect issue of which, the trial of Domitia Lepida, Nero gave the first proof of his callous

[1] 12. 4, 1. [2] 12. 25, 1.

[3] 12. 41, 1, and notes. The two honours first mentioned had been granted by Augustus to his adopted sons at almost as early an age (see 1. 3, 2, and note); but to give any kind of 'proconsulare imperium' (on which see Introd. i. vi. pp. 69, 82) to one so young was altogether unprecedented. Agrippina, in claiming to have procured these decrees, specifies them among 'cetera apiscendo imperio' (13. 21. 6).

[4] See note on 12. 41, 2. Suet. also notes (Ner. 7) that he filled the office of 'praef. urb. ob ferias Latinas,' and that important cases, contrary to rule (see 4. 36, 1, and note), and to the command of Claudius, were brought before him.

[5] 12. 58.

[6] That he afterwards rested his title on this descent, would appear from many inscriptions (see Or. 728, 732, 3311) in which he is styled 'Divi Claudi filius, Germanici Caesaris nepos, Tiberi Caesaris Aug. pronepos, Divi Aug. abnepos.' That much was then thought of that descent, is noted by Schiller (77, 3) from 12. 2, 3; 13. 1, 2.

[7] The statement that he was formally proclaimed successor rests only on Zon. 11. 11. That he was probably designated as heir by the will of Claudius is shown on 12. 69, 5.

[8] 12. 41, 4. [9] 12. 41, 5-8.

[10] 13. 15, 5.

[11] See above, p. 44.

heartlessness by appearing as a witness to compass the death of one who had loaded his life with indulgences[1], brought about the catastrophe of Oct. 12, 807, A.D. 54. The praetorians, schooled for more than three years by their praefect[2], and already tampered with[3], were not slow to earn their donative[4]; the legions had been probably secured by similar means[5]; and before the same day closed, a single sitting of the senate had confirmed the youth, who still wanted two months of completing his seventeenth year, in all the imperial powers and privileges[6].

In his sketch of the rule of Nero, Tacitus has plainly intended each Book to constitute a period; and of these, that included in the Thirteenth Book, comprising the fragment of 807, A.D. 54, and the four complete years following it, has won celebrity as the 'quinquennium Neronis'[7]. At its outset, the central figure is that of the empress mother, who had seemed to have gained the aim of all her crimes, and to have only to step into the position won and take up the reins of power. With even a small share of the tact and skill with which Livia had adapted herself 'to the finesse of her husband and pretences of her son'[8], and had enjoyed a lifetime of no less substantial than informal power[9], she might have succeeded in the comparatively easy task of moulding her young son to her will; and to any less imperious nature, the outward show of dignity granted her would have been ample. 'The best of mothers'[10] was the first watchword given by Nero to the praetorians; the honours awarded to Livia at the death of Augustus were again repeated[11], and additions made to them. Her image appears on the coinage of her son[12], as before on that of her husband[13]; the Arval Brothers are permitted to use words implying her virtual association in government[14]; even some exercise of imperial functions which she chose to usurp were acquiesced in[15]; she had secured in the subservience

[1] 12. 64, 6; Suet. Ner. 7.

[2] 12. 42, 2.

[3] Cp. 'cohortes in urbe tentatas' (13. 21, 7).

[4] 12. 69, 3.

[5] See 13. 21, 7, and note.

[6] According to Suet. (Ner. 8), he declined only (on account of his youth) the title 'pater patriae.'

[7] See below, p. 59, 5.

[8] 'Cum artibus mariti, simulatione filii bene composita' (5. 1, 5).

[9] She is called 'dominationis socia' in 4. 57, 4; but her 'inpotentia' mentioned there and in Dio, 57, 12, can enter into no comparison with that of Agrippina.

[10] 13. 2, 5.

[11] l. l., and note.

[12] See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 830, foll., and several specimens in Cohen, i. p. 275.

[13] See above, p. 44.

[14] 'Concordia honoris Agrippinae Augustae': see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1168, 1.

[15] The statement in Suet. Ner. 9 ('matri summam omnium rerum privatarum publicarumque permisit') is no doubt exaggerated. Tacitus does not help us to test the statements in Dio, 61. 3, 2, that she gave audience to embassies and wrote letters to foreign states and princes, except so far as the first part of the statement seems an exaggeration of the scene described in 13. 5, 3.

of Pallas[1] the instrumentality of enormous wealth, and of such knowledge of the secrets of government as none else possessed; while her son's advisers owed all to her and might well be expected to be her creatures.

Her first use of power was to strike down Narcissus, her persistent enemy[2], and M. Silanus, whose family, if not his personal qualities, seemed to make him formidable[3]. But this early display of the spirit in which she meant to rule was her first fatal blunder, and showed Burrus and Seneca that their foremost object must be to destroy her influence[4]. They could already work on the young prince's dissatisfaction[5] and make him assert himself; her attempt to share his seat of state at the reception of an embassy is skilfully parried[6]; her bold hope (if such she had) to receive a coordinate 'sacramentum' of the army and empire, and have her 'consortium imperii' formally ratified, is frustrated[7]; the senate is given to understand that, even when it met under the shadow of her unseen presence, it might vote against her wishes[8]; the popular measures of donative and congiarium are carried out in defiance of her earnest protest[9]; and within the palace itself, by the adroit intrigue of Seneca and his friends, her ascendancy is undermined through the counter-influence of Acte[10].

In this crisis again her want of tact was fatal to her: at first exciting her son's new passion by furious opposition, at another stooping to offer herself as its intermediary and confidant[11]; at one time offering him all her wealth[12], at another disdaining his most costly presents as a mere pittance out of the all that was of right her own[13], she overacted both parts and deceived no one, and the breach grew daily wider. A single stroke deprived her of the mainstay of her political position by the removal of Pallas[14], and her answer was a declaration of war. She

[1] 13. 2, 3.

[2] 13. 1, 4.

[3] 13. 1, 1.

[4] 'Certamen utrique unum erat contra ferociam Agrippinae' (13. 2, 3).

[5] Nero strongly disapproved of the murder of Narcissus (13. 1, 4), and disliked the arrogance of Pallas (13. 2, 4). Suetonius gives a story (Ner. 34) that at this period he so chafed under the dictation of his mother as to threaten to abdicate and retire to Rhodes.

[6] 13. 5, 3. She had been accustomed to a nearly similar position as the wife of Claudius (see above, p. 44).

[7] This hope is only known to us as laid to her charge after her death (14. 11, 1), and as rendered more probable by her name having been included, with those of her sisters, in the oath to Gaius (Suet. Cal. 15).

[8] 13. 5, 2.

[9] See below, p. 63, and 14. 11, 1, where her opposition is represented as resting on private pique only. The donative can hardly have been promised (12. 69, 3) without her sanction. The assertion that her haughtiness and avarice excited the indignation of the people rests only on words ascribed to Poppaea (14. 1, 3).

[10] 13. 12, 1.

[11] 13. 13, 1-2.

[12] 13. 13, 3.

[13] 13. 13, 6.

[14] 13. 14, 1.

would undo all that she had done; Britannicus was fit to enter upon manhood, and was the rightful heir; she would stand at his side before the soldiers and brave the upstarts to do their worst[1]. To this defiance the murder of Britannicus was the answer[2], and conveyed a warning that she had to do with a nature as unscrupulous as her own[3]. The weak countermove by which she took the injured wife Octavia under her patronage, and attempted to form a party within the state[4], was met no less decisively. The guard, with whose officers she was tampering[5], was withdrawn from her doors[6]; the decaying nobility, to whom she was paying new court[7], quickly forsook her levees when she was removed to another house from the palace[8]; and the position which she had been so laborious in building was shown to be founded on a sand-heap[9]. Her enemies are now emboldened to strike even at her life, and a charge made up against her by clients of Junia Silana, and supported by the emperor's aunt Domitia[10], is represented as almost scaring Nero already into matricide[11]. But she was still too formidable to be thus brought to bay: Burrus and her accusers are overpowered by her passionate reply; an interview with her son obtains rewards for her friends and punishment for Silana and her tools[12]; her mere words, 'the incautious utterances of affectionate jealousy'[13], are not yet to be weighed against all that she has done and dared for Nero; and with this last successful stroke she is for three years lost sight of, till a new force arises to compass her destruction.

It is of more importance to trace the ideal of government conceived for the young prince by Seneca, and the extent to which it was realised.

After a few graceful sentences on his own position[14], the Augustan programme is once more proclaimed, and the duality of government, which had become more and more a fiction, is ostentatiously paraded[15], with a popular disclaimer, like that of his predecessors[16], of what had made the preceding rule most odious, especially of the passion for

[1] 13. 14, 5.
[2] 13. 15–16.
[3] The murder of Claudius had been her own reply to the similar threat of Narcissus (12. 65, 5).
[4] 13. 18, 3.
[5] l. l.
[6] 13. 18, 4.
[7] 13. 18, 3.
[8] 13. 18, 5.
[9] 13. 19, 1.
[10] 13. 19, 2–4.
[11] 13. 20, 5. The gradual way in which he is afterwards represented as working himself up to this course makes against this statement.
[12] 13. 21, 8.
[13] 13. 21, 8.
[14] 13. 4, 1.
[15] 13. 4, 5.
[16] Thus Gaius had initiated a reaction against the severities of Tiberius (Suet. Cal. 15, 16; Dio, 59. 2), and Claudius had repudiated the extravagances of Gaius (see above, p. 25). Each of these had also restored persons exiled or degraded by his predecessor; but Claudius seems at his death to have left few in that condition (see 13. 11, 2; 32, 1).

personally engrossing all judicial functions[1], and of the rampant venality and rule of freedmen[2].

The senate takes him at his word, and is stimulated during this period into a temporary display of activity, revising recent acts of Claudius[3], showing inclination to increase the patron's power over his freedmen[4], strengthening the master's terrible hold on the fidelity of his slaves[5], circumscribing the limits of magisterial authority[6], and passing various other legislative decrees, some of which survived in the age of the jurists[7].

Also its functions as a court of justice are called prominently into play, not only in flagrant cases of ordinary crime[8], but especially to check the corruption which the spirit of the last rule had made prevalent. Cossutianus Capito and Numitor, 'the pirates of the Cilicians, are struck down by a righteous thunderbolt'[9]; a similar fate overtakes Laenas, the governor of Sardinia[10], and other similar criminals[11]; and the pent-up feeling against the odious accusers who had been tools for the destruction of the victims of Claudius and Messalina finds its outlet in the condemnation of Suillius[12]. Yet, that the course of justice certainly did not err on the side of severity was shown, not only by the mitigation of penalty in the last-named case[13], but also by several acquittals; in some of which the still continuing influence of corruption is clearly indicated[14].

Meanwhile, Seneca surrounds his pupil with the glory of such public virtues as most became his age and rank. A graceful modesty waives

[1] This promise is duly hailed by courtiers as a restoration of the course of law. Seneca says of his pupil (Lud. 4. 1, 24) 'legumque silentia rumpet'; and Calpurnius says 'Iam nec adumbrati faciem mercatus honoris, Nec vacuos tacitus fasces et inane tribunal Accipiet consul, sed legibus omne reductis Ius aderit moremque fori vultumque priorem Reddet, et adflictum melior deus auferet aevum' (Ecl. 1. 69–73). See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 106, 1.

[2] 13. 4, 2.

[3] 13. 5, 1.

[4] 13. 26, 1.

[5] 13. 32, 1.

[6] 13. 28, 2–4.

[7] See Merivale, ch. 52. Those noted belong more to the middle of Nero's rule; the 'Senatus consultum Turpilianum' dating from 814, A.D. 61 (see on 14. 41, 3), the 'Trebellianum' (see on 14. 46, 2) and 'Neronianum' from nearly the same time.

[8] As in the case of Octavius Sagitta (13. 44). The charge brought against Pomponia Graecina was remitted to a family tribunal (13. 32, 3).

[9] See 13. 33, 3, and note; Juv. 8, 92.

[10] 13. 30, 1.

[11] 13. 30, 2, &c. Subsequent cases are to be added (14. 18, 1; 28, 3; 46, 1), making a total of some twelve persons tried for 'repetundae' down to 814, A.D. 61, a greater number than we have in any similar period. Another case, that of Saevinus Pomptinius, not mentioned in the Annals, but alluded to in H. 1. 77, 6, may very probably belong to this period. In the extant account of Claudius, only two cases are given (12. 22, 4; 59, 4), in the latter of which the charge is stated to have been false.

[12] 13. 42–43.

[13] 13. 43, 6.

[14] 13. 30, 1; 33, 4; 52, 1–3. It is not clear as to some of these trials, whether they were held before the senate or Caesar (see notes).

for a time the title of 'pater patriae'[1]; 'when I shall have deserved it,' is his answer declining a vote of thanks[2]; other extravagant compliments are refused[3]; nor will he permit his first colleague in the consulship to swear to his 'acta'[4]; the first honours for which he makes request are to the memory of his father, and to the services of his former guardian[5]. His liberality is shown in magnificent gifts to friends[6], in the donative to the soldiers[7], the unusually large congiarium to the people[8], the remission of burdens[9], also in a subvention, perhaps to remedy past maladministration, to the public treasury[10]. Above all, he is to win renown by princely clemency: and speech upon speech are composed for him[11], set to the strain of the writer's famous treatise[12]; while their sincerity is attested by repression of delations[13], by acquittals[14], mitigation or remission of sentences[15]; so that whatever credit was due in this respect to the age of Augustus, or the first period of Tiberius, pales before the glory of a prince[16] who exclaims 'would that I could neither read nor write,' when a death-warrant lies before him for signature[17].

The duty devolving on his advisers of framing a public policy, which should favourably impress the Roman world, was at the very outset called into action by the turn of affairs in the East, as elsewhere described[18]. It is sufficient here to note that both in vigour of action and definiteness of purpose, an emphatic contrast was shown to the weakness and corruption of the previous period; and that the whispered misgivings of adverse critics[19] were not only silenced by the appointment of Corbulo, but swept away in a torrent of extravagant compliments awarded by the senate before a blow was struck[20].

[1] See above, p. 53, 6.

[2] Suet. Ner. 10.

[3] 13. 10, 1–2; note on c. 41, 5.

[4] 13. 11, 1.

[5] 13. 10, 1.

[6] 13. 34, 2, 3. This is noted as a general characteristic in Suet. Ner. 10; but the other chief special occasion mentioned in this period by Tacitus (13. 18, 1) had a sinister aspect as connected with the death of Britannicus.

[7] In this he only followed the example of Claudius (12. 69, 3).

[8] 13. 31, 2, and note.

[9] A fictitious remission is mentioned in 13. 31, 3, and some really valuable measures tending in that direction in c. 51. The latter are certainly made to be his personal act.

[10] 13. 31, 2, and note.

[11] 13. 11, 2.

[12] The 'de Clementia' of Seneca was composed about this time.

[13] 13. 10, 3; 43, 7.

[14] The charge against Pallas and Burrus (13. 23), probably also that against Celer (13. 33, 1), were tried before him. See also 13. 52, 1, and note.

[15] 13. 11, 2; 32, 2.

[16] 'Nemo iam divum Augustum nec Tiberii Caesaris prima tempora loquitur' (Sen. de Cl. 1. 1, 6).

[17] 'Vellem nescirem literas' (de Cl. 2. 1, 2; Suet. Ner. 10).

[18] See below, ch. iv.

[19] See the summary of public opinion in 13. 6, 2–6. Some are even made to imagine Nero as showing the youthful military genius of Pompeius or Octavianus.

[20] 13. 8, 1.

Elsewhere, our only record of foreign or provincial affairs is that better appointments seem to be made, and imperial interests seem more cared for than under the later Claudian rule. Veranius, from whom much was expected, succeeds Didius in Britain, and on his speedy death is succeeded at the close of this period by Suetonius Paulinus[1]; a new legatus of Lower Germany takes prompt action against occupations of territory previously overlooked[2]; a corrupt practice by which provincial governors managed to win condonation for their iniquities by indulging their people with gladiatorial shows, is forbidden[3].

As regards the home government, while the senate is encouraged to the discharge of the duties left to it[4], the supersession of so many of its functions and those of its magistrates, by procurators and other imperial officers, continues as under the Claudian system[5]; and an important further step is taken towards withdrawing the public treasury from senatorial control by placing it under praefecti, who, though senators of high rank, were the emperor's officers[6]. But the general reaction against Claudian venality and corruption is emphasized by the dismissal of Pallas[7], and appointment of a successor whose qualities made him long acceptable[8]. The same spirit is manifested in the onslaught on the extortions of the 'publicani,' an occasion memorable for the impulsive proposal recorded as directly originated by Nero, to abolish 'vectigalia' generally[9]. If we are to suppose the measure contemplated to have been really as sweeping as Tacitus has conceived it to be[10], and that the young emperor had any real comprehension of its scope[11], and any deliberate idea of establishing universal free trade throughout the empire, and leaving its whole income to be levied by direct tribute on the provincial subjects, we must see in it the first and most striking assertion of a purpose, more or less present in all his extravagances, of ruling by popular support; the goodwill aimed at in this case being that of Roman citizens everywhere, who paid no tribute, though contributing with all others to the 'vectigalia.' His

[1] See below, ch. v.

[2] 13. 54, 3, foll. On the general spirit shown in those quarters see c. 53, 1; 54, 1.

[3] 13. 31, 4, 5.

[4] A praetorian cohort is placed at the disposal of those appointed to check riot at Puteoli (15. 48, 3).

[5] See above, p. 35.

[6] 13. 28, 5.

[7] 13. 14, 1. The act would be so interpreted, though other reasons are given as prompting it.

[8] Claudius Etruscus (see note l. l.).

[9] 13. 50, 1, foll.

[10] It has been suggested (see note on 13. 50, 1), that the abolition was only intended to apply to Italy and the colonies of Roman citizens; but there is no evidence of such limitation. Schiller (p. 347, foll.) credits Nero with a wise and farseeing statesmanship in the matter.

[11] He is only represented as suggesting it to cut short the difficulty of controlling the publicani.

advisers, while prudently dissuading him from this headlong impulse, encouraged no doubt, and probably prompted, his bids for popularity in other directions, such as the largesses already mentioned[1], the assignment of public land to veterans to recruit the decaying population of Italian towns[2], the confidence shown in the populace by the withdrawal of the guard from the theatre[3], the erection of a new amphitheatre for the favourite amusement of the city[4].

Sustained by such measures, and by the renown and victories of Corbulo, the new government was no doubt winning golden opinions on every side; and it is probably to this combination of an energetic and successful foreign policy with an outwardly upright and popular home government, that these years of Nero owe the emphatic encomium given them by his great successor Trajan, as a period with which no other since the foundation of the principate could stand comparison[5]. To those who study the history as we have it, such high praise is hard to justify; nor would it seem as if Tacitus meant us to regard it as more than a period in which evil tendencies were kept somewhat in check, or skilfully concealed[6].

Such a view becomes eminently true, if we look at the development during this period of Nero's own character; of which even the best side stood in startling contrast to any ideal of a Roman autocrat. Youth might indeed excuse mere frivolity, such as that which made him at once on becoming princeps place himself under the instruction of the great harper of the day[7], fly from the task of composing his own speeches and edicts[8], and spend his time in a round of amateur attempts at engraving, painting, singing, driving, varied at intervals by fits of verse-making[9]. Yet, even this would wear a graver aspect, as men got to know that some of these pursuits had taken such hold on him, that his one ambition, restrained as yet by his mother's influence, was to exhibit his talent in public[10]. Still more ominous was it to hear that the ruler of the Roman world roamed the streets after dark with a band of rioters, wounding and beating quiet people, and turning the night into a scene of pillage[11]; that a young man of

[1] See above, p. 57.

[2] 13. 33, 2.

[3] 13. 24, 1.

[4] 13. 31, 1. The comparative humanity of the first show exhibited in it is worthy of record: Suet. says (Ner. 12), 'neminem occidit, ne noxiorum quidem.'

[5] According to Aurel. Vict. (Caes. 5, Epit. 5), Trajan was accustomed to say, 'procul differre cunctos principes Neronis quinquennio.'

[6] Thus he speaks of Nero's 'abdita adhuc vitia' (13. 1, 4).

[7] 'Statim ut imperium adeptus est, Terpnum citharaedum . . . arcessivit, diebusque continuis . . . assidens . . . et ipse meditari . . . coepit' (Suet. Ner. 20).

[8] 13. 3, 4.

[9] 13. 3, 7.

[10] 14. 14, 1.

[11] 13. 25, 1, foll.

rank, who had struck him in these brawls unwittingly, had been compelled to suicide[1]; that the riots of the theatre, always dangerous[2], and now all the more so from the withdrawal of the guard[3], were actually stimulated by his secret encouragement, and still oftener by even his open participation[4]; that the great families had already their foretaste of impending danger in the banishment of Cornelius Sulla[5]; that it was not the worst but the best side of his mother's character, her truer conception of princely dignity[6], her support of his noble and virtuous wife Octavia[7], that most estranged her from him. Above all, the murder of Britannicus, laid to his charge in the very first year of his rule, however condoned by men of lax morality[8], was the first step leading to the revolt of better minds from him. Without attaching too much credit to the alleged details of the deed and the horrors surrounding it, in which his already consummate wickedness is set forth to us[9], without even dismissing the supposition of a natural death as altogether impossible[10], we nevertheless find the universal belief of antiquity[11] too well supported by the obvious motive for such a crime[12], and too fully in accordance with the character and subsequent atrocities of Nero, not to deserve the general credence which historians still award to it.

[1] 13. 25, 2.

[2] See 1. 54, 3; 77, 1.

[3] See above, p. 59.

[4] 13. 25, 4. The evil became so grave that the guard had to be brought back, and the pantomimists expelled again (cp. 4. 14, 4) from Italy. The description in Suet. (see notes) goes even beyond that of Tacitus.

[5] 13. 47, 4. For the grounds which would make him seem formidable to Nero, see below, p. 70.

[6] See 14. 13, 3.

[7] See 14. 1, 1.

[8] 13. 17, 2.

[9] 13. 15, 4-17, 3.

[10] The question may reasonably be raised, why so comparatively public an occasion was chosen to perpetrate a crime which had been already attempted and could have been easily carried out under circumstances of privacy (c. 15, 6): again, whether we can suppose people to have been then able, by whatever decoction or concentration (see Suet.), to produce a poison so deadly as to take instantaneous effect, notwithstanding its dilution first in water, afterwards in the drink with which the water was mixed (c. 16. 3): also whether the sudden collapse of speech and breath described (l. l.) can be explained by the action of any then known poison as well as by epilepsy (c. 16, 5). If however we are to trust the statement (c. 17, 1), that his funeral had been arranged before the feast, these doubts become indeed weak by comparison.

[11] Tacitus alone gives the details of the actual administration, and the behaviour of the guests. Suetonius (Ner. 33) is more brief on these points, but professes to know more about the preparation behind the scenes. The only detail in Dio is that respecting the appearance of the body at burial (see note on c. 17, 1). Our earliest informant, Josephus, states in Ant. 20. 8, 2, that Nero 'got Britannicus to be so poisoned that the public should not perceive it.' In his earlier work (B. I. 2. 13, 1), he merely mentions it with the other similar crimes of Nero as facts already fully known to his readers. Seneca, whose words we doubtless read in the edict wherein Nero deplores his loss and throws himself for consolation on public sympathy (c. 17, 5), is made in his last moments to speak of the murder as an undoubted fact (15. 62, 3).

[12] See above, p. 55.

It was again within this period, in the fourth year of his rule[1], that a new and overpowering influence took hold of him, that of the beautiful and abandoned woman who, adding judicious coyness[2] to consummate profligacy, and combining in herself the characters of the intriguer[3], the wit[4], the devotee[5], and the fatalist[6], was enabled during the seven remaining years of her life to keep a firm hold on his affections[7], and to lead him on from crime to crime.

The remainder of this sketch will deal rather with distinct subjects than successive periods, and show the way in which various parts of his character unfolded themselves. One such subject is almost completed in the Fourteenth Book, which begins with one and ends with another of the two great atrocities of his domestic life.

With regard to the first of these, the graphic narrative of Tacitus is confirmed in its main points by other writers, though for much of the detail and nearly all the antecedent circumstances he is our sole authority.

It would be an error to suppose that when the struggle for political ascendancy had been decided against her, and the show no less than the substance of regency had vanished[8], Agrippina was no longer a force to be reckoned with. At what seemed then the crisis of her fate, a single interview with her son had so worked upon him as to change the whole face of the situation[9]; and even as the breach went on widening, the habit of submission to that terrible will had become such second nature, that Nero never dared to indulge his longing to exhibit himself on the stage[10]. Poppaea again could feel that never, while Agrippina lived, could she hope to become Nero's wife[11], and that he could easier be led to compass her death than to defy her openly. So she plies him with all the weapons of sarcasm, reproach, lamentation, tenderness[12], herself well

[1] See 13. 45, 1.

[2] 13. 45, 2; 46, 3, &c.

[3] Her skill in working upon Nero is shown repeatedly. See 13. 46, 4; 14. 1, 1; 61, 3, &c.

[4] The expression 'sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium' seems intended to be stronger than the strict sense of the words would show.

[5] She was strongly inclined, if not actually a proselyte (see Appendix on 15. 44), to Judaism, the most spiritual religion then generally known. See note on her burial (16. 6, 2).

[6] The number of astrologers admitted to her privacy is noted in H. 1. 22, 2.

[7] His affection for her throughout is noticed in 16. 6, 1. She on the other hand is described (13. 45, 3) as wholly without feeling ('neque adfectui suo aut alieno obnoxia, unde utilitas ostenderetur illuc libidinem transferebat').

[8] See above, p. 55.

[9] See above, l. l.

[10] The influence of Agrippina, shown by the immediate outbreak of Nero in this direction after her murder (14. 13, 3), may be compared with that of Livia Augusta. Though Tiberius was a strong ruler and had nearly reached his seventieth year, her hold on him, though rarely outwardly noticed, was such that her death was a breaking loose from restraint (5. 3, 1) and a new departure in his life (6. 51, 5).

[11] 14. 1, 1.

[12] 14. 1, 2–4.

aware of the end to which she was leading him, and supported by the connivance of those advisers who found it convenient to promote the estrangement of mother and son and to shut their eyes to its consequences [1].

It is characteristic that Agrippina should be represented as attempting the most revolting means to win back her son [2], and when this failed, purposing, as though her last stroke was spent, to retire to some secluded spot [3]. Whether it be true or not, that her vile scheme was turned skilfully to account to make him avoid her society [4]; certain it is that aversion had soon turned to deadly hate, that some time before the end of his so-called 'quinquennium [5]' the project of cold and deliberate matricide was shaping itself in his mind [6], and that soon the only question was that of the means [7].

The description of the last scene has few rivals in historical narrative [8]. We have the show of reconciliation and of ardent renewal of affection, lulling to rest the suspicions which previous experience of attempts against her, and positive hints of that now contemplated [9] had caused her to entertain, the last banquet, the passionate farewell, in which hypocrisy seemed not to be unmixed with some lingering love, the calm night, as if divinely sent to make the crime indisputable [10], the bungling attempts to carry out the plot, her presence of mind, preservation, and bold effort to make show of treating the whole as accident, the panic of Nero, his hasty consultation with Burrus and Seneca, the desperate attempt to make out an assassin in her messenger [11], the despatch of Anicetus to 'make good his undertaking,' the scene at the villa, the tragic command 'ventrem feri,' her death under a multitude of wounds [12], her hasty burial [13]. Superstition adds its touch in the story of a wailing voice or a trumpet call heard near the tomb [14], besides the other apparatus of the tragic drama [15], and recorded prodigies at Rome [16]. Nero, realising the vastness of his crime only on its completion [17], is hardly reassured by the congratulations on the spot [18], or by the effusive acceptance of the lying missive from the pen of

[1] They are represented as unable to believe matricide possible (14. 1, 5).

[2] Tacitus himself seems chiefly to accept the story from its suitability to her character (14. 2, 4).

[3] 14. 3, 1.

[4] Seneca is made to employ at this crisis the agency of Acte (14. 2, 2).

[5] The whole scheme was matured and executed by the March of the following year. See on 14. 4, 1.

[6] Besides the influence of Poppaea, the sense that he had now a firmer hold of power is represented as ripening his plan (14. 1, 1).

[7] 14. 3, 2.

[8] 14. 4–8.

[9] 14. 4, 6.

[10] 14. 5, 1.

[11] 14. 7, 7.

[12] 14. 8, 6.

[13] 14. 9, 2.

[14] 14. 10, 5.

[15] Suet. Ner. 34.

[16] 14. 12, 3.

[17] 14. 10, 1.

[18] 14. 10, 2–4.

Seneca[1] by senate[2], people[3] and provinces[4]; till at last after lingering months in Campania[5], reassured by the encouragement of the crew of villains who are already represented as surrounding him[6], and heralding his return by the ostentatious pardon of some of his mother's victims[7], he comes back in a kind of royal progress[8], celebrating in the Capitol what is described as his triumph over the enslaved conscience of Rome[9], and relieving his mind by plunging into dissipation.

The facts of the story, with the exception of some details[10], are not questioned. It is more to the purpose to ask whether any ground of imperious state necessity, any genuine belief that 'either she or Nero had to perish[11],' can be alleged to palliate the deed. Lawless and daring as she was, possessed of unbounded wealth[12], with the praetorians at least so far for her as not to be counted on to act against her[13]; it might seem that the keys of a revolution lay within her grasp. On the other hand, she knew that by success she would only enter on a new phase of danger, and that whoever she had set in Nero's place would be first to regard her as too formidable to live[14]. Her best defence is found in the indictment laid before the senate[15], in which we may be sure that the ingenuity of Seneca had raked together all that rested on a tittle of fact or could anyhow be made to seem credible. We are referred back to her attempts to assume a regency, to her vindictive endeavours to retaliate on the nobles, soldiers, and people who had refused to swear allegiance to her[16]; her misdeeds as wife of Claudius are thrown into the scale[17]; but as against her son, beyond the silly tale of Agerinus and his dagger[18], not a word is laid to her charge. As a set off to the infamy which Seneca has to bear for composing this document, we may well acquit

[1] On this official defence see below. It had the effrontery to speak of the shipwreck as accidental, and to offer for acceptance the story of Agerinus and his dagger (14. 11, 3), and made Nero speak of himself as unable to realise his preservation or to rejoice at it (see note on c. 11, 4).

[2] 14. 12, 1. Thrasea alone is recorded as protesting by leaving the senate house.

[3] 14. 13, 1.

[4] The loyal address from Gaul begged him by the mouth of Julius Africanus 'ut felicitatem tuam fortiter feras' (Quint. 8. 5, 16).

[5] 14. 13, 1, and note.

[6] 'Deterrimus quisque, quorum non alia regia fecundior extitit' (14. 13, 1). Cp. 'histrionibus et spadonum gregibus et cetero Neronianae aulae ingenio' (H. 2. 71, 1).

[7] 14. 12, 5.

[8] 14. 13, 2.

[9] 'Publici servitii victor' (14. 13, 3).

[10] The story that Nero gazed on his mother's corpse, given as doubtful by Tacitus, seems refuted by other facts stated (see note on 14. 9, 1).

[11] This is suggested as the thought of Seneca and Burrus at the last crisis (14. 7, 3).

[12] 12. 7, 7; 13. 13, 3, &c.

[13] Burrus states that they would not lift a hand against a daughter of Germanicus (14. 7, 5).

[14] The words in 13. 21, 8, whether really spoken by her or not, well express her position.

[15] 14. 10, 5.

[16] 14. 11, 1.

[17] 14. 11, 2.

[18] 14. 10, 5; 11, 3.

him and Burrus of being cognisant of the plot beforehand, a charge doubtfully made [1], unsupported by evidence, and in itself improbable. Men of that age and experience would hardly have caught at the suggestion of the freedman, to get up a sham shipwreck on a calm night in the bay of Baiae.

Thus died Agrippina, at the early age of forty-three [2], at the bidding of the son for whom her greatest crimes were perpetrated, after having been for ten years the most prominent woman up to that date in all Roman history. It may seem a fitting retribution that one who had so blackened other reputations by her memoirs [3] should have the load of her own sins aggravated by falsehood, and that the greatest known intriguer should have been the victim of counter-intrigue; nor has anything but the atrocity of her murder won sympathy for one whose end was otherwise but a fitting climax to her life.

It excites surprise that full three years should have intervened before the murder of Agrippina was followed by the divorce of Octavia and marriage of Poppaea. But few qualities are more remarkable in Nero than his timidity, and the manner in which he felt his way from crime to crime, as if to ascertain gradually how far he could safely venture. In the present case, the realisation of his own chief longing, the public exhibition of his accomplishments, though tentative and gradual, yet in some form began at once; but the elevation of Poppaea from mistress to lawful wife, an object of far more interest to her than to himself, was so delayed as to make her fear that she had intrigued in vain. It was not till his shy, quasi-private appearance as a charioteer in his gardens [4] had been succeeded by his entry on the stage at the Juvenalia [5], not till the adverse murmurs at the institution of the Neronia [6] had been somewhat silenced by the experience of it [7], not till the opportune death of Burrus had placed the command of the praetorians in safer hands [8], and Seneca had retired with shattered influence into half privacy [9], not till the dangerous Rubellius Plautus had followed Sulla into exile [10] and both had after an interval been put to death [11], not till he saw these and all his other atrocities regarded as matters of public admiration and enthusiastic rejoicing [12], that he had courage to turn over another page in his domestic history [13].

[1] 14. 7, 2. Seneca's bitter enemy, Dio, feels no such doubt (see note).

[2] For her age see Introd. i. 139, 145.

[3] See Introd. i. p. 11.

[4] 14. 14, 4.

[5] 14. 15, 6.

[6] 14. 20, 2, foll.

[7] 14. 21, 7.

[8] 14. 51, 5.

[9] 14. 56, 6.

[10] 14. 22, 5.

[11] 14. 57–59.

[12] 14. 60, 1.

[13] It might have perhaps been delayed yet longer, but for the fact that Poppaea was about to become a mother (14. 61, 5),

The divorce and murder of Octavia have been always looked upon as beyond the reach of question or palliation; and such details as are given by other authors agree in the main with Tacitus[1]. We may note how the long hesitation of Nero was warranted by the difficulties which actually took place, by the break down of the first attempt to set up a charge against her through the unflinching loyalty of most of her slaves, and by the reception of the first news of her divorce with such a demonstration of popular feeling as had rarely set itself up against a Caesar[2]. The display of force with which it was met was a sufficient deterrent to prevent a repetition[3]; Anicetus was only too ready to crown one infamy by another[4]; and after the mockery of a domestic trial on the renewed charge of adultery, she was sent to the ill-omened rock of Pandateria, where the end soon followed[5]. The tragedy of her life, more terrible than perhaps any in history or legend, is brought out by the eloquent description of the historian[6]. Some nine years ago she had in mere childhood entered as a bride the house which was to be a living tomb to her; her father's had been followed rapidly by her brother's murder; her husband had treated her from the first with coldness and aversion, regarding her very parentage and the popular sympathy with her as a grievance[7], and had given such affection as was in his nature to give, first to a freedwoman, then to a rival bent on compassing the wife's destruction; even in Agrippina her last protector of some sort was taken from her; her degradation was embittered by the foul outrage of the charge preferred against her; her place of exile called up only the memory of those who before had perished in it; her last piteous appeal was addressed to none but the soldiers who had command to execute her; her lifeless head was brought to be her rival's gazing-stock. When he comes to the decree of thanksgivings and votive offerings, Tacitus can only beg the reader to take for granted what he cannot bring himself to specify[8].

and Nero was no doubt desirous of legitimate offspring. The alleged murder of his aunt Domitia soon after that of Agrippina (Suet. Ner. 34) is not mentioned, and may probably not have been believed, by Tacitus.

[1] The 'Octavia,' if we could be assured that it was the work of Curiatius Maternus, or any writer of the period, would be our oldest authority. But this is very doubtful (see Teuffel, E. T. ii. 285, 7). We may note for what it is worth that the story is told there mainly as in Tacitus; but the agency of Anicetus is omitted, and the exile and death made to be the consequence of the riot. Suet. (Ner. 35) confuses the charge made by Anicetus with the earlier one (c. 60, 2).

[2] The chief demonstration is not represented as directly hostile to Nero personally, but as an outbreak of tumultuous joy at the news that Octavia, who at that stage had been divorced by civil process and sent away to Campania with a gift by way of dowry, had been recalled (14. 61, 1).

[3] 14. 61, 2. [4] 14. 62, 3.

[5] 14. 63, 2. [6] 14. 63, 4.

[7] 'Nomine patris et studiis populi gravem' (14. 59, 4).

[8] 14. 64, 5.

Some three years more[1] sufficed for the career of Poppaea, and to close with it Nero's domestic history. At the birth of her child, she was raised to the rank of Livia and Agrippina by receiving the title of Augusta[2], nor did she during her remaining short time outlive her influence; and Nero, if, as was supposed, he had caused her death by a passionate blow[3], was none the less sincere in deploring it. Men knew well enough that her wantonness had been equalled by her heartless cruelty[4]; yet Thrasea alone ventured to protest by his absence[5] against the extravagance of her funeral honours[6] and the deification that followed[7]. Her place was soon filled by Statilia Messalina[8], who is not known to have exercised any influence on Nero, and may be dismissed from mention.

Hardly less important than the horrors of his domestic life, in their effect on Roman sentiment, were the various public displays of his unbounded vanity. Their repression under his mother's influence has been already noticed[9]; and even after her death Seneca and Burrus were able for a while to modify what they could not hinder. The first attempt, in 812, A.D. 59, to satisfy one only of his longings, and that by a mere private exhibition in his gardens[10], achieved only a nominal success; the limitation to a few favoured spectators soon passing on to the permitted, afterwards to the invited presence of all the many who cared, and the many more who felt compelled to pretend to care, to see the charioteering of an emperor[11]. His other leading taste was in the same year partially gratified by the device of a festival, which, by its exceptional and quasi-family character[12], might seem to excuse not only the licentious revelry of its surroundings[13], but even his own 'début' as a scenic musician, and the strange incongruity of a harper appearing on the stage, not only with a 'claqueur' band of Roman knights[14] in the audience, but even with his guard of soldiers and

[1] The death of Octavia took place on June 9, 815, A.D. 62 (see on 14. 64, 2), and that of Poppaea after the games in 818, A.D. 65 (16. 6, 1).

[2] 15. 23, 1.

[3] This is treated as a certainty by all our authorities (see note on 16. 6, 1), but probably rests only on popular rumour; a belief that she was poisoned (which Tacitus rejects) being also current.

[4] 16. 7, 1. She is called (with Tigellinus) 'saevienti principi intimum consiliorum' (15. 61, 4). For the supposition that she may have instigated the persecution of the Christians, see Appendix to Book 15.

[5] 16. 21, 2.

[6] On the peculiarity of her funeral, and its costliness, see 16. 6, 2, 3, and notes.

[7] 16. 21, 2, and note.

[8] See on 15. 68, 5.

[9] See above, p. 61.

[10] 14. 14, 3, foll.

[11] That he appeared afterwards in the Circus Maximus is mentioned by Suet. (Ner. 22), and, being no more than a parallel act to his appearance in the theatre of Pompey, is probably true. He showed himself as a charioteer at the massacre of the Christians (15. 44, 7).

[12] On the Iuvenalia see 14. 15, 1, and note.

[13] 14. 15, 3.

[14] 14. 15, 8.

the stern praefect of praetorians making proper show of admiration at his side[1]. For some time this safety-valve sufficed: at the first 'Neronia'[2] he was content to be a spectator, and to receive the uncontested prize of eloquence[3]; in daily life he would affect the reputation of a poet[4], or such ironical show of interest in graver studies as consisted in amusing himself by pitting against each other in discussion the grim-visaged professors of philosophy who were well pleased to be his guests[5]. Five years later[6], when 'so grand a voice'[7] could no longer be so imprisoned, he could still be satisfied with a city nominally Greek, and sang in the public theatre at Naples[8], passing rapidly in the following year, after the suppression of the great conspiracy had emboldened him, to an exhibition at the next 'Neronia' in the great theatre of Pompeius[9], a step followed a year later still by the final climax of his tour of victory through the great historic games of Greece[10].

The description given by Tacitus of Nero's first appearance on the stage of the greatest Roman theatre[11] is in his most graphic manner. We are to see him recite a poem and retire, and then, as if in obedience

[1] 14. 15, 7.

[2] On the institution and character of this festival see 14. 20, 1, foll. and notes.

[3] 14. 21, 8.

[4] 14. 16, 1, foll. It is not quite clear (see note) whether Tacitus means to say that this taste was genuine, or not. He certainly states that the verses which passed as Nero's were really a joint composition.

[5] 14. 16, 3.

[6] In 817, A.D. 64.

[7] 15. 33, 1. Men might at least expect that if an emperor sung on the stage, he should be preeminent; but the 'heavenly voice' for which men wearied the gods with prayers, vows, and sacrifices (see 16. 22, 1), is stated to have been hoarse and feeble and in all respects mediocre (see note on 15. 33, 1).

[8] 15. 33, 2.

[9] 16. 4, 2.

[10] See Appendix to Book 16. We are unfortunately unable in this part of Nero's life to check the high-flown description of Dio (63. 8–17) by the judgment of Tacitus, and have only to make the best of a narrative bearing evident marks of exaggeration. We cannot well doubt that he spent a full year in the country, and managed, by alterations of calendar and custom, not only within that time to compete in all his accomplishments in all the great public games, but also to enter into the local contests of all the cities, so as to collect an incredible number of crowns (given in Dio, 63. 21, 2, as 1808); and that while any remained to be gained, he was deaf to all intimations that his presence was required in Rome (Id. 63. 19, 1; Suet. Ner. 23); also that he stooped to act all kinds of parts (63. 9, 4; 10, 2). On the other hand, the story that he destroyed all the statues of previous victors (Suet. Ner. 24) is inconsistent with the fact that many such were subsequently to be seen; and, while we cannot suppose Nero not to have made use of the tempting opportunities for art pillage then presented to him, such an estimate as that of 500 statues taken from Delphi alone (Paus. 10. 7, 1) is in itself incredible; and such wholesale plunder not easy to reconcile with our record of the vast number of statues still remaining in the cities and temples of Greece in the time of Pausanias himself, or in that of Pliny. Also the statement of his extortions from, and execution of, great numbers of wealthy Greeks (Dio, 63. 11, 1), while probably by no means without foundation, bears strong marks of overstatement, and is supported by no names or details of any kind. On these and other points see Schiller, pp. 246–252.

[11] 16. 4–5.

to the voice of the people, come forward with a show of reluctance, harp in hand, scrupulously observing the minutest rules of professional etiquette, making his obeisance to the demoralised assemblage, and trembling, or affecting to tremble, before his judges[1]. We are shown the contrast of the drilled and disciplined applause, and well-assumed, if not genuine enthusiasm of his great clientele, the Roman rabble[2], with the ill-concealed contempt of the municipal, provincial, and other respectable sections of the audience, who had to bear the blows of the soldiers at one moment for slackness, at another for ill-timed clapping. We have the higher classes, not daring to be absent, some crushed to death in the press, some struck down in their seats by diseases arising from exhaustion, with every look of weariness and disgust noted down by spies and sure to be sooner or later resented, and Vespasian scolded by a freedman for nodding in slumber, and brought into such peril as well-nigh to baulk his destiny.

It must be borne in mind that, side by side with the genuine and righteous feeling of disgust at this degradation of imperial majesty, repeating on a greater scale and in more manifold forms the extravagances of Gaius[3], was a less creditable current of old Roman prejudice against Greek amusements[4]. This is seen in full strength in the murmurs at the institution of the 'Neronia[5]', where Tacitus freely admits that the force of argument was not wholly on one side[6], and that the gloomy anticipations were not justified by the result[7]. At a time when the old national military exercises, invidiously contrasted with the palaestra[8], must have been growing more and more obsolete, we can see that the best minds should have welcomed, on the score of humanity and refinement, any counterattraction to that of the amphitheatre; but the feeling above noted is certainly a force to be estimated, as also the dismay felt at the rush of the Roman nobility to hire themselves out for the stage, the circus, or the arena. Such precedents as had already existed[9] must have served only to set off a contrast in

[1] Tacitus says 'ficto pavore'; but in the state of mind into which Nero had worked himself, such nervousness might well be genuine. How deeply he was imbued with the spirit of a professional musician is shown especially by the unabated fervour of his ruling passion at the supreme crisis of his life (see Suet. 41; Dio, 63. 26, 2, 4), above all by his *τὸ τεχνίον ἡμᾶς διαθρέψει* when he felt that the empire was lost to him (Id. 27, 2), and the 'qualis artifex pereo' of his last moments (Id. 29, 2; Suet. Ner. 49).

[2] 'Crederes laetari, ac fortasse laetabantur per incuriam publici flagitii.'

[3] See Suet. Cal. 54.

[4] The general passion for Greeks and all belonging to them, which Juvenal satirises (3. 60, foll.), though it neither began nor ended with Nero, must have received its chief impulse under his rule.

[5] 14. 20, 2, foll.

[6] 14. 21, 2, foll.

[7] 14. 21, 7.

[8] 14. 20, 6.

[9] See note on 14. 14, 5.

which, besides the broken-down descendants of great historic names[1], knights of position and known service[2], and even elderly senators who had filled a career of public honours, stooped to the degradation of contending in the circus or in the amphitheatre, or went through all the antics of the comic stage[3]. They could plead, no doubt, that they dared not refuse the bribe held out to them[4]; but the example was contagious and longlived; and men could still see the clown tricks of a Fabius or Mamercus when there was no longer a Nero to compel[5]. Still more new, and far more prolific in evil, was the demoralisation of women, from the lowest to the highest rank, by public appearances in all these capacities[6], and the creation, or at least first open exhibition, of the type of the unsexed viragoes who continued for more than a century to outrage decency[7]. To all this has to be added the demoralisation due to the shameless example of profligacy set by the prince himself[8], and to the public scandal of his entertainments; in which the mere luxury of the table, though reaching in his day a climax to which it had been steadily rising ever since the time of Actium[9], was far outweighed by their outrageous licentiousness[10].

Gradually also the Roman nobility began to feel a danger that touched

[1] See 14. 14, 5, and note.

[2] 'Notos equites Romanos operas arenae promittere subegit' (14. 14, 6).

[3] See the description of the Iuvenalia of 815, A.D. 59 (14. 15, 2), and the additional statements of Dio and Suet. noted on 14. 14, 5, 6, which receive some support from 15. 32, 3 (where see note). The statement of Suet. that many were not decayed spendthrifts but 'existimationis integrae,' is borne out by the expressions of Tacitus.

[4] 14. 14, 6.

[5] See the whole passage (Juv. 8, 183–210). According to the satirist, they were as ready in his day to sell themselves to the ordinary games of the praetor as to those of an emperor. The old pride of rank which forbad senators and their families to earn a living by honest trade must have been indeed signally punished.

[6] See 14. 15, 3; 15. 32, 3, and notes.

[7] The description of such in Juv. 1. 22 (where see Prof. Mayor); 2, 53; 6, 246–267, is well known. On the prohibition, cir. A.D. 200, see note on 15. 32, 3.

[8] See 15. 37, 8, 9; 16. 19, 5, and notes.

[9] See 3. 55, 1. The ransacking of earth, sea, and air for dainties, and their collection from all parts of the world, is dwelt on by writers of this period (Sen. ad Helv. 10, 3; Ep. 60, 2; 89, 22, &c.; Plin. N. H. 26. 8, 28, 43), but certainly cannot have been peculiar to it; and Nero, though spending much of his time in feasting (see 14. 2, 1, and note), is not so distinctly charged with filthy gluttony as was previously Claudius or afterwards Vitellius. The great extravagance under him seems to have taken a more refined form, and to have lain chiefly in the accessories of the feast, the profusion of gold plate and jewels (Plin. N. H. 37. 2, 6, 17), unguents and flowers (Suet. Ner. 27), the crowd of attendants, singers, dancers, and such novelties of all kinds as ingenuity could suggest: nor is it to be denied that the table luxury of that age is not apparently all that declamation makes it, and that it may often have been equalled or even eclipsed in more modern times. On the whole subject see Schiller, p. 516, foll.; Friedl. iii. 31, foll. On the example set in other forms of luxury, such as his own travelling equipage (Suet. Ner. 30), and that of Poppaea (Plin. N. H. 11. 41, 96, 238, &c.), see Friedl. ii. 29.

[10] The beginning of such demoralisation is noted at the Iuvenalia (14. 15, 4, 5), the development at the feast given by Tigellinus (15. 37, 2–7); and both Tacitus and Suet. (Ner. 27) speak of similar scenes as frequent.

their existence far more closely, as they saw that men of their order began to be struck down cautiously and tentatively, that if they were few and isolated, they were extremely eminent, that a steady purpose seemed to be working itself out, and that definite charges and legal forms were almost or altogether dispensed with. Cornelius Sulla, the son-in-law of Claudius and a representative of the name of the famous dictator, and Rubellius Plautus, a direct descendant of Octavia[1], were men round whose names fancied conspiracies had been made to gather[2]; and first one, then the other, had been banished or induced to banish himself on some invented or imagined charge[3]; and some time afterwards, on some pretext not made public[4], soldiers had been sent to execute the exiles without more ado; a vague and general report being laid before the senate afterwards, to be followed by the mockery of posthumous condemnation[5]. Higher even than that of either of these was the lineage of the Junii Silani, the only direct descendants of Augustus[6] save Nero himself; and the onslaught on this family commenced by Agrippina[7] was carried on by Nero in 817, A.D. 64, by a private trial, resulting in the death of its chief living representative[8].

Still more ominous, as showing that not only the few highest, who might aspire to the imperial dignity itself, were menaced, was the revival in 815, A.D. 62, against one of the praetors of the year[9], of that terrible weapon of tyranny in former times, the law of 'maiestas'[10], which had been long in desuetude[11], but of which they were now made again to feel the edge; while Nero's evident displeasure at the course taken under the

[1] For his pedigree, see Introd. i. 141.

[2] On that connected with Sulla see 13. 23, 1; on that respecting Plautus, 13. 19, 3. Both charges are represented as groundless, and the accusers are punished, but both must have left their mark on Nero's memory.

[3] The charge against Sulla is represented (13. 47) as wholly made up, and contrary to his character; the compulsory retirement of Plautus is assigned to no other cause than the occurrence of a comet and another omen (14. 22, 5). The exile of the former took place in 811, A.D. 58, that of the latter in 813, A.D. 60, the deaths of both in 815, A.D. 62.

[4] The idea of the potency of the name of the dictator in Gaul and of the descendant of Drusus in Asia, and the probability of support to the one from the German, and to the other from the Syrian legions, is given as the private counsel of Tigellinus, who desired to put Nero's vague terror into definite shape (14. 57). As regards Plautus, some desperate scheme was regarded by his friends as possible (14. 58, 3).

[5] 14. 59, 5, 6.

[6] See Introd. i. 139.

[7] She may be said to have caused in 802, A.D. 49, the death of L. Silanus and exile of Junia Calvina (12. 4, 1; 8, 1); she had ordered the murder of M. Silanus in 807, A.D. 54 (13. 1, 1), and had (certainly in self-defence) caused the exile of Junia Silana in the following year (13. 22, 3).

[8] 15. 35, 2-5. The chief charge against him was that of the ambitious titles borne by his freedmen. He committed suicide before condemnation; but Tacitus evidently attached no credit to the statement of Nero that he had intended to spare his life.

[9] 14. 48, 1, foll.

[10] For the working of this law under Tiberius, see Introd. i. viii. 121, &c.

[11] 14. 48, 3, and note.

leadership of Thrasea, showed that the extreme sentence of death had been expected [1]. Even a lower class would be alarmed by the current belief [2] that in the same year the once all-powerful Pallas and another leading freedman had fallen victims respectively to the emperor's avarice and animosity [3].

Thus all in prominent positions would feel that they were drifting back into a similar condition of constraint and jeopardy to that which had prevailed under former princes, and that while their danger increased, their safeguards one by one were struck from them [4]. The death of Burrus, in which again foul play was commonly believed to have had a share [5], took place in the same year which so many events combined to make ominous [6]; and in the same year Seneca, isolated by this loss, and, by evident decay of influence, marked out for the attacks of those who wished him ill [7], could only avert his danger by a prompt offer to surrender all his property [8], and by a cautious withdrawal from all outward show of eminence [9]; so that men had no longer to reckon on the influence of these trusted counsellors, but on that of Tigellinus and Poppaea.

On minds thus prepared to expect and believe the worst, terrible impression must have been made by the great fire of 817, A.D. 64, and by the rumours that Nero himself had been its author. From this imputation, which Tacitus alone of our authorities treats as even open to doubt [10], the judgment of recent critics has been on the whole disposed to absolve his memory. The improbability of the motives assigned [11], his absence at the outbreak [12], the energetic measures taken by the government for its suppression [13], the bounty shown to the sufferers [14], weigh considerably

[1] 14. 49, 3. He had evidently not intended sentence of death to be carried out, but to win the glory of clemency by modifying it (c. 48, 3); which the proposal carried by Thrasea had taken from him.

[2] 14. 65, 1. The expression used ('creditur') shows that there was no evidence for the suspicion of poisoning; but the belief, however groundless, has to be taken into account.

[3] The story given by Dio (see note on 14. 19, 1) of persons put to death in 812, A.D. 59, by soldiers on a charge of conspiracy, is discredited by the silence of Tacitus.

[4] 'Gravescentibus indies publicis malis subsidia minuebantur' (14. 51, 1).

[5] 14. 51, 1-3. It seems to be admitted that he had a natural disease, but to be alleged that the salve was poisoned.

[6] 815, A.D. 62.

[7] 14. 52.

[8] In the interchange of speeches given in 14. 53-56, the courtliness of Seneca, saved from sinking into mere servility by good taste and touches of dignity, as well as the profound hypocrisy of Nero, are admirably imagined. The offer, not accepted, may have been renewed later (see on 15. 64, 6).

[9] 14. 56, 6.

[10] See 15. 38, 1, and note. Tacitus seems to incline to think him guilty of the second outbreak (15. 40, 3).

[11] The 'gloria condendae urbis notae et cognomento suo appellandae' (15. 40, 3; cp. Suet. Ner. 38) has no appearance of being actually sought, and might have been acquired without a conflagration. Other idle tales given in Suet. (l. l.) and Dio (62. 16, 1-2) are not noticed by Tacitus.

[12] 15. 39, 1.

[13] 15. 40, 1.

[14] 15. 39, 2; 43, 2.

against a suspicion so slenderly supported[1]. The belief itself was less an impulse of the moment[2] than an after-growth[3], gathering strength no doubt from the stories that he had pillaged the ruins[4], and from the patent fact that he had seized all the best of the vast desolated area to construct a palace on a scale previously unknown save perhaps in Oriental history. The famous expedient by which this suspicion was to be averted by fastening it on others, is treated of elsewhere[5]: our judgment on Nero's own share in it will depend much on whether we believe him to have been himself the incendiary, and deliberately to have sacrificed those whom he had the best reason for knowing to be innocent, or to have been, like others, in the dark as to the real cause of the fire, and to have believed tales which represented the Christians either as actually its authors, or as, from their 'hatred of the human race'[6], likely to have been so. In any case, history must record against him the reckless eagerness with which the charge was caught up, and the fiendish brutality which turned the executions into a public amusement, such as shocked even the hardened sense of those whose misgivings were to have been set at rest by it[7].

To such ample reasons for alarm and indignation[8], other grounds of discontent were contributing strength. The military disaster in Britain and disgrace in the East[9] may have shaken the allegiance of the soldiers to a prince who had little personal hold upon them, and whose star seemed no longer in the ascendant: the popularity of Nero with the masses must have received a check from the strong feeling at his enforcement of the cruel decree against the slaves of Pedanius Secundus[10], and from the enthusiastic sympathy with Octavia[11], and could be further undermined by keeping alive the belief[12] that the catastrophe which had cost

[1] Much weight cannot be given to the fact that persons caught spreading the flames said that they acted under orders (15. 38, 8). The story that he sang the burning of Troy during the conflagration (c. 39, 3, and note) is characteristic, and hardly likely to have been altogether invented, but proves no more than that his theatrical passion could not let slip such an opportunity.

[2] At the time of the actual fire he is represented as hurrying about without a guard (15. 50, 6), and evidently in no fear of the people.

[3] 15. 39, 3; 44, 2.

[4] Suet. Ner. 38.

[5] See Appendix to Book 15.

[6] 15. 44, 5.

[7] 15. 44, 8.

[8] In the sketch of Nero's career above given, some events later than the Pisonian conspiracy have been mentioned for convenience. But these will easily be distinguished from those present as actual motives in A.D. 65 and previously.

[9] The insurrection in Britain took place in 814, A.D. 61; the capitulation of Paetus in Armenia was known in Rome at the beginning of 816, A.D. 63. Subsequent successes had not achieved more than a restoration of the position in either case.

[10] For the sentence itself, the senate, and especially L. Cassius, was responsible, but Nero had supplied the force which made its execution possible (14. 45, 3).

[11] See above, p. 65.

[12] Without adopting Schiller's view, that the belief in Nero's incendiarism was created by the conspirators, we must sup-

lives in numbers[1], and reduced thousands to homelessness, was due to a mere freak of his outrageous wantonness.

Such sparks could always kindle a conspiracy[2]; and the schemers of a lower stamp who thought that their opportunity was come, could band themselves with genuine patriots[3], ready to dare anything to free the Empire from a monster. Actual conspirators are generally few, and were so, as far as we have means of knowing[4], in the present case; but a small band of resolute men might easily, as in the case of Gaius, find their opportunity; and their real hope of success lay in the manifold support which they had ground for expecting afterwards. It was at that date a bold step to seek a successor for Nero altogether outside the family of Augustus; but the man of their choice, C. Piso[5], would commend himself to the nobles and senate by his ripe age[6] and exalted lineage[7], and to various classes by his forensic eloquence exercised on the weaker side, his wealth and bountiful gifts, his winning courtesy and handsome person; while those who hated the cruelty alone of the Neronian rule, and liked its moral laxity, might be assured that in him they had no strait-laced rule to fear[8]. They might count thus on many chances of his acceptance; although they had no support to expect from the most respectable section of the nobility, the party of Thrasea and Soranus, too uncompromising in their opposition to monarchy as such to plot for a change of masters[9], least of all for that from one voluptuary to another; and although they had to guard against the more dynastic minds who might favour the young Silanus[10], or bold spirits like the consul Vestinus,

pose them active in sustaining it. See the words of Subrius Flavus in 15. 67, 3.

[1] 15. 38, 7; 39, 2.

[2] The character of the 'Opposition' under Nero and its various sections are very fully discussed in Schiller, pp. 666–705.

[3] See the contrast drawn between the motives of Lucan and of Plautus Lateranus in 15. 49, 3.

[4] Tacitus gives the names of only five senators as undoubted conspirators; Piso, Lucan, Plautius Lateranus, Flavius Scaevinus, and Afranius Quintianus (c. 48–49). Besides these, two others were put to death, Seneca and Vestinus; the complicity of the former being treated as doubtful (c. 56, 2), that of the latter positively denied (c. 68, 3). Three others, Novius Priscus, Glitius Gallus, Annius Pollio, and perhaps some more, appear among those mentioned in c. 71 as punished but not really convicted. The knights, to judge from c. 50 and c. 71, were not numerous, nor (except Faenius Rufus) eminent. Of the other officers of the guard, three tribunes and three centurions are given (c. 49, 2; 50, 3); besides whom four other tribunes are represented as degraded on mere suspicion (c. 71, 5).

[5] See 15. 48, 1, and note.

[6] He was a consular of probably some seventeen years' standing (see note, l. l.).

[7] From the time of Tiberius, the Calpurnii Pisones had no rivals except the Aemilii Lepidi (Introd. i. p. 85) who were now no longer heard of.

[8] The importance of this feeling may be seen in the support won by it for Otho (H. 1. 13, 10, &c.). That it worked both ways would however appear, if any faith is to be placed in the story of an inner plot to set aside Piso for Seneca (c. 65, 1).

[9] The position and character of this party are more fully described below (p. 80, foll.).

[10] 15. 52, 3. Those who attached importance to descent from Augustus could

who might strike out a line of his own when the crisis came[1]. In the light of what had followed on the death of Gaius, none would be so short-sighted as not to reckon with the praetorians; but the accession of the praefect Faenius Rufus, who was quaking under the insinuations of his colleague Tigellinus[2], seemed a tower of strength to them, and the support of several other important officers of the force, backed by a liberal donative, might do the rest[3]. That the last word still would rest with the armies of Germany and the East, who were little likely to accept a master whom they had no voice in choosing, was a truth that perhaps needed to be taught by a later experience[4].

Tacitus has shown the reality of the plot, against the popular rumour which discredited it as a fiction[5]; and for all its details he is practically our sole authority[6]. Nero and his partisans must indeed have believed in his destiny, when they saw how, after the plot had been kept for two years secret[7], and had even escaped the danger caused by the indiscretion of Epicharis[8], it was brought to light the very day before it was to have been carried into action[9]; how Piso tamely threw away the one chance left to him[10]; how, when Nero was surrounding himself with soldiers in his panic[11], ignorant of the traitors among their ranks[12], the baseness with which they turned upon their associates frustrated another chance of his destruction[13], and led them also to the fate they had so justly merited[14].

We have probably to be on our guard throughout against statements heightened for effect[15]. The contrast of freeborn men, Roman knights, senators, rushing to save themselves by denouncing their dearest friends and relatives, with the freedwoman who alone defied the rack to conceal those almost unknown to her, may possibly be overdrawn[16]; the general

find no other candidate. His instructor, Cassius, probably belonged to the party of Thrasea.

[1] 15. 52, 4. [2] 15. 50, 4.

[3] Piso was to wait in readiness to be carried to the camp; and, according to Pliny, Antonia, daughter of Claudius, was to accompany him (see c. 53, 4, and note).

[4] It seems probable that Piso, had he succeeded, might have had a similar career to that of Otho.

[5] 15. 73, 1-3.

[6] Suetonius alludes to it only in a few lines (c. 36). The meagre account in Dio, or rather Xiphilinus (62. 24), makes no mention of Piso, but describes the plot as that of Seneca and Rufus, mentioning besides by name only Subrius Flavus and Sulpicius Asper, as to whom he seems to follow Tacitus.

[7] The first movings of the conspiracy appear to date not later than 816, A.D. 63 (14. 65, 2), and it had been ripe for execution at the time of the fire (15. 50, 6), but was delayed till the Circensian games in April 818, A.D. 65 (15. 53, 1).

[8] 15. 51.

[9] 15. 54, 1. [10] 15. 59.

[11] 15. 57, 4.

[12] 15. 49, 2; 50, 3.

[13] 15. 58, 4.

[14] 15. 66, 1.

[15] It should be remembered that all the trials were private and that no more was known than the statement laid by Nero before the senate (15. 73, 1). Hence no doubt the great obscurity in our narrative and the way in which the condemnation of persons who had not before been mentioned is brought in (c. 71).

[16] 15. 57, 3, 4. The expression 'passim

description of Rome in a state of siege, 'the very sea and river placed under guard'; armed men pervading the fora, the great houses, even the suburban districts [1]; the 'troops of chained prisoners' dragged to trial [2], and the crowd of funerals in the streets [3], cannot easily be reconciled with the names and facts given in detail [4]: even the terrible irony of universal public thanksgiving side by side with universal private mourning, may well be taken with some allowance for rhetoric [5]; but the main narrative, both in what it states, and no less in what it does not state [6], bears the stamp of truth upon it.

Our chief interest in the Pisonian conspiracy lies in its having caused the deaths of Seneca and Lucan. As regards the complicity of the former [7], his standing intimacy with Piso, and recent withdrawal from personal intercourse [8], would suggest that he was aware of the plot but declined to mix in it; his removal from Campania to the neighbourhood of Rome at the critical time may have been a coincidence [9]; his alleged answer to Piso's message rests on the verbal report of a single witness threatened with torture [10], and was neither admitted by himself [11], nor unmistakeable in meaning [12]. His thorough knowledge of Nero, Poppaea, and Tigellinus may well have predisposed him to welcome any escape from them; while on the other hand his political foresight, no less than his age, and the retirement of life which he had found so welcome [13],

conscios edere' may no doubt refer to some of those mentioned in c. 71, besides the three names given in c. 56, 4, but bears evident marks of exaggeration.

[1] 15. 58, 1. The description in 16. 27, 2 shows the military terrorism employed in a far lesser crisis.

[2] 15. 58, 3.

[3] 15. 71, 1.

[4] It has been already mentioned (see above, p. 73, note 4) that seven senators are recorded as put to death. Besides these, the 'reliqui coniuratorum' (c. 70, 2) would no doubt include those knights, tribunes, and centurions named in c. 50, whose deaths had not been previously mentioned, except Natalis and Proculus (c. 71, 2), Gavius Silvanus and Statius Proximus (c. 71, 4). We have thus evidence of about seventeen persons put to death; seventeen others are named in c. 71 as sentenced to lesser penalties; five as pardoned, acquitted, or left unnoticed. Nor does confiscation appear to have been uniformly enforced; that of the property of Seneca seems implied (c. 62, 1, and note), but with probably some provision left for Paulina (see on c. 64, 1); the property of Lucan passed to his father (16. 17, 4); the wills of Piso and Rufus are mentioned (c. 59, 8; 68, 2), and may have been allowed to pass by making Nero in part heir.

[5] The thanksgiving may have been often genuine, as many, especially the populace, must have thought anarchy worse than Nero.

[6] The vague language in Dio, 62. 24, 3 would represent every charge as believed and every accused person as condemned. Tacitus bestows no notice on the story given in Suet. Ner. 36, that the whole families of those condemned were afterwards poisoned or starved to death.

[7] Dio (62. 24, 1) makes him and Rufus the chief conspirators. With this the guarded language of Tacitus (c. 56, 2; 60, 3, 7) may be well compared. Two of his friends, Novius Priscus and Caesennius Maximus, were so far involved in his fate as to suffer exile (15. 71, 6, 11).

[8] 15. 60, 4; 61, 1.

[9] 'Forte an prudens' (c. 60, 7).

[10] c. 56, 2.

[11] It is noticed that his denial (cp. c. 60, 5; 61, 2) is not altogether explicit.

[12] See c. 60, 5, and note.

[13] See Sen. Ep. 83, 6, &c.

would have disinclined him to take active part in a desperate venture; and in any case it is most improbable that he was privy to the inner plot, if such there was, to force a shortlived and dangerous greatness on himself, at the cost of double-dyed treachery to his friend[1].

If the baser side of Seneca's character has been throughout this narrative presented oftenest[2], it is but just to notice how Tacitus, who is certainly no blind admirer[3], brings out not merely his tenderness to his wife[4] and cheerfulness to his friends[5], his dignified bearing and almost inspired eloquence under the protracted agonies of death[6], but also the steady composure with which he had looked forward for years to such an end in prospect[7], and the simplicity of his ideas, as evidenced by the asceticism of at least his later life[8] and the instructions for his unostentatious funeral, drawn up long ago in the days of his greatest splendour[9].

With Lucan, far less sympathy has been felt, less perhaps than he has actually deserved. Introduced in youth to the friendship of Nero[10], he had owed to court favour a quaestorship before the legal age, and a place in the college of augurs, and had won fame in the Neronia by a poetic eulogy on his patron, pitched, we may be sure, in the same key as the opening address in the Pharsalia, unrivalled in extant literature for fulsomeness[11]. The first three Books of that Epic, probably the only ones made known in his lifetime[12], besides thus commending themselves,

[1] The story is given as a mere rumour (c. 65, 1).

[2] See above, pp. 23; 33; 45; 54; 60, 11; 62; 63. It is fair to add, that the credit which he claims for himself, of never having been a mere servile flatterer, is not contrary to known facts. See 15. 61, 3, and note.

[3] See 13. 3, 2; 11, 2; 18, 1; 14. 11, 4, &c.

[4] 15. 63, 1–4. The story given by Dio (see note on c. 63, 2) would be inconsistent with the version adopted by Tacitus, and was no doubt known to and disbelieved by him.

[5] 15. 62, 1–2.

[6] 15. 63, 7.

[7] 15. 62, 2, 3. The story that Nero had previously attempted to poison him (15. 45, 6) is given in its place only as a rumour, but afterwards treated as a fact (15. 60, 3).

[8] 15. 45, 6.

[9] 15. 64, 6.

[10] The particulars of Lucan's life are known through two ancient biographies, and need not here be further entered into.

[11] Phars. 1. 33–66. Some of the sentiments may remind us of Vergil's address to Augustus in the first Georgic; but Lucan goes far beyond his predecessor. All the horrors of civil war are regarded as more than recompensed by having led up ultimately to his rule: he is besought when he ascends to heaven, to take up his position in the centre, lest elsewhere he should destroy the equilibrium of the universe. It is perhaps just to remember the poet's youth.

[12] It has generally been assumed, on the evidence of his biographer, that the first three Books had received their final corrections and had been published (probably about 814, A.D. 62). Dean Merivale (c. 54) questions the alleged superior finish of these Books, and thinks that although they had been doubtless made known by frequent recitation in portions, the actual publication was to have been delayed till the completion of the whole. Mr. Heitland, in his Introduction to Mr. Haskins' recent edition of the Pharsalia, notices a few roughnesses of style in the later Books.

show a general sense of self-restraint[1]; and even the later Books[2], which may more faithfully give his real sentiments, while abounding in bitter and determined antipathy to Caesarism as such[3], contain few, if any, unmistakeable hostile allusions to Nero personally[4]. On the supposition that his fatalism[5], and his evident consciousness of the degradation of the senate[6] and people[7], would have prevented his conspiring to restore the Republic, his natural course would have been to stand aside with Thrasea and his followers, who might yet well have distrusted the new-born ardour of this convert from the ranks of courtiers. Yet the intensity of the grievance which armed him against Nero, even if merely personal, should be justly estimated. For one conscious of unrivalled gifts and burning to display them, an absolute prohibition to recite or publish[8], was no other than a sentence of literary death, dictated by the mere spite and jealousy of one who, compared to him, was but a scribbler[9], and whose age made it likely enough that the ban would last the poet's lifetime[10]. Also the story that he attempted to save himself after arrest

[1] These Books, though not without sentiments capable of giving offence, such as that in 1, 678, foll. ('cum domino pax ista venit,' &c.), dwell less on the loss of liberty than on the horrors of civil war, a theme on which Vergil and Horace are no less eloquent. It should be remembered also that, as M. Boissier has shown ('l'Opposition sous les Césars,' ch. vi), a general preference of the so-called Republican cause to that of Julius Caesar, and a coldness towards the memory of the latter, had been tolerated, if not encouraged, by Augustus. Cato was glorified by Vergil (Aen. 8, 670) and Horace (Od. 1. 12, 35, &c.), Pompeius by Livy (see 4. 34, 4), and the writings of Cremutius Cordus, though suppressed by Tiberius, were revived and read afterwards (4. 35, 5).

[2] It is an open question whether these Books also had not been made known, in part at least, by recitation. The poem on the civil war in the Satire of Petronius (c. 119–124), which is evidently a 'jeu d'esprit' on the Pharsalia, has been thought to contain imitations of passages from all parts of the poem. Those which appear to be taken from the later Books are collected and compared by Mr. Heitland, to whom, as probably to most others, the resemblances seem hardly strong enough to be conclusive.

[3] Mr. Heitland (pp. 37–42) has shown this, as against Dean Merivale, by a considerable collection of passages, among which perhaps the most striking are 5, 385–6; 7, 455–9; 638–46.

[4] The passages supposed to contain such are discussed by Mr. Heitland.

[5] Fortune is looked upon as having declared for monarchy (3, 393, &c.).

[6] Dean Merivale considers the senate to be the true hero of the poem; but this, if admitted, would only mean the ideal senate, or that of the last century of the Republic, seen through the mist of time. In such passages as 'nec frons erit ulla senatus' (9, 207), the tone of despair is unmistakeable.

[7] Mr. Heitland cites, as evidence of a consciousness of the degradation and mongrel character of the Roman people, 3, 54–8; 7, 404–5; 539–545.

[8] See 15. 19, 3, and note.

[9] For the list of Nero's recorded poems see Teuffel, 281. 8, 9. They had little chance of a dispassionate estimate; and it is the humour of Juvenal (8, 221) to class the composition of the 'Troica,' no less than the stage-singing, among Nero's atrocities; but (apart from the question how much of what passed under his name was really his own) such a line as that quoted with praise by Seneca (N. Q. 1. 5, 6) 'Colla Cytheriacae splendent agitata columbae,' or those (reputed to be his) preserved in Persius 1. 99–102, will not go to set aside the adverse verdict. That he stooped to write and publish coarse lampoons, appears from 15. 49, 5.

[10] Nero was less than two years older than Lucan.

by informing against his mother, has been perhaps too lightly credited[1]; and his end, if not free from a straining for theatrical effect, was not deficient in courage[2].

The immediate outcome of the conspiracy, as of that of Seianus, was a prolonged and continuous reign of terror; and the Sixteenth Book, so far as we have it, closely resembles the dreary record of the Sixth, in its monotonous list of executions and enforced suicides[3]. As was the case after the murder of his mother[4] and at other crises in his life, the natural timidity of Nero had passed into abject panic[5], which, now that he knew his power[6], led him to strike down any one whom his own suspicions, or those instilled by others, pointed out as dangerous[7]. L. Cassius, the great jurist, had a statue of his famous ancestor with a significant inscription[8]: his friend and pupil, L. Silanus, the last of that noble and ill-fated house[9], is alleged to give, as his uncle had given, ambitious titles to his freedmen[10]; other charges are thrown in[11], and exile (followed in the case of the latter by speedy death) is at once decreed[12]. The widow of Rubellius Plautus and mother of his children, preserving too faithful memory of her loss[13], draws down her own fate and that of two others of her family[14]. In this case, without any definite charge that is made known to us[15], the disgusting mockery practised in the case of Plautus himself[16] is again called into play, and sentence of execution 'more maiorum' is solemnly passed on those already dead, and is modified by Nero as an act of grace[17]. Another is exiled as a friend of Faenius Rufus[18]: wealth, and old friendship with Agrippina,

[1] Dean Merivale points out that this story could hardly have rested on evidence known to the public, and might easily have been invented to discredit an illustrious victim. The fact that no notice was taken of Acilia (c. 71, 12) makes against it, and the general statement to the same effect (c. 57, 4) is supported by no names or other details.

[2] c. 70.

[3] After the first six chapters, the Book contains hardly any other subject.

[4] See above, p. 62.

[5] 'Pavidum semper et reperta nuper coniuratione magis exterritum' (16. 15, 1).

[6] The saying ascribed to him in Suet. 37 ('negavit quemquam principum scisse quid sibi liceret') is true of his own early career also.

[7] In the cases now to be noticed, Nero no longer judges personally, as in the case of the conspirators (see 15. 73, 1, and note), but thrusts the responsibility on the senate, sometimes himself sending a letter of indictment (16. 7, 3), but oftener with some ostensible accuser (16. 10. 2; 14, 1: 17, 4, &c.). Sometimes a missive of death is sent without any trial (16. 14, 5; 15, 3, &c.).

[8] 16. 7, 3.

[9] See Introd. i. 144, note 10.

[10] Tacitus states (16. 8, 1) that this charge was wholly false; and it seems incredible that he should have repeated his uncle's folly.

[11] 16. 8, 2. Three others who were accused escaped.

[12] 16. 9, 2-4.

[13] Three years after his death, she is still 'vidua inpexa luctu' (16. 10, 4).

[14] 16. 10, 1, foll.

[15] His freedman is his accuser, but nothing is said of the charge, though it was afterwards laid before the senate (16. 11, 6).

[16] 14. 59, 6.

[17] 16. 11, 6.

[18] 16. 12, 1.

give colour to a charge against Anteius[1]; personal prowess and soldierly qualities to the same charge against Ostorius[2]: a letter purporting to be written by Lucan is fatal to his father Mela[3], whose own alleged words are published to explain one person's death and to cause another's[4]. Tigellinus is able to avenge himself on Thermus for his freedman's libel[5], and even, by a mere suggestion of friendship with Scaevinus[6], to rid himself of the rival who, in the line in which alone he himself was famous, must have far surpassed him, C. Petronius, who had spent an energy capable of better things[7] on the accomplishment of pleasure; wherein his refined air of careless ease and simplicity, contrasted with the coarse profusion of ordinary debauchees[9], gave his taste a character for originality, and made the stamp of his approval necessary before any suggestion of luxury could commend itself to Nero as sufficiently *recherché* to deserve his notice[10]. Petronius died as he had lived, turning from both the shifts and the consolations of other men[11] as he had disdained their commonplace pleasures, and sending to Nero, in place of the usual last words of flattery[12], a stinging exposure of his vilest, and, as he had hitherto flattered himself, his most secret profligacies[13].

Tacitus pauses in the recital of this dreary carnage to offer an apology for the monotony of his subject, and to bespeak some indulgence for the tame submission of those whom he regards as rather the victims of fatality than of wilful cowardice[14]. It is more pertinent to ask what other course was open to those to whom flight and resistance were alike impossible, or to what support they could have appealed, when each member of the senate was trembling for himself, when even such ineffective popular feeling as had displayed itself for Octavia[15] lay at the command of no Roman noble, when plots such as that which had just failed so signally, were their sole resource.

[1] 16. 14, 3.
[2] 16. 15, 2.
[3] 16. 17, 5. The enforced suicide of Gallio, the remaining brother of Seneca (see note on 15. 72, 4) must have taken place after the date at which the Annals now close.
[4] 16. 17, 8. Both the letter of Lucan to Mela and the reference to Crispinus and Cerialis in Mela's own will, are treated by Tacitus as forgeries.
[5] 16. 20, 2.
[6] 16. 18, 5. Plutarch mentions (see note on 16. 17, 1) offence taken at an ill-judged stroke of attempted flattery, which may have predisposed Nero against Petronius.
[7] He had shown capacity as governor of Bithynia and as consul (16. 18, 3).
[8] 16. 18, 2.
[9] 16. 18, 1.
[10] 16. 18, 4.
[11] He cared not to await the result of the charge (16. 19, 1). The contrast of his last moments with those of other people is described (§ 2–4).
[12] 16. 19, 5.
[13] l. l. Some other traits of him are given in the note on c. 17, 1. On his identification with the author of the Satire see note on c. 18. 1.
[14] 16. 17. A similar apology, though supported on different grounds, is offered in 4. 32–33.
[15] 14. 16, 1.

Many of the conspirators, and of those who perished subsequently, had few claims, or none whatever, on general sympathy; and even the highest ranked in elevation of character below Thrasea and Soranus, to whose fate Tacitus has given more space than to that of any others among the Neronian victims [1]. Yet, with all that is told us, much is still left obscure and unexplained; and the real causes which led Nero to compass their destruction are mainly matter of conjecture.

Thrasea, though undoubtedly the leader of the extreme section of the senatorial 'Opposition' [2], and a man of longstanding and pronounced republican sympathies, had been enabled, although a 'novus homo' from Patavium [3], to go through the course of magistracies and attain the consulship [4], and could not therefore have been always obnoxious to emperors. In the early years of Nero, when his attendance in the senate was constant [5], various servile motions had elicited from him no word of protest [6], and those who had expected greater things had murmured at the waste of his strength on trifles [7]; while even his one strong step, that of rising and leaving the house when thanksgivings and congratulations were decreed on Agrippina's death [8], receives scant praise from Tacitus [9]. Three years later, at the trial of Antistius [10], he appears as a skilful tactician, leading the majority of the senate in a course opposed to Nero's secret purpose, but fully within the terms of the question [11], and veiling his opposition under well-chosen compliments [12]; while his only subsequent recorded speech [13], if conceived in a narrow spirit of Roman pride, could yet have been in no way unacceptable to the court [14]. It would seem likely that he had been driven into more pronounced hostility by the ascendancy of Poppaea, and that his three years of continuous absence from his place in the senate [15] had begun at the date of the vows and thanksgivings at the birth of her child [16]. It is

[1] 16. 21-35.

[2] See the general description of him and his party in Schiller, pp. 669, foll.

[3] 16. 21, 1.

[4] See note on 13. 49, 1. He was also one of the college of 'quindecimviri' (16. 22, 1).

[5] 'Adsiduum olim et indefessum' (16. 22, 1).

[6] 'Silentio vel brevi adsensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus' (14. 12, 2).

[7] See 13. 49, 1, foll. That he had not confined himself to such, is shown by the incidental mention (16. 21, 3) of the part taken by him in the condemnation of Cossutianus Capito (see 13. 33, 3).

[8] 14. 12, 2.

[9] The criticism (l. l.), 'sibi causam periculi fecit, ceteris libertatis initium non praebuit,' is somewhat ungenerous (see note there).

[10] 14. 48, 5.

[11] Cp. 'datam et absolvendi licentiam' (14. 49, 4).

[12] 14. 48, 5. On this occasion also, his persistence is somewhat ungenerously imputed in part to vanity (c. 49, 5).

[13] That on the subject of votes of thanks by provincial subjects to governors (15. 20, 2, foll.).

[14] A vote in accordance with it was passed, 'auctore principe' (15. 22, 2).

[15] 16. 22, 1.

[16] 15. 23, 1.

certainly at that date that we find the first open mark of Nero's displeasure [1], which, though followed immediately by an outward show of reconciliation, must have left a sting behind in both minds [2]. After this, again for three years we hear no more; and then, without any additional circumstances to explain it, the attack is launched upon him, beginning with an invective by his old enemy Capito Cossutianus [3], followed by a second prohibition from the emperor's presence, and a dignified demand on his part to know the charge against him, which is answered by an instant summons of the senate to despatch the trial [4].

No charge whatever of the most remote or indirect complicity in the Pisonian or any other conspiracy is ever alleged or hinted [5]: dereliction of public duties, an offence never before made the subject of a capital charge or criminal prosecution of any kind [6], is all that the accusers have to go upon [7], or that the emperor even glances at in his rescript to the senate [8]; the rest is mere inflation of rhetoric. The orators are careful to point out how important, and how closely touching the emperor personally, were some of the occasions on which he had been absent, such as the solemn vows and ratification of 'acta' at the beginning of each year [9], the vote of divine honours to Poppaea, the attendance on her funeral [10], the trials of Silanus and Anteius [11]; nor do they fail to note that not senatorial duties alone had been thus contemptuously avoided; that in the college of the 'quindecimviri,' at the offerings for the preservation of the prince and for his 'divine voice' [12], Thrasea's absence had been no less conspicuous; even an old story of want of heartiness at the 'Juvenalia' is thrown in [13]; and on this slender foundation the elaborate fabric of a charge of treason and impiety is built up [14]. Still more remarkable is the way in which his son-in-law Helvidius Priscus, and his friends Paconius Agrippinus and Curtius Montanus are thrown in with him, apparently at the last moment, and on charges yet more flimsy [15]. The first

[1] 15. 23, 5. The words 'praenuntium imminentis caedis' are exaggerated.

[2] 15. 23, 6: the congratulations of Seneca (see note) must have increased the tension.

[3] 16. 22.

[4] 16. 24.

[5] The suggestion of Schiller (p. 686), that some new conspiracy entirely unknown to us may possibly have been on foot, is wholly groundless. In so public a trial, of which the minutes of the senate must have contained a full account, it seems impossible that any such charge should have perished altogether unrecorded.

[6] See note on 16. 22, 1.

[7] See c. 22 and 28.

[8] 16. 27, 2.

[9] 16. 22, 1.

[10] 16. 21, 2; 22. 5.

[11] 16. 22, 1 (see note).

[12] l. l.

[13] 16. 21, 1, and note.

[14] The speeches, whether actually historical or not, give a specimen of the way in which facts are stretched into charges. 'Spernit religiones, abrogat leges' is their way of expressing his absence when the deification of Poppaea was decreed, and when the 'acta' were ratified.

[15] 16. 28, 2. They are alluded to (without being named) in the previous speech of Capito, as his 'sectatores' or 'satellites' (16. 22, 3).

is vaguely described as 'sharing his madness,' the second as 'the hereditary enemy of princes,' the third as author of 'detestable verses,' of which no further account is given [1]. That these had followed Thrasea's course of abstinence from public life is nowhere stated; and it must be inferred that their private and personal connection with him is the only real ground of their association in the charge.

We are thus led to suppose that in Nero's present suspicious mood the existence of such a coterie seemed in itself to be dangerous. Considerable in numbers, and comprising persons of the highest political and social standing [2], it lived in isolation; much as France has seen Legitimists, Bonapartists, or Republicans living in an inner world of their own under a hostile government. With probably no more belief that any restoration of the Republic was possible, than we have seen it to be likely that Lucan had [3], they yet consecrated their lives to its memory; they kept high festival on the birthdays of Cassius and the Bruti [4]; their leader was himself the biographer of Cato [5], and had married the daughter and namesake of the heroic Arria [6]; his utterances were to them a fountain of inspired wisdom [7]; nor was he unwilling to take them into his counsel, whether to explain his past [8] or to guide his future course [9]; while outside themselves no opinion deserved to be taken into account. Strong governments have found their wisdom in tolerating such bodies, and even in respecting them; but in the course of terrorism on which Nero was now launched, it was easy to persuade him that in dealing with such opinions, he could not stop at the banishment of Cassius [10].

Other difficulties are raised by the attack on Soranus, which, while simultaneous, and apparently concerted with that on Thrasea [11], comes from altogether distinct accusers and rests on different charges [12]. He had certainly not been always in opposition: fourteen years previously, he had courted Claudius and Pallas by moving a decree of money and honours to the latter [13]; nor had he ever afterwards taken any part in the senate which Tacitus has cared to mention; nor is he stated to have been

[1] 16. 28, 2. The expression would suggest that they were scurrilous libels; but this is expressly denied, and literary jealousy on Nero's part is suggested (c. 29, 3). Possibly they may have been Republican rhapsodies, in Lucan's vein.

[2] Cp. 'inlustrium virorum feminarumque coetum frequentem egerat' (16. 34, 2).

[3] See above, p. 77.

[4] Juv. 5, 36.

[5] Plut. Cat. Min. 25; 37.

[6] 16. 34, 3. She would be thus, like Paconius, 'in principes odii heres' (16. 28, 2).

[7] 'Audiret senatus voces quasi ex aliquo numine supra humanas' (16. 25, 2).

[8] Cp. 'rationem poscentibus amicis' (13. 49. 5).

[9] Cp. 'inter proximos consultavit,' &c. (16. 25, 1).

[10] Cp. 'frustra Cassium amovisti,' &c. (16. 29, 9).

[11] 16. 21, 1.

[12] 16. 23, 1; 30, 1.

[13] 12. 53, 2.

a friend of Thrasea, or Republican in sentiments. The nominal charges against him are evidently no more than pretexts; his friendship for Rubellius Plautus, who had been four years dead[1], and his conduct as proconsul of Asia at an equally distant date[2]; while the perhaps more formidable charge of magic had evidently not arisen till he was already indicted on the other grounds[3]. The only known circumstance affecting him and Thrasea alike was their common Stoicism[4]; and, in default of other explanation, it is suggested that the profession of its tenets was the real reason for striking now at him, and accounts also for an important part of the hostility to Thrasea and his followers.

This sect[5] had now reached a dignity and importance beyond any which it had hitherto attained in Rome. It had triumphed over the transient popularity of Epicureanism[6], had softened much of the eccentricity which had moved the ridicule of Horace, and had supplied the more earnest-minded with at once a philosophy and a religion; nor would it seem as if its crew of impostors[7], who had nothing of the monk except the cowl, the hypocrites with an affectation of austerity in dress and demeanour combined with licentious profligacy of life, could have been then as numerous as when they stirred the wrath of Juvenal[8]. From its rank and file came most of the teachers from whom Roman youths drew their supply of moral maxims and of telling rhetoric[9]; while many of its higher minds had the missionary and didactic spirit[10] which breathes no less through the satires of Persius than the essays of Seneca[11]; its professors are the domestic chaplains and spiritual directors of great houses[12],

[1] 16. 23, 2; 30, 1.

[2] See note on 16. 23, 1.

[3] This appears from Servilia's defence, stating that she had consulted magicians only respecting the result of the pending trial (16. 30, 3; 31, 1). The account in Dio is different (see note).

[4] He had been the 'discipulus' (Juv. 3, 117) of Egnatius Celer (16. 32, 2).

[5] The great subject of Roman Stoicism can only here be entered into in regard to its bearing on the political history of this period. For further information, a general reference must be made to such works as Zeller, 'Stoics,' &c. Ch. xii. E. T.; Sir A. Grant, Ethics of Aristotle, Essay vi; Merivale, Hist. Ch. 54; Friedländer, Sitteng. iii. 615, foll.; Schiller, p. 688, foll. Its bearing on religion is shown by Bishop Lightfoot on the Epistle to the Philippians (Dissert. ii. 'St. Paul and Seneca'). Obligations have here to be acknowledged to most of these works.

[6] See Grant, p. 346.

[7] Tacitus glances at the ascetics who were glad to feast at Nero's table (14. 16, 3), and implies that Egnatius Celer, who was 'habitu et ore ad experimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam ac libidinem occultans' (16. 32, 3), was no solitary instance (see also 15. 45, 4). We are reminded throughout of the unworthy Pharisees, existing side by side with such men as Gamaliel.

[8] Such strong words as 'quis enim non vicus abundat Tristibus obscaenis?' (Juv. 2, 8) are of course not to be taken too strictly, but may be compared with the current statements respecting the monastic orders at the close of the middle ages.

[9] See Grant, p. 344.

[10] Id. p. 352, foll.

[11] The life of Epictetus, as a slave of Nero's freedman Epaphroditus, belongs partly to this period, but his career as a teacher begins later.

[12] Livia, at the death of Drusus, 'conso-

and attend to suggest the hope of immortality or other philosophical consolation at the last[1].

It had not generally been regarded as politically dangerous, though it had numbered individual victims under the empire[2], and though their reverence of Cato would associate itself with his cause, however remote the constitution for which he had died might be from any ideal commonwealth. But now that Lucan had undoubtedly conspired, and Seneca and Musonius Rufus[3] were supposed to have done so, it was easy for Tigellinus to remind his master of the warning which he had given him against Rubellius Plautus, 'that he was of that arrogant sect which made men sedition-mongers and busybodies[4].' Such an assertion is indeed in strange contrast to the philosophic theory, whereby not only was good government welcomed by the sage as leaving him free for the higher life[5], but even bad government was not held to call upon him for a hopeless struggle against it[6]; his state was the universe, and in that alone could he truly busy himself[7]; he would submit freely and willingly to that to which he must submit anyhow[8], unless his position became such as to justify suicide[9]. It was thus, as has been well said, 'not a stimulus to action, but a consolation under inactivity[10];' and the attitude inculcated, whatever we may think of it in the light of Seneca's practice, was altogether in accordance with that of Thrasea. But under a reign of terror, when to be conspicuous is to be dangerous, worse arguments have been known to pass muster against an obnoxious citizen: Rubellius had been an object of fear, and Soranus was his friend and fellow-Stoic: Thrasea's every look and gesture, imitated by his sourfaced crew, was intended for an insolent censure on Nero's life[11]; his Stoic disdain made the disaffected all over the empire look eagerly to the public journals[12] to mark step by

latori se Areo philosopho viri sui praebuit' (Sen. ad Marc. 4, 2). See other instances given by Bishop Lightfoot (p. 310), and Friedl. (p. 656).

[1] See 14. 59, 2; 16. 34, 2; and the contrast described in 16. 19, 3. The immortality of the soul, though not an essential tenet of Stoicism (see Merivale, p. 237), was held by most of these Stoics more or less strongly.

[2] Kanus had suffered under Gaius (Sen. Tranq. An. 14), Caecina Paetus under Claudius.

[3] 15. 71, 9.

[4] 'Adsumpta etiam Stoicorum adrogantia sectaque, quae turbidos et negotiorum adpetentes faciat' (14. 57. 5).

[5] 'Errare mihi videntur, qui existimant philosophiae fideliter deditos contumaces esse ac refractarios, [et] contemptores magistratuum ac regum eorumve, per quos publica administrantur. E contrario enim nulli adversus illos gratiores sunt: nec inmerito; nullis enim plus praestant quam quibus frui tranquillo otio licet' (Sen. Ep. 73, 1).

[6] 'Si respublica corruptior est quam ut adiuvari possit, si occupata est malis, non nitetur sapiens in supervacuum' (Sen. de Ot. 3, 3; cp. 8, 1).

[7] Id. 4, 1; Ep. 68, 2.

[8] 'Volentes quidem non trahuntur a fortuna, sequuntur illam' (de Prov. 4, 1); 'quid est boni viri? praebere se fato' (2, 8).

[9] De Ira, 3. 15, 3; Ep. 17, 9, &c.

[10] Merivale, Ch. 54.

[11] 'Rigidi et tristes, quo tibi lasciviam exprobrent' (16. 22. 3).

[12] 16. 22, 6.

step his secession[1] from the state; and it was easy to conceive him as another Tubero or Favonius, as bent on 'first destroying the empire for liberty, then liberty itself' for something yet more visionary[2].

If Nero contemplated any general blow at the whole body[3], he took, as was usual with him, but one step at a time, and struck down those only whose position gave importance to their tenets. Even as it was, to force the senate to condemn such men was beyond anything which he had yet demanded of it; and there may have been as much real timidity as artifice in choosing the moment when public attention was taken off by the approach of Tiridates[4], in the rescript pointing to Thrasea without venturing to name him[5], in raising the cry that the whole constitution was at stake, in menacing the senate, apparently under pretext of protection, with an unprecedented show of military force[6].

Of the one long day's sitting[7] we have but the record of the touching defence of Servilia and Soranus[8], of the baseness of one client of the latter[9] and the loyalty of another[10], of the intimidated senate in the midst of bristling weapons, yet deeply moved by the memory of the venerable leader[11] who had not stooped to face the indignity of trial[12], and powerless to acquit even his still more innocent associates[13]. Beyond this, we have the bare decision, the vote of an enormous reward to the accusers, and the hardly complete description of the end of Thrasea[14], reminding us in many points of that of Seneca. If such death scenes seem to us to be rather theatrical than genuine, it is well to be reminded that 'it is the privilege of patriots in miserable times to be excited, strained, unnatural; and hence we can understand how it was that from the Girondists of France the Roman Stoics obtained such sympathy and admiration[15].'

After we lose the guidance of Tacitus, but few names, and hardly anything more than the names, of further victims survive to us. The

[1] 'Secessionem iam id' (16. 22, 2); cp. 'non illi consulta haec, non magistratus aut Romanam urbem videri' (c. 28, 6).

[2] 16. 22, 8.

[3] On the very weak evidence of Philostratus (Vit. Ap. 4, 35), Nero has been said to have banished the philosophers; but this is generally altogether disbelieved (see Merivale, l. l.). Besides those here mentioned, he is said to have banished Cornutus (see note on 14. 59, 2).

[4] 16. 23, 3. The other motive suggested for bringing on the trial at this time is less probable.

[5] 16. 27, 2.

[6] 16. 27, 1, where see note.

[7] Cp. 16. 27, 1; 34, 1.

[8] c. 30–32.

[9] c. 32, 3.

[10] c. 33, 1.

[11] c. 29, 1.

[12] See note on c. 26, 8.

[13] c. 29, 2, 3.

[14] A few words only appear to be lost on this subject; but some account was probably also given of the end of Soranus and Servilia. The censure in Agr. 42, 5 of those who 'per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt,' alludes no doubt to the way in which Helvidius provoked his fate under Vespasian, but can hardly also refer to Thrasea.

[15] Grant, p. 349.

remarkable fact that Corbulo and the two brothers Scribonius Rufus and Proculus (the legati of the two 'Germaniae') were all in one year put to death [1] would show that Nero had conceived suspicion at the same time of the commanders of all his greatest armies; but nothing whatever remains to indicate its ground. Beyond these names, we have no detail of the many cruelties of Nero in Greece [2]; beyond the name of Sulpicius Camerinus, none respecting those perpetrated by Helius as his vicegerent at Rome [3]. A few words of Suetonius tell us that to the other family murders were added those of his adoptive sister Antonia [4] and his stepson Rufrius Crispinus [5]; a single line of Pliny alludes to the fate of the six wealthy possessors of half the province of Africa [6]; our accounts of the reaction under Galba give us names of several delators whose careers seem hardly to have begun when the Annals break off. We are told that the Scribonii fell before the delation of Paccius Africanus [7]; Licinius Crassus [8] and Salvidienus Orfitus [9] and their families before that of Aquilius Regulus; that Eprius Marcellus had added other noble victims to Thrasea and his friends [10]; that infamy had been incurred on similar grounds by Vibius Crispus [11], Annius Faustus [12], Sariolenus Vocula, Nonius Attianus, Cestius Severus [13]; and for exactions or other misdeeds by the freedmen, as Polyclitus, Vatinius, Patrobius [14], Petinus [15], also by Calvia Crispinilla [16], and others. When to such indications we add the inference derived from observing how few of the cases mentioned in the extant narrative of Tacitus would have been known to us without it [17], we can see how far we probably are from being able to form even an approximate estimate of the bloodshed and other acts of tyranny of the last two years of Nero.

Among these latest victims our great interest centres in Corbulo; but as to any explanation of his fate we have but conjecture to go upon.

[1] Dio, 63. 17, 2–5. Their deaths are placed in 820, A.D. 67.

[2] Dio, 63. 17, 1.

[3] Dio, 63. 18, 2.

[4] Suet. Ner. 35: cp. 15. 53, 4, and note.

[5] Suet. l. l.: see note on 13. 45, 4.

[6] 'Sex domini semissem Africae possidebant quum interfecit eos Nero princeps' (N. H. 18, 6, 7, 35).

[7] H. 4. 41, 3.

[8] H. 1. 48, 1; 4. 42, 1.

[9] 4. 42, 1; Suet. Ner. 37.

[10] Cp. 'quod Neronem in exitium tot innocentium inpulerit' (H. 4. 7, 4). The Sentius mentioned just above (§ 3) may have been one of them.

[11] H 2. 10, 2, 6; 4. 41, 4; 42, 6.

[12] H. 2. 10, 2.

[13] H. 4. 41, 2. Besides all these, the poet Silius Italicus lay under the imputation of having been a delator (Pl. Ep. 3. 7, 3), but is nowhere mentioned as such in Tacitus.

[14] H. 1. 37, 8; 2. 95, 4.

[15] Plut. Galb. 17.

[16] Her extortions in Greece are mentioned in Dio, 63. 12, 3, but are not alluded to in the notice of her in H. 1. 73.

[17] Of those punished for real or alleged participation in the Pisonian conspiracy, only four or five names are given by Dio or others; of those mentioned by Tacitus in Book 16, only Thrasea and Soranus. It may be similarly shown how few of the victims of Tiberius mentioned in the Sixth Book have any record in any other author.

Supposing it probable that he occupied Armenia, without opposition from the Parthians, till the journey of Tiridates to Rome was accomplished [1], his tenure of that country would have reached its natural end when that prince returned invested by Nero with the diadem; and, as the ordinary government of Syria had been for some time in other hands [2], no disgrace would be implied in his recall to Rome; though the existence of some suspicion or jealousy may be inferred from Nero's having neither taken the obvious course of transferring him and his legions to the Jewish war, nor retained him to direct the expedition (probably already in contemplation) beyond the Caucasus [3]; nor could Corbulo himself have failed to notice the want of confidence in him implied by the appointment of Vespasian and Mucianus [4]. His own officer, Arrius Varus, appears to have been his chief accuser [5]; and we are allowed to see, even from the accounts of Tacitus, that there were occasions on which ground of accusation may well have existed [6]. But the suddenness with which Nero summoned him, and the precautions taken to throw him off his guard [7], seem to point to some pressing panic, and lend weight to the suggestion that his name may have been mixed up, without any complicity on his own part, in the conspiracy of which his son-in-law Annius Vinicianus is thought to have been the head [8]. As to his own unflinching loyalty, repented of only at the last moment of his life, our authority speaks unhesitatingly [9].

It is in the narrative of the final catastrophe that we have above all to deplore our loss of the guidance of Tacitus; by which the many points left in such great obscurity, respecting the real aim of Vindex, and his relations with Galba and Verginius, might have been cleared up [10], and some explanation given of the causes which had led alike the Gallic levies and the German and Spanish legions, and governors of such various characters and possibly discordant motives, to agree at least in treating any continuance of the Neronian rule as impossible [11]. It is indeed easy to suppose that such

[1] See below, ch. iv.

[2] Cestius Gallus had been appointed in 816, A.D. 63 (15. 25, 5).

[3] See H. 1. 6, 5; Suet. Ner. 19.

[4] The death of Cestius Gallus, and the appointment of these two officers to command in Judaea and Syria is probably to be placed at the end of 819, A.D. 66. See Appendix to Book 16.

[5] H. 3. 6, 2.

[6] See below, ch. iv. p. 121.

[7] *Ἐντιμότατα μεταπεμψάμενος . . . καὶ πατέρα καὶ εὐεργέτην αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ὀνομάζων* (Dio, 63. 17, 5).

[8] See note on 15. 28, 4; Appendix to Book 16.

[9] Dio, l. l. In 62. 19, 4, he is spoken of as strongly urged to become emperor but steadily refusing. Tiridates is also said (63. 6, 4) to have remarked to Nero, *ἀγαθὸν ἀνδράποδον Κορβούλωνα ἔχεις*.

[10] Such inferences with respect to the judgment of Tacitus on these points as are suggested by allusions in the Histories are noticed in Appendix to Book 16.

[11] See Appendix, l. l. The professed purpose of Vindex, and (at first) of Galba, to restore the Republic, can hardly be assumed to have been sincere; and Verginius does not seem to have gone further in this direction than to assume that Nero had forfeited the principate, but to main-

general and standing grounds of military discontent as were shown in the mutiny of so many legions at the death of Augustus against an emperor of known vigour and capacity, who had even been their own victorious general[1], would have been aggravated at this time by the news of the conduct of their imperator in Greece and elsewhere, and by jealousy at the donatives and other gifts lavished on the praetorians[2]. It is again evident that the fate of Corbulo and the Scribonii must have taught all provincial commanders what they had to expect, and warned them that it was safer to take advantage of the discontent of the troops than to repress it: and that a state of things would thus come to exist which a single spark might set in a blaze. For the further progress of the revolt, the weakness, passing at a step from contemptuous indifference to abject panic, with which Nero attempted to face the situation, would seem sufficiently to account.

As regards the last crisis, that of the defection of the praetorians, a few words of Tacitus come in to confirm the general account. To this body their long standing allegiance to the Caesars[3] had not only the force of habit, but was also a necessity of their existence: the proclamation of a Republic would have been their sentence of disbandment; nor had they any desire of their own for even a change of ruler. Fourteen years of laxity and indulgence had taught them to love a vicious prince as deeply as their predecessors had ever respected a strict one[4]; and the contrast of Galba could hardly have been more attractive in anticipation than it proved to be in reality[5]. But the intrigues of Nymphidius[6] found their all-powerful support in Nero's own cowardice; and a false report that the flight which he was known to be contemplating had already taken place left them no resource but to make the best of the only rival then before them[7], however visionary might be their hope of the enormous donative offered in his name[8].

tain that it was for the senate and people of Rome to choose a successor.

[1] See 1. 17; 35.

[2] On such standing jealousy cp. 1. 17, 9; on Nero's gifts to the latter force, cp. 12. 69, 3; 15. 72, 1, and notes. The extent of the military disaffection suggests also that there may have been some truth in the statement of Suet. (see note on 16. 3, 1), that the soldiers' pay had fallen into arrear.

[3] This force is described as 'longo Caesarum sacramento imbutus' (H. 1. 5, 1), in even a stricter sense than that in which the legions were so.

[4] 'Ita quatuordecim annis a Nerone assuefactos, ut non minus vitia principum amarent quam olim virtutes verebantur' (H. 1. 5, 3).

[5] 'Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas eius angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam' (l. l.).

[6] See Appendix, l. l.

[7] Hence Tacitus speaks of the force as 'ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et inpulsu quam suo ingenio traductus' (H. 1. 5, 1); and Piso is made to say, by a pardonable stretch of rhetoric, 'et Nero quoque vos destituit, non vos Neronem' (H. 1. 30, 7).

[8] 30,000 H. S. each (Plut. Galb. 2). They are represented (Id. 18) as hoping at least to get as much as Nero had given, which was half that sum.

Tacitus has not left us even a word of allusion to the last scene; but as the narrative of all historians could only have rested on the testimony of three or four eye-witnesses, it is not likely that the accounts materially varied. He would no doubt have delighted to contrast the ghastly irony, which at the last hour deplored the loss to the stage[1], and strove even in its agony to bring out scraps of literature[2] and forced efforts of expression[3], with the serenity and self-possession which had marked the last hours of the tyrant's most illustrious victims.

An important historical question remains to be considered, how far the personal outrages and excesses of the emperor affected the general administration of the empire. We have certainly no evidence of exceptional misgovernment, such as the universal disturbance of settlements under Gaius, or of such rampant venality and corruption as was prevalent under Claudius; nor, until the last year, is there evidence of any general breakdown of authority. On the other hand, the reputation gained in the first 'quinquennium,' over-rated, as we have seen reason to think it has been[4], is far from being sustained throughout the later period; and we seem to have an impression of mingled wisdom and weakness, as if Nero had been never without good advisers[5], but had either listened to them or followed his own impulse as the humour took him. This may especially be illustrated by the strange interpolation of the episode of Tigranes in the otherwise consistent policy maintained throughout the Eastern war[6]. The rebellion in Britain was dealt with in a spirit of judicious conciliation[7]; the Jewish war was taken up on a scale befitting its seriousness[8]; but in neither case had any previous account been taken of the widespread and deepseated causes of discontent which had led to the outbreak. Again, in the midst of that war, for which assuredly all the strength available in the East was needed, we hear of two projected expeditions, that to the Caucasus, which perhaps at a more opportune time might have been

[1] 'Qualis artifex pereo' (Suet. Ner. 49).

[2] He is made to quote Homer (*ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὔατα βάλλει*) on hearing the sound of the horsemen in pursuit of him (Suet. l. l.).

[3] Several such are collected by Suet. and Dio, as 'ergo ego nec amicum habeo nec inimicum:' 'haec est Neronis decocta:' *νήφειν δεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις: ἄγε ἔγειρε σεαυτόν*: 'haec est fides,' &c.

[4] See above, p. 59.

[5] The part played by the 'concilium principis' (see 13. 50, 2; 15. 25, 2, &c.) in all cases where the emperor had no strong personal interest, is apt to be underrated. Petronius Turpilianus and Nerva are thought to have been among Nero's later counsellors. (See 15. 72, 2, and note.)

[6] See below, p. 115.

[7] See below, ch. v.

[8] See Appendix to Book 16.

justifiable[1], and one to Aethiopia[2], for which no intelligible reason has ever been assigned. In the provincial governorships[3], good appointments are so far mingled with bad as to preclude either general praise or censure. In Britain, Suetonius Paulinus and Petronius Turpilianus are succeeded by Trebellius Maximus[4]; in Germany, Verginius Rufus is balanced by Fonteius Capito[5], in Spain, Galba by Otho[6], in the East, Corbulo by Caesennius Paetus[7]; while Porcius Festus is alone well spoken of among the later Jewish procurators[8]; and if credit is given for selecting such men as Vespasian and Mucianus[9] to deal with the insurrection, it must be remembered that the cruelty of Gessius Florus had occasioned it, and the incapacity of Cestius Gallus had made it formidable[10]. The absence of trials for 'repetundae' under the later years of Nero[11] would rather, in connection with such appointments, suggest that redress had become more difficult, than that governors had become more pure.

In other measures, the same mixed character is to be traced; we have on the one hand well-meant attempts to restore the decaying centres of Italian life by fresh colonisation[12], the extension of Latin rights to one or more Alpine districts[13], the incorporation of Pontus Polemoniacus in the provincial empire[14]; and, side by side with these, such characteristic strokes as the shortlived act of impulsive folly by which Greece was restored to freedom[15], and the extortionate subsidies levied everywhere after the fire[16]. Similarly, in the measures taken after that catastrophe, the wise and liberal bounty to the sufferers[17], and the bold and comprehensive plans for such reconstruction as should not

[1] On this project see below, p. 125, 7. Troops were not indeed drawn from the East for it; but reinforcements may have been diverted which were needed there.

[2] Dio, 63. 8, 1. Troops were being collected for it in Egypt (H. 1. 31, 8; 70, 2).

[3] A complete list of all Neronian governors of whom we have record is given in Schiller, p. 383, foll. It will be remembered that during the first five years the appointments made contrasted favourably with those of the Claudian time. (See above, p. 58.)

[4] He is described as 'per avaritiam ac sorde contemptus exercitui invisusque' (H. 1. 60, 1).

[5] Tacitus calls him 'avaritia et libidine foedum ac maculosum' (H. 1. 7, 2).

[6] That Otho governed Lusitania well is expressly asserted (13. 46, 5); but the circumstances of his appointment were scandalous.

[7] See below, p. 117, foll.

[8] See Jos. B. I. 2. 14, 1, where he is contrasted with his successor Albinus, and with the still further change from bad to worse in Gessius Florus.

[9] See Appendix to Book 16. The appointment of Vespasian is the more remarkable as he was in disfavour (16. 5, 5).

[10] See Appendix, l. l.

[11] For the numerous cases in the earlier years see above, p. 56.

[12] 13. 31, 2; 14. 27, 2, 3.

[13] See 15. 32, 1, and note.

[14] Suet. Ner. 18. Marquardt shows (i. 202) that this is to be dated in 816, A.D. 63.

[15] See Appendix, l. l. Pausanias states (7. 17, 2) that Vespasian promptly reversed the measure, ἀπομεμαθηκέναι φήσας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

[16] 15. 45, 1.

[17] 15. 39, 2; 43. 2, 3

only make the recurrence of such disasters less likely[1], but should also replace by streets and buildings more worthy of the mistress of the world the mean and winding thoroughfares of the hasty and frugal restoration after the Gaulish conquest[2], has to be contrasted with the wholesale appropriation, implied to have been without compensation[3], of all the best and most central area of the city by the emperor himself. It is also to be noticed that the financial liberality towards the state, for which he is made to take ostentatious credit[4], stands in strange relation to the profligate wastefulness of his general expenditure[5], above all, to the prodigious sum of 2200 million H.S. squandered in indiscriminate largesses[6], leaving an empty exchequer which the utmost severity of his successor strove in vain to replenish[7].

The fact that no marked changes in the system of government originated under him, but those already in progress moved with accelerated pace, is due rather to circumstances than to himself. The profession of respect for the senate at the beginning of his rule was not, and could not well be, accompanied by any real restoration of the functions which Claudius had taken from them[8], and was exchanged for pronounced hatred[9], and the extermination of many of its noblest families. Some had entered into conspiracy, others had provoked his animosity by mere pre-eminence or energy[10], the order as a whole less creditably by their abject servility, and probably by giving more and more evidence that their growing incompetence and antiquated rules[11] made them rather a hindrance than a help in the task of government. Hence the threat to carry the Claudian system out to its completion by abolishing the order altogether, and governing the

[1] 15. 43, 4.

[2] 15. 43, 1. The criticism in § 5 (where see note) would show that the substitution of broad for narrow streets was not an unmixed gain.

[3] See 15. 42, 1, and note.

[4] 15. 18, 4. The reference is doubtful (see note there), and the strictures which he is represented as making on his predecessors can hardly have applied with truth to any but Gaius.

[5] Suet. gives several details (Ner. 30) which we have not means of criticising.

[6] 'Bis et vicies millies sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat' (H. 1. 20, 2); a sum about equivalent to eighteen millions sterling. It seems implied that this sum covers the gifts not of his whole rule, but of his last years only. Plutarch (Galb. 16) speaks of them as gifts to actors and athletes. The rewards of delators are perhaps also included.

[7] Galba tried to get the gifts back from the recipients (H. 1. l. l.), and (failing this) even from those who had purchased of them (Plut. Galb. l. l.; Suet. Galb. 15).

[8] See above, p. 35.

[9] Hence the subtle form of flattery ascribed to Vatinius, 'I hate you, Caesar, because you are a senator' (Dio, 63. 15, 1).

[10] Cp. 'magnitudo famae exitio erat' (3. 55, 3); 'gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit' (Agr. 6, 3).

[11] The annual tenure of all magistracies, and the idea (departed from only under pressure of emergency) that any senator was equally fitted for any function, and that all partition of duties should be by lot, must have become more and more out of date.

empire by means of knights and freedmen[1]: hence also the rise of the latter body[2], somewhat checked at the outset of his rule[3], to nearly as important a position as they had held under his predecessor[4].

As the breach between the emperor and the aristocracy continually widened, he was brought into closer relation with the populace. The transference of the cost of the corn dole from the aerarium to the fiscus, whether actually the work of Claudius or of Nero[5], seems to have borne its chief fruit under the latter. The mass who now thus in the most direct manner looked to the princeps for their food, dispensed in his name and by his officers, and supplemented by other gifts of various kinds[6], and by constant and gratuitous amusements, formed a vast and increasing 'clientela Caesaris,' in comparison with which the adherents of the shattered and impoverished aristocratic houses could have been no more than a handful[7].

In speaking of the Neronian period as one distinguished in the history of literature[8], it should be borne in mind that several of its most eminent names only in part belong to it[9]; that the manysided genius of Seneca, to whose influence the whole movement of this literary revival is generally ascribed, was famous as early as the time of Gaius[10]; and that the example and pursuits of Claudius[11] must have been on the whole more favourable to literature than the ignoble patronage of Nero; who by the literary contests which he instituted, can but at best have promoted an increase in the number of works possessing an average stamp of merit[12]; who condemned Lucan to silence as soon as his fame had established itself[13], valued Petronius only as the inventor of his pleasures[14], and employed Seneca to write his speeches and to prostitute his pen in

[1] Suet. Ner. 37.

[2] The knights were not as much in honour; as the *élite* of that body were closely allied to senators (H. 1. 4, 3).

[3] In 13. 2, 3, Nero is described as not inclined to allow such persons to rule him.

[4] Polyclitus was sent to report on Britain (14. 39, 1); Helius left vicegerent in Italy while Nero was in Greece (Dio, 63. 12, 1); the power of others is attested by the hatred felt towards them afterwards (H. 1. 37, 8; 2. 95, 4).

[5] See note on 15. 18, 4.

[6] Among these may be mentioned 'congiaria' of large amount (see 13. 31, 2, and note) and sales of corn below market price (15. 18, 3; 39, 2). The statement of Dio (see on 15. 45, 1), that the corn dole was suspended after the fire, is unconfirmed and most improbable.

[7] See the important distinction between the 'pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa' and the 'plebs sordida circo ac theatris sueta' in H. 1. 4, 3. From the alleged superiority of the former class it is possible that some deduction should be made.

[8] Besides the well-known names in extant literature, a great number are collected by Teuffel, ii. pp. 35–99, § 280–303.

[9] Those most belonging to it were Lucan and Persius; of whom the latter, as a friend of Thrasea, must have been outside court influence.

[10] Dio, 59. 19, 7.

[11] Pliny (Ep. 1. 13, 3) mentions his paying Servilius Nonianus the compliment of attending his recitation.

[12] It is chiefly by such a poet as Calpurnius (see Ecl. 4. 30, foll.; 87, foll.) that this age is lauded as a new and happy era for poetry.

[13] 15. 49, 3.

[14] 16. 18, 4.

lying defences of his hideous crimes; who numbered all these, and other less famous names, among his victims, as also Musonius Rufus[1], Cornutus[2], Cassius the jurist[3], Verginius Flavus[4], among those whom he sent into exile[5]; and loved to be surrounded only by such poets as could not eclipse himself[6].

In architecture, his extravagance may not have been without its merit in giving a free hand to such men of genius as Severus and Celer[7]; nor is there reason to doubt that the 'domus aurea' was a miracle of costly splendour, and its grounds an unprecedented triumph of landscape gardening; although its glory was too shortlived to allow of much trustworthy information respecting it[8]. For the rest, his engineering projects, however good their aim, seem to have been ill-planned failures[9]; and his endeavour to replace the art treasures of Rome took the easy method of universal pillage[10].

The interest naturally attaching to the last prince of the great Julio-Claudian dynasty has contributed, no less than the events associated with his rule, to secure for him an attention far beyond his actual place in history: yet even the exhaustive researches of H. Schiller seem hardly to invalidate the conclusion already arrived at by Dean Merivale[11], that we have no such means of discovering a truer portrait of Nero behind the misrepresentation of historians as we have in the case of Tiberius or of Claudius. The fact that such misrepresentations were there discoverable may cast a general suspicion on the testimony in this case also; all the more so as the mass of falsification on both sides between which the impartial historian of the empire has to steer, seems in the case of this prince to have reached its maximum[12]: but in the general outline we have no glaring inconsistencies or other definite grounds of

[1] 15. 71, 9. [2] Dio, 62. 29, 2.
[3] 16. 9, 1. [4] 15. 71, 9.
[5] Besides these, Curtius Montanus, who is represented (16. 28, 2) as punished for his literary promise, was excluded from public life (c. 33, 4).
[6] See 14. 16, 1.
[7] 15. 42, 1.
[8] On this palace and grounds see l. l. and note. It is very doubtful whether it ever stood perfect; for the work is stated to have been unfinished at the accession of Otho (Suet. Oth. 7), and the demolition began under Vespasian.
[9] The canal from Avernus to the mouth of the Tiber is represented as undertaken on the advice of these persons in the face of its obvious impossibility (15. 42, 2). The purposed canal through the Isthmus of Corinth (Dio, 63. 16, 1) shared the fate of a similar project of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 21).
[10] See 15. 45, 3, and note.
[11] Hist. ch. 55.
[12] It will be remembered that Tacitus speaks of the current narratives of all the princes of whom he treats in the Annals as 'florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderunt, recentibus odiis compositae' (1. 1, 5). That this was especially the case with the contemporary narratives of Nero, is evident from the emphatic statement of Josephus (Ant. 20. 8, 3).

disbelief; and the balance which Tacitus, here as elsewhere, believes himself to hold, is shown chiefly in a few points which he alone treats as doubtful, while the authorities whom Suetonius or Dio have followed had assumed them as certain, but which, when all needful allowance is made, go for little towards any general reversal of judgment[1]; as is no less the case with other details in which the accuracy of Tacitus himself seems open to question[2]. Were he acquitted on every one of these counts in the indictment, one whose victims included every near relation that he had in the world, and almost every citizen who had given lustre to the age, would have but little to gain by the verdict. Such names as those of Britannicus, Agrippina, Octavia, and Antonia, or such as Seneca, Lucan, Thrasea, Soranus, Corbulo (not to mention many others), are assuredly to be weighed, not merely counted; and such justification or extenuation as is pleaded in one case or another becomes the harder to sustain when all are viewed together.

In accepting the substantial truth of the record before us, it is but just to take account of the circumstances and surroundings which helped to form this prince's character. Besides the vicious domestic influences with which the training of most young nobles had to struggle[3], his life from childhood had been spent in an atmosphere of falsehood, and among all the machinery of intrigue and crime by which still in mere boyhood he had risen to power, with even less experience of life than the worst of his predecessors; bending his earliest energies to escape by fair means or foul from his mother's leading-strings, with the aid of a brilliant teacher, pliant as a reed, and anxious, with (it may well be) good ulterior aims, to sustain his own influence over him at whatever moral cost. His earliest crimes revealed to him the utter degradation of the senate and people, who received his most flimsy justifications with effusive servility[4], and welcomed the matricide's return to Rome with all the honours of a triumph[5]; the former body proceeding, as time went on, to lend with increasing readiness its judicial machinery to strike down whomsoever he might choose to indicate to it[6], or responding to

[1] He thus leaves it open whether Nero gazed on the dead body of his mother and made remarks on it (14. 9, 1), whether he caused Burrus, Pallas, and Doryphorus to be poisoned (14. 51, 1; 65, 1), whether he had himself caused the fire in Rome (15. 38, 1). It may also be assumed that in some at least of the cases where he has omitted without comment what others have stated, he has done so intentionally.

[2] Among such may be noticed the probable exaggeration in such points as the 'vast multitude' of the Christian martyrs (15. 44, 5), the general expressions used of the numbers tried and executed for the conspiracy (15. 58, 3; 71, 1), and the assumption of the truth (in spite of his own previously expressed doubt) of the alleged attempt to poison Seneca (15. 60, 3).

[3] Quint. Inst. 1. 2, 4-8.

[4] 14. 12, 1.

[5] 14. 13, 2.

[6] For the mere hints which sufficed in the case of Thrasea see above, p. 85.

the announcement of murders already perpetrated by decreeing such public thanksgivings as had been usual after signal victories [1]. To complete his demoralisation, such men as Tigellinus accustomed themselves to practise for their own ends upon his fears [2], as others had practised on those of Claudius; and the timidity so characteristic of him at all stages of his career [3] becomes in the last crisis of his life a state of abject terror, in which he is powerless to act for himself, and is left by the desertion of his advisers to his miserable end.

Those in the higher ranks who had thus helped to make him what he was hastened to pass sentence of deposition and death, to wreak their vengeance on his memory and name, and to make illusory displays of freedom [4]; while the numbers who had lived on his bounty to his and their disgrace deplored a patron whose like they could never hope again to find [5]. Those of them who believed in the news of his death, and continued long to deck his grave with flowers [6], were important enough to make Otho and Vitellius seek their favour by paying respect to his memory [7]: many on the other hand took advantage of the mystery surrounding his end to keep up the belief that he yet lived and would return to execute vengeance and resume his rule [8]. The strength of such a belief is shown by the support given to pretenders, not only soon after his death [9], but even some twenty years later [10]; and by the long continued Christian expectation of the reappearance of the arch-tyrant and persecutor as the coming Antichrist [11].

[1] On the murder of Sulla and Plautus supplications were decreed, and Nero 'cuncta scelerum suorum pro egregiis accipi videt' (14. 59, 6; 60, 1). The still more flagrant instance on the murder of Octavia leads Tacitus to say 'praesumptum habeant, quotiens fugas et caedes iusserit princeps, totiens grates deis actas, quaeque rerum secundarum olim, tum publicae cladis insignia fuisse' (14. 64, 5). This effusive servility is probably not the characteristic of the main body, whose temperament is rather that of the crushed submissiveness ('sueta maestitia') which Tacitus contrasts with their more penetrating fear at the trial of Thrasea (16. 29, 1).

[2] 14. 57, 1, &c.

[3] Cp. 15. 36, 3; 16. 24, 3, and above, pp. 62, 64, &c.

[4] See Appendix to Book 16; also the description in H. 1. 4, 3: 'patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius, ut erga principem novum et absentem: primores equitum proximi gaudio patrum.' Their clients there mentioned are no doubt the plebs whom Suetonius describes (Ner. 57) as appearing at his death in caps of liberty. The same persons were no doubt the 'vulgus' who had believed the Pisonian conspiracy to have been a mere invention to get rid of hated nobles (15. 73, 2).

[5] 'Maesti et rumorum avidi' (H. 1. 4, 3).

[6] Suet. Ner. 57.

[7] H. 1. 78, 3; 2. 95, 2.

[8] 'Vario super exitu eius rumore, eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque' (H. 2. 8, 1). Suet. states (l. l.) that men posted up edicts in his name, 'quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri.'

[9] The case described by Tacitus in the following year (H. 2. 8–9) is spoken of as if it was one of several ('ceterorum casus conatusque in contextu operis dicemus').

[10] Suet. l. l. This pretender, and the support given to him in Parthia, are alluded to in H. 1. 2, 3: 'mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio.'

[11] See Appendix to Book 15. St. Augustine finds it necessary to rebuke even in his own day a belief that Nero yet lived (de Civ. Dei, 20. 19).

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN RELATIONS WITH PARTHIA AND ARMENIA FROM THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS TO THE DEATH OF NERO.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

NOTE.—This subject has lately received full treatment from Mommsen (Hist. v. ch. 9), to whose work the reader must be generally referred, and to whom constant obligations must be acknowledged. Information has also frequently been derived from the same author's notes on the 'Res Gestae Divi Augusti' ('Monumentum Ancyranum'), and from Prof. Rawlinson's 'Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy' (London, 1873). The chronology and geography of the campaigns of Corbulo have been most carefully investigated in Egli's work [1]; and great light has been thrown on the general chronology of the Parthian kings by the evidence of their coinage, on which the latest authority is that of Prof. Percy Gardner ('Numismata Orientalia,' Pt. v. London, 1877), from whom the dates of their reigns here given are taken [2].

THE following list of the Parthian and Armenian kings belonging to this period will be of service in following the succession of events.:—

PARTHIA.	ARMENIA.
(1) Orodes I. B.C. 56–38.	(1) Artavasdes I. B.C. 56 or 55–34 [4].
(2) Phraates IV. B.C. 38–2 [3].	(2) Artaxias II. B.C. 33–20.
(3) Phraataces, B.C. 2–A.D. 4.	(3) Tigranes II. } cir. B.C. 20–6.
(4) Orodes II. A.D. 4–7 or 8.	(4) Tigranes III. and Erato } cir. B.C. 20–6.

[1] 'Feldzüge in Armenien' 41–63 n. Chr., in Vol. i. of Budinger's 'Untersuchungen zur Römischen Kaisergeschichte,' Leipzig, 1868.

[2] The coins give date not only of the year (computed from the Seleucid Era, Oct. 1, B.C. 312), but also of the Parthian month. There is however a complication from the lunar mode of reckoning; and an element of uncertainty arises from the fact that in most cases the name given on coins is only 'Arsaces,' and the succession of a new king has to be determined only by the change of effigy. For the Armenian chronology, we have no such assistance; and the coinage of its kings of this period appears to cease from about 30 A.D.: see Langlois, Numismatique d'Arménie, p. 44.

[3] On these Parthian kings (2–6) see 2. 1–3, and notes. The interruption of the reign of Phraates by Tiridates, cir. B.C. 33–30, is noted below, p. 98.

[4] On these Armenian kings (1–11) see 2. 3–4, and notes.

PARTHIA.

(5) Vonones I. A.D. 7 or 8–11.
(6) Atrabanus III. A.D. 11–40.
(7) Gotarzes, A.D. 40–41 [1].
(8) Vardanes, A.D. 41–45.
(9) Gotarzes (restored), A.D. 45–51.
(10) Vonones II. July, Aug. A.D. 51 [2].
(11) Vologeses I. A.D. 51 (Sept.)–77 or 78 [3].

ARMENIA.

(5) Artavasdes II. }
(6) Tigranes III. and Erato (restored), } cir. B.C. 6–1.
(7) Ariobarzanes }
(8) Artavasdes III. }
(9) Tigranes IV. }
(10) Erato (restored), } cir. B.C. 1–A.D. 11.
(11) Vonones, cir. A.D. 11 or 12.
(12) Artaxias III. A.D. 18–35 [4].
(13) Mithridates, A.D. 35–52 [5].
(14) Radamistus, A.D. 52–54 [6].
(15) Tiridates [7].
(16) Tigranes V [8].
(17) Tiridates, recognised from A.D. 63 [9].

In relation to Parthia, far more than to any other part of the empire, the dictator Caesar had left to his successors a legacy of war: for in this case there was not merely (as in the case of Britain) a failure to be redeemed, but the great military disaster of Crassus to be avenged; and a projected expedition in force had been only frustrated by his death. The Parthian king, quickened by a sense of his danger, seized eagerly the opportunity which the dissensions of the two leading triumvirs soon afforded him [10], and poured his forces over the frontier, under the leadership of his son Pacorus and the Roman exile Labienus. This invasion, in which Decidius Saxa, the legatus of Antonius in Syria, was overpowered and slain, and Syria, Palestine, and nearly the whole of Asia Minor were left for nearly two years (713–714, B.C. 41–40) at the mercy of the invader, was effectually rolled back in the two following years (715–716, B.C. 39–38) by the decisive victories of Ventidius Bassus, whereby not only was Roman prestige thoroughly restored, but a dynastic crisis was brought about in Parthia, resulting in the deposition and murder of Orodes by his son Phraates.

[1] On these kings (7–9), see below, p. 105.
[2] See 12. 14, 7, and note.
[3] See 12. 14, 8, and note. There are two changes in the type of coinage during this reign. The first, in which a youthful face occurs, between A.D. 55–58, is taken to mark the rebellion of Vardanes (see 13. 7, 2); after which period, as the old type is not restored, it is thought that the Vologeses who continued to rule until the succession of Pacorus in A.D. 77 or 78 (H. 4. 51, 1; Suet. Dom. 2) is not the same person as before. The testimony of Tacitus certainly recognises no such change; and it is possible that the old king altered the type: see Gardner, p. 13.
[4] See 2. 50, 2; 6. 31, 2, and notes.
[5] See 6. 32, foll.; 11. 8–9; 12. 44–47.
[6] See 12. 49–51; 13. 6, 1.
[7] See 12. 50, 1, foll.
[8] See 14. 26, 1; 15. 6, 1, and notes.
[9] See 15. 27, foll.
[10] He had previously afforded assistance to Cassius, and sent troops to Philippi. The terms of agreement then entered into are unknown, but may possibly have included such a bargain as Pompeius was prepared to make after Pharsalia, purchasing the help of the great king by the surrender of Syria.

The Eastern policy of Antonius, which these events and his reconciliation with Octavianus left him free to prosecute, appears to have been conceived on the grandest scale, and to have embraced no mere effacement of past disasters, but the creation of a great Roman empire of the East, no less extensive than that of the Seleucidae, centred in himself and in his children, and combined with his never-abandoned scheme of supremacy in the West[1]. The preliminary steps had been taken by securing the support of the Armenian king and bringing the Iberian and Albanian tribes of the Caucasian region into a position of dependence; Palestine was secured by aiding Herodes to expel Antigonus; in the enemy's country the support of the powerful subject Monaeses, probably also that of the king of Media Atropatene, was reckoned on; and the splendid army of sixteen legions, with other troops making up a total of more than 100,000, with which Antonius at last took the field, late in the season of 718, B.C. 38, was not unworthy of the enterprise; but the vast scheme ended in ignominious failure and a disastrous retreat, in which only the military genius of the general saved his army from the fate of that of Crassus. With the shattered remnant, nothing further was achieved in the following year than the invasion of Armenia and seizure of its king Artavasdes, in punishment for his desertion in the previous campaign. The impaired energies of Antonius would probably in no case have been equal to further action on a large scale; and his dreams of Eastern empire were soon ended by his fall and death.

We can thus understand the situation which presented itself to his rival after the victory of Actium and the submission of Egypt left him free to deal with it. Phraates, thoroughly hostile, and flushed with recent victory, had been fortunately prevented from taking advantage of the civil war by a temporary revolution which had driven him an exile into Scythia before his rival Tiridates[2], and was apparently just then regaining his throne. Armenia, which had been in vassalage for a generation, was thoroughly alienated by the treacherous capture of its king; whose son Artaxias, after gaining power by national and Parthian aid, had thrown away the scabbard, like Mithridates, by a massacre of all Romans within his dominions; and the work of Lucullus and Pompeius would have had to be done over again, with such aid as the petty surrounding kingdoms could furnish.

[1] See Momms. Hist. v. 360; E. T. ii. 24.

[2] The intestine troubles of Parthia are alluded to by Horace in Od. 3. 8, 19; the vicissitudes of Tiridates and restoration of Phraates in 1. 26, 5; 2. 2, 17, probably also in 1. 34, 14. A few coins are found which apparently belong to Tiridates, and which bear date in 721, 722, B.C. 33, 32 (Gardner, p. 10).

It is no doubt true, as Mommsen points out[1], that Augustus, by not at once employing the vast army then at his disposal in enforcing a decisive settlement of the whole Eastern question, by the recovery of the captives and standards, and restoration of Roman supremacy in Armenia, sacrificed such an opportunity as could never again recur, and of which a great military genius such as the dictator Caesar would assuredly have taken advantage. At the same time, the apparent reasons against such a course are not far to seek. The failure of Antonius, with a force excellent in numbers and quality, could not but be an impressive warning to one who could not pretend to equal his strategic capacity; the army on the spot, eager for dismissal and reward, and evidently not without mutinous tendencies[2], could have been in no humour for one or more campaigns in the pitiless climate of Armenia[3], or for such an expedition beyond the Euphrates as had been fatal to one, and wellnigh also to the other, of the only Roman armies which had yet attempted it. At the same time, so sagacious a politician would readily see that the security of his own position, as compared with the frequent revolutions of those Eastern dynasties, would not only protect him from any repetition of the attempt of Pacorus and Labienus, but would surely sooner or later offer an opportunity, when a demand, backed even by moderate military force, might extort compliance from Parthia or Armenia, or from both. Certain it is, that his speedy reduction of his army to a peace establishment of eighteen legions[4], of which probably only four were stationed in Syria, and none in any other Asiatic province[5], betokened a definite abandonment of any great military enterprise in that quarter; while the shelter afforded to the fugitive Tiridates, and to the exiled Median king[6], showed his intention to furnish himself with instruments of intrigue.

But Augustus had also to reckon with the force of popular sentiment at home, which would not allow national disasters to remain indefinitely unavenged. We may estimate this from the language of Horace, in whose aspirations during this period[7] the idea of humiliating the great

[1] Hist. v. 371; E. T. ii. 36.

[2] See 1. 42, 5, and note.

[3] That the rigour of Armenian winters was proverbial to Romans would appear from Hor. Od. 2. 9, 4.

[4] See Introd i. ch. vii. p. 103.

[5] The garrison of the East was certainly no more than this at a later period, when the total of the standing army had been increased (see Introduction, i. l. l.).

[6] See Mon. Anc. 6. 1; Momms. p. 110 foll.

[7] His utterances at this time on this subject, though blended with judicious flattery, strike a far bolder key than that to which the policy of Augustus would correspond, and must be taken to represent national sentiment rather than Caesarian inspiration. In the 'initia fastigii Caesarum' (3. 29, 2), literature was not under such command as afterwards; and

Eastern monarchy is very prominent. As soon as the civil wars were ended, which had been 'fulfilling the Parthian's prayer'[1] by diverting the attack, the 'young ruler destined to be their dread'[2] is urged to punish the proud career of the horsemen[3], whose generals had 'twice quelled the ill-starred onset' of the legions and adorned themselves with Roman spoils[4]; whose hordes were even extravagantly imagined as 'threatening the borders of Latium[5].' To face these 'dreaded' enemies[6], and their famous tactics[7], the youths of Rome must be trained[8]; to lead these in triumph and impose a law on them[9] is the national longing; 'Augustus will indeed be a god among men when these and the Britons are added to the empire.'[10]

The opportunity which Augustus was thus calmly biding seemed to have come in 731, B.C. 23, when a demand or petition from Phraates for the surrender of Tiridates, and of an infant son of his own carried off by him, was met by sending back the latter, with a stipulation, which was disregarded or frustrated by delay, for the surrender in return of the captives and standards[11]. It can hardly have been without the co-operation of some internal troubles[12], that the mere presence of Augustus in Syria three years later, unsupported, as far as we know, by any more than the ordinary military force of the province, sufficed to win without a blow all the demands which had been for so many years resisted, as well as the temporary withdrawal of all Parthian support from the vassal kingdoms; so as to enable Tiberius Nero, after personally receiving the standards, to instal Tigranes in Armenia in place of the already deposed and murdered Artaxias[13], and to set Ariobarzanes, son of the Artavasdes who had recently died in Rome, on the throne of Media[14].

Maecenas does not seem to have admitted the poet to his political confidence (see Sat. 2. 6, 40–58).

[1] Epod. 7, 9; cp. Od. 1. 2, 21.

[2] Sat. 2. 5, 62.

[3] Od. 1. 2, 51.

[4] Od. 3. 6, 9. It is somewhat difficult to select which are the two occasions spoken of, and the mention of Monaeses is perplexing. See the explanations suggested in Mr. Wickham's notes, and in Momms. R. G. D. A. p. 125.

[5] Od. 1. 12, 53.

[6] Od. 1. 29, 4.

[7] Od. 1. 19, 11; 2. 13, 17.

[8] Od. 3. 2, 3. [9] Od. 3. 3, 34.

[10] Od. 3. 5, 4. The main subject of this ode may have been intended to imply that it was by conquest only that captives could worthily be recovered.

[11] Dio, 53. 33, 1. Mommsen (R. G. D. A. 136) shows reason for supposing that this son was the young Phraates mentioned in Mon. Anc. 6. 1, as a voluntary fugitive, and who was subsequently sent permanently to Rome with his brothers (see on 2. 1, 2), and afterwards sent back to Parthia as king (6. 31, 4). Tiridates appears to have delivered him to Augustus in Spain in 729, B.C. 25 (Just. 42. 5, 5), having himself taken refuge in Syria in 724, B.C. 30 (Dio, 51. 18, 3): see Momms. l. l.

[12] That the expedition coincided with or brought about a revolution in Armenia, is plainly indicated; and the unconditional surrender of Phraates seems hardly otherwise to be explained.

[13] See 2. 3, 4, and note.

[14] See Mon. Anc. 6. 9; Momms. pp.

The greatest military achievements could hardly have done more for the fame of Augustus than these bloodless victories, eked out, as they evidently were, by no small amount of grandiloquent falsification. Augustus probably proclaimed then, as later [1], that he could have made Armenia a province, and merely gave it back as an act of grace to a native prince: 'Armenia Capta,' or 'Recepta,' appears on coins [2]; and the achievement there of Tiberius is ranked with the subjugation by Agrippa of Cantabria [3]: the surrender of the standards is no less commemorated in triumphal medals [4], and may well have figured on many an Augustan work of art [5], as it does on the noblest of this emperor's extant statues [6]: poetry ranks it with the great military glories of Rome [7], pictures the trophies as 'torn away' [8] by the victor's hand, the great rivers of the East as flowing in humbler stream [9], and even Phraates as prostrated at the knees of Caesar to do homage for his throne [10]. Ten years [11], or even thirty years later [12], the same subject is still an appropriate theme for compliment.

Phraates continued outwardly to show 'all service of reverence [13],' and cemented the alliance some ten years later by sending all his legitimate family to be domiciled in Rome [14]; a step fruitful in consequences by

111–113. Artaxias appears to have held Media with Armenia.

[1] Mon. Anc. 5. 24–28.

[2] See Cohen, i. pp. 71, 113; No. 200, 360, 361.

[3] Hor. Ep. 1. 12, 27.

[4] Such appear to be numerous: see Cohen, i. p. 99, No. 255–267, also pp. 103, 112, No. 298, 357. In some of them a triumphal arch or chariot is represented. The statement of Dio (54. 8, 3) that Augustus had an ovation is incorrect, as the only two occasions mentioned in Mon. Anc. 1. 21 are otherwise accounted for; but it is doubtless one of the occasions on which such an honour was offered and declined.

[5] A triumphal arch was erected in the Forum (see Momms. R. G. D. A. 125, 127); and the great temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augusti was built to receive the standards (Mon. Anc. 5. 42, and notes), which had been at first deposited in the Capitoline Temple ('signa nostro restituit Jovi,' Hor. Od. 4. 15, 6; cp. Prop. 4. 4, 6).

[6] The famous statue in the Vatican (Braccio Nuovo, 14), which has this subject for the ornamentation of the cuirass.

[7] 'Auroramque sequi, Parthosque reposcere signa' (Verg. Aen. 7, 606): for other allusions see Hor. Od. 4. 5, 25; 14, 42; C. S. 54, &c.; Prop. 3. 10, 13; 4. 5, 48: 12, 3; 5. 6, 79.

[8] 'Direpta' (Hor. Od. 4. 15, 7).

[9] 'Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis' (Verg. Aen. 8, 726): cp. Prop. 4. 4, 4. The date of Hor. Od. 2. 9 is disputed; but it seems hardly possible that the allusion to 'nova tropaea,' which must have been gained after the assumption of the title of 'Augustus' in 727, B.C. 27, can have any other reference. The similar passage in Verg. G. 3, 30 can more easily be explained prophetically.

[10] Hor. Ep. 1. 12, 27. That much of this sentiment was manufactured is evident from the laboured appearance of writing to order in the chief odes of the Fourth Book and elsewhere, in contrast with the comparative freedom of Horace's earlier writings. Augustus himself also no doubt exaggerates the facts in saying (Mon. Anc. 5. 42): 'Parthos . . . supplices amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi.'

[11] Hor. Ep. 2. 1, 256.

[12] Ov. F. 5. 579–594; Tr. 2. 227, 228.

[13] 'Cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat' (2. 1, 2).

[14] See l. l. and note. This act, represented by Tacitus as a precaution against internal treachery, is assigned by Josephus to an intrigue of Thermusa, mother of the illegitimate Phraataces, to better the posi-

supplying for many a year to come a stock of Romanised princes of the blood to be set up as claimants for the throne. During the latest years of Augustus, Roman influence seemed to have reached its highest point, when the first of these princes, Vonones, was formally summoned and accepted as the rightful heir, and maintained himself for some few years on the throne of the Arsacidae [1].

Nevertheless, the Parthian kings generally made no scruple of interposing from time to time in Armenia [2]; in which, from the appointment of Tigranes II in 734, B.C. 20, we have for nearly forty years an almost continuous history of interference and intrigue, resulting in revolution and anarchy. The account of these vicissitudes can be read as related in its place by Tacitus [3]; but it will be well to compare here the alternatives open to Rome in dealing with this Afghanistan of the ancient world.

Subsequent experience may be taken generally to have shown that a policy of complete non-interference would have been best, and that the efforts of Rome were far more needed in extending and consolidating the empire in other quarters; but Augustus could not slight the traditions of the Republic, or allow it to be said that even an imaginary limit of the empire had receded under him. Also, from the time of the domicile of the heirs of Phraates in Rome, the idea of bringing the Parthian empire itself under Roman influence through a monarch of the stamp of Vonones must have been constantly present; and for any military demonstration to support a friendly or threaten a hostile king, the most practicable route was that which rested on Armenia as a base, and led along the Tigris to Ctesiphon [4]. On the other hand, the transitory success achieved under Trajan cannot well be regarded even as subsequent evidence in favour of the possibility of holding this kingdom as a province [5], a course which must certainly have been beyond the pale of practical politics when the provincial frontier in Asia Minor had not extended beyond the Halys [6]. The only remaining alternative, that of

tion of her son, and is magnified by Velleius (2. 94, 2) and others into a giving of hostages through fear.

[1] See 2. 2, 1, and note.

[2] It may probably be this evasion of the real or supposed treaty engagements that leads Horace to speak of the 'infidi Persae' (Od. 4. 15, 23): cp. 'Parthis mendacior' (Ep. 2. 1, 112). The treaty itself continued to subsist in the time of Tiberius (see 2. 58, 1).

[3] See 2. 3–4, and notes.

[4] See 12. 12–13, &c. It may be added that Media Atropatene, which could not be reached but through Armenia, was not at this time considered outside the sphere of Roman influence.

[5] Armenia was formed into a province by Trajan in 867, A.D. 114, and given back to a native prince by Hadrian four years later, and from that time returned to a condition of ambiguous vassalage between the two great empires (see Momms. p. 403; E. T. ii. 72). 'Rex Armeniis datus' appears on medals of Antoninus and M. Aurelius (L'Anglois, pp. 45, 46).

[6] See Introd. i. ch. vii. p. 94.

controlling it as a vassal kingdom, is the one which we have to consider as maintained throughout this period, in various forms from substantial dependence to mere nominal acknowledgment of suzerainty, and always under the great difficulty of contending with national affinities and sympathy, balanced no doubt by some dread of Parthian despotism[1].

The empty achievement of escorting Tigranes II to his kingdom by Tiberius Nero was soon nullified by the Parthian sympathies of his family: a repetition of the pageant by Gaius Caesar was attended by resistance which cost his life: the attempt of the Roman party to set up the rejected Parthian king Vonones was too dangerous for the legatus of Syria to support; and at the death of Augustus both Parthia and Armenia had slipped from his control[2].

The fortunate coincidence, that a prince acceptable to Rome, and even in part of Roman lineage, was already the national choice[3], enabled Germanicus in 771, A.D. 18, to repeat the performance of Tiberius and Gaius Caesar without any imposing military demonstration[4] and with far more effect. Artaxias III obtained firm possession of the throne; and Artabanus, who could not have resisted this combination of circumstances, was conciliated by the removal from Syria (which was soon followed by the death) of Vonones[5]. This peaceful settlement was so far successful, that for some sixteen years we hear no more of Eastern politics; but it is evident that Roman influence in Armenia made no real progress, and probable on the other hand that the annexation of the neighbouring kingdoms of Cappadocia and Commagene to the provincial empire[6] gave the party of national independence the more ground for thinking that it was from Rome that they had most to fear. It may well be that some encouragement from this quarter, as well as his successes elsewhere and his contempt for the supposed dotage and impotence of Tiberius, emboldened Artabanus, on the death of Artaxias, probably about 787, A.D. 34, at once to seize Armenia for his son, and to address the old emperor with the most defiant arrogance and insult[7].

[1] 'Ambigua gens . . . hominum ingeniis et situ terrarum . . . maximisque imperiis interiecti et saepius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia' (2. 56, 1). In 2. 3, 2, their animosity to Rome is ascribed to the perfidious seizure of Artavasdes by Antonius, some fifty years previously; but it must evidently have had a more permanent cause; and the truth seems rather to be admitted at a later stage (13. 34, 5): 'Armenii ambigua fide utraque arma invitabant, situ terrarum, similitudine morum Parthis propiores conubiisque permixti ac libertate ignota illud magis ad servitium inclinantes.'

[2] See 2. 3, 5–4, 5, and notes.

[3] See 2. 56, 2, and note.

[4] This absence of a strong military force was due to the contumacy of Cn. Piso (2. 57, 1).

[5] See 2. 58; 68.

[6] See 2. 42, 6, 7; 57, 4, 5.

[7] See 6. 31, 1, foll., and notes; Suet. Tib. 66.

The narrative of Tacitus[1] gives a full account of the response of Tiberius to this challenge, and the decisive blows struck by him in both directions, by instigating the Iberian prince Mithridates to seize Armenia[2], and equipping another and again another of the Romanised Arsacids, as a leader to the disaffected Parthian nobility[3]. Yet in all this his habitual caution was not lost sight of. His able lieutenant, L. Vitellius[4], was charged to avoid actual collision with the Parthians[5], and to give Mithridates no other material help than such as consisted in distracting the enemy by assuming a threatening position on the Euphrates[6]. The Armenians themselves would seem to have remained passive while their country became a battle-ground between the Parthians and the chief Caucasian nations. Scythian tribes hired themselves out as allies to both, but were in fact present on one side only[7]. The result showed that the Parthian horsemen were no match outside their own country for the more mixed forces[8] and superior hardihood[9] of the Iberians and Albanians; who were not only able to defeat the young prince Orodes[10], but even to gain advantage, by superior local knowledge, over a levy *en masse* led by Artabanus himself[11]. The instability of Eastern thrones is illustrated no less strikingly by the revolution which, following on these disasters, and fomented by Roman intrigue[12], drove Artabanus into exile and destitution in Scythia[13], and made the advance of his rival Tiridates resemble a triumphal procession[14], than by the rapid counter-revolution which so soon brought the old king back again, and returned the pretender, as a discrowned fugitive, to Roman territory[15]. But in all these vicissitudes Mithridates held his ground; the powerful Greek city of Seleucia maintained its revolt[16]; and Vitellius was able, just before the death of Tiberius, to compel Artabanus to make submission and homage, and deliver his son as a hostage[17].

Whatever advantage had been gained was soon scattered to the winds by Gaius, who, on unknown grounds, summoned Mithridates to his presence and imprisoned him[18], set up nothing in place of the government thus destroyed, and left Artabanus, at the close of his chequered

[1] 6. 31–37; 41–44. [2] 6. 32, 5.
[3] 6. 31, 1; 32, 1, 5. [4] 6. 32, 5.
[5] 6. 32, 1: cp. 'Ostentasse Romana arma satis ratus' (6. 37, 6).
[6] 6. 36, 1. [7] 6. 33, 3–5.
[8] 6. 34, 2. [9] 6. 34, 3, 6.
[10] 6. 35, 5. [11] 6. 36, 1.
[12] 6. 36, 2, and note.
[13] 6. 36, 4; 43, 3.
[14] 6. 37; 41, 2–42, 6. [15] 6. 43–44.
[16] On the disputed date of this revolt see 11. 9, 6, and note.
[17] Jos. Ant. 18. 4, 4. The news would appear to have reached Rome after the accession of Gaius, and to have enabled him to take credit for the diplomatic victory (Suet. Cal. 14). Dio (59. 27, 3) would imply that it had actually taken place under his rule.
[18] See 11. 8, 1, and note.

life[1], once more master of the coveted situation in Armenia[2]. On his death, the balance turned no less rapidly in the opposite direction; the civil war between his sons, in which the whole Parthian empire was involved[3], being taken advantage of by Claudius to reinstate Mithridates; who, with the renewed support of his brother Pharasmanes[4], was enabled to overcome the resistance of the satrap[5]; while a Roman force assisted in the reduction of the strongholds[6], and a monition from the emperor checked a rival claimant, the king of lesser Armenia[7]; after which the nation seems to have acquiesced in his return[8]. We find, however, that his rule was marked by severity[9]; that the brave and enterprising Vardanes was only prevented from attacking him by the menacing attitude of the legatus of Syria[10]; and we notice for the first time not only the assistance of a Roman force, as described above, but a small permanent Roman garrison in the country[11].

We have next a striking instance of the way in which the history of this period repeats itself. The cruelty and incapacity of Gotarzes[12] give occasion in 802, A.D. 49, for another embassy to seek a king from Rome; and Meherdates, son of Vonones[13], is sent off in answer to their request. Like Tiridates, he is escorted by the legate of Syria no further than the Euphrates[14], and left there to make the best of his own resources. Like him again, he lets slip the precious time[15], and defers the decisive struggle apparently till the following spring[16]; when we have him advancing from Armenia along the Tigris, osten-

[1] After the extant narrative of Tacitus closes, Artabanus is said to have been again deposed and exiled in favour of an Arsacid named Cinnamus, and to have been again restored by help of Izates of Adiabene (Jos. Ant. 20. 3, 1-3). The evidence of the coinage, which had been previously taken to place his death in the middle of A.D. 42 (Rawlinson, p. 248), is made by Prof. Gardner (p. 12) to fix it to A.D. 40.

[2] This is implied in the narrative of Tacitus (11. 8, 1, foll.).

[3] See 11. 8-10. It is stated by Prof. Gardner (pp. 12, 50) that the evidence of coins appears to support the statement of Tacitus, as against that of Josephus (Ant. 20. 3, 4) and Philostratus (Vit. Ap. 1. 21), in making a short reign of Gotarzes (A.D. 40-41) precede that of Vardanes, and to show that the death of the latter (11. 10, 5) took place about A.D. 45. The view of Mommsen (Hist. v. 379, n. 1; E. T. ii. 45, n. 1), that the immediate successor of Artabanus was his son of the same name, is not necessarily implied by Tacitus (11. 8, 3), and appears to rest on no other evidence. Some coins of Gotarzes contain his name, and bear the strange inscription ὑὸς κεκαλουμένος (υἱὸς κεκλημένος) Ἀρταβάνου; which may possibly mean that the patronymic was part of his title. He would hardly describe himself as 'reputed son.'

[4] 11. 8, 1.

[5] 11. 9, 2.

[6] 11. 9, 1.

[7] 11. 9, 3.

[8] 'Cuncta in Mithridaten fluxere' (l. l.).

[9] 'Atrociorem quam novo regno conduceret' (l. l.).

[10] See 11. 10, 1, and note.

[11] See 12. 45, 3, &c.

[12] 12. 10, 2.

[13] 12. 10, 1.

[14] 12. 11, 4.

[15] In the present case this is ascribed to the insidious advice of his false friend the Arabian prince (12. 12, 4).

[16] See 12. 13, 1, and note.

tatiously occupying the great historic sites of Ninus and Gaugamela [1], soon forced by desertion of allies [2] to face with diminished forces a decisive battle, in which all is lost by the death of his best supporter [3], then by a further treachery falling into the victor's hands, mutilated, and contemptuously left to live [4]; an ignominious conclusion of the policy initiated in the later days of Augustus, of controlling the Parthian empire by means of Romanised Arsacids.

The revolting story [5] of the murder of the old king Mithridates, with his wife and family, at the instigation of his own brother Pharasmanes [6], and by the act of Radamistus, who was at once his son-in-law, brother-in-law, and nephew [7], bears chiefly on the present subject as showing the thorough discredit incurred by Rome through the worthlessness of its officials on the spot [8], and the widespread taint of the 'avarice of the Claudian times [9].' The war of one vassal king upon another is allowed to proceed without interference: the military commander of the fortress in which the king and his family had taken refuge is bribed to urge him, and even to compel him to surrender himself to his treacherous enemies [10]: the court buffoon [11], who by a freak of fortune filled the responsible post of procurator of Cappadocia, after a futile show of interference, is induced by another bribe to support by his sanction and presence the assumption of the crown by the arch-traitor [12]:

[1] 12. 13, 2.

[2] 12. 14, 3.

[3] An inscription (see C. I. G. 4674; Rawlinson, p. 259; Gardner, p. 13), carved over one of Darius Hystaspes on the rock of Behistùn in Kurdistan, is generally taken to commemorate this victory; but the title, Γωταρζῆς σατράπης τῶν σατραπ[ῶν], causes much difficulty. The great king never appears to be elsewhere so designated; and the usual form, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, is used by Gotarzes on coins (Gardner, p. 49). The suggestion (see Mommsen, 341, n. 1; E. T. ii. 7, 2), that it may express his position during his retirement in favour of Vardanes, is inconsistent with the complete effacement then recorded of him (11. 9, 5); nor is it easy to suppose the carved figure with one of Victory above its head to be other than that of the actual king. Of the rest, only two or three isolated words remain, as 'Αλφασάτης, Μιθράτης (by which Meherdates is taken to be meant) and Γωταρζῆς Γεόποθρος (on which see Gardner). It seems open to reasonable doubt whether the inscription has any reference to the events or persons here mentioned by Tacitus.

[4] 12. 14, 6.

[5] 12. 44–51. The whole series of events is related by Tacitus under the year 804, A.D. 51, which must be that in which the intrigues of Radamistus began. The actual invasion of the Iberians (12. 45, 2) and its results cannot well have taken place before the following year, and are perhaps spread over two years; another year must begin after the winter mentioned in 12. 50, 3; and the final occupation of Armenia by the Parthians cannot have taken place before 807, A.D. 54, as the news of it did not reach Rome till after the death of Claudius. See notes on 12. 44, 1; 50, 1; 51, 5; 13. 6, 1.

[6] 12. 44, 5; 45, 2.

[7] See 12. 46, 1.

[8] The one bright exception is the centurion Casperius (12. 45, 5).

[9] H. 5. 12, 3.

[10] 12. 45, 5; 46, 1–5. According to a fragment of Dio (61. 6, 6), Pollio was replaced by a successor named Laelianus, who was equally corrupt.

[11] 12. 49, 1. The rightness of the reading given in the text is here assumed.

[12] 12. 49, 2.

even the legatus of Syria thinks, with the majority of his advisers there present, that all atrocities and quarrels of barbarians were good for Roman interests, and that a king who owed his throne to a deed of infamy would be more manageable than one who had reached it honourably[1]: the legion sent into Armenia to restore order is hastily withdrawn to avoid collision with the Parthians[2]: the garrison which had betrayed Mithridates appears to have evacuated the country[3].

The Parthian empire was now in the hands of the able and enterprising Vologeses[4]; who continued for many years to direct its policy[5], and who now seized the opportunity of fulfilling a standing family compact[6] by supporting his brother Tiridates as the antagonist of the usurper, and occupied Armenia and its chief cities without resistance[7]. His withdrawal during the winter of 805–806, A.D. 52–53[8], gave Radamistus an opportunity of returning; when his vindictive measures[9], added to his previous crimes, roused the spirit of his people; who, after years of tame submission to one ruler after another[10], were at last goaded into insurrection, and drove him from Artaxata in ignominious flight to his Iberian home[11], from whence he appears to have kept up some desultory warfare till the close of the following year[12].

We can thus understand the situation when news was brought to Rome, almost immediately after the accession of Nero, that Radamistus had finally disappeared, that Armenia was again occupied by Parthian forces, and that Tiridates was undisputed king[13]. The policy initiated by Augustus had broken down on all points; the Romanised princes who had been set up as claimants for the great king's throne had one after another failed ignominiously[14]; while in Armenia the unprincipled support given to Radamistus had called into existence an uprousing of national spirit as a new force to be reckoned with, had enabled the Parthians to pose as liberators of the nation from an odious tyranny, and had brought back the antipathy to Roman interference

[1] 12. 48, 2, 3. The speakers are there even made to suggest that the policy of setting up vassal kings of Armenia was intended to promote national discord.

[2] 12. 49, 3, 4.

[3] This is not expressly stated, but appears to be implied in the narrative.

[4] On the date of his accession see above, p. 97; on his origin and descent see 12. 14, 8; 44, 2.

[5] This is here assumed, notwithstanding the doubt arising from a change in the type of his coinage (see above, p. 97, 3).

[6] His brothers had given way to him (12. 44, 2), and were to be rewarded by obtaining through his aid Media and Armenia (see 15. 2, 1).

[7] 12. 50, 1, 2.

[8] This is ascribed to a sickness in his army from the severe winter, or insufficient provision, or both causes (12. 50, 3).

[9] 12. 50, 4.

[10] 12. 50, 5.

[11] See the description of his escape, and the romantic story of his wife Zenobia (12. 51).

[12] 13. 6, 1.

[13] l. l.

[14] 2. 2; 6. 32, foll.; 12. 10, foll.

in that country to much the same point at which it had stood after the action of Antonius some ninety years earlier[1]. The accession of a new emperor undoubtedly gave opportunity for a new departure in policy; but the necessity of satisfying Roman public opinion and maintaining Roman prestige on the one hand, and the facts of the situation on the other, still operated to circumscribe it within narrow limits.

The prompt appointment, early in 808, A.D. 55, of a general of the character and antecedents of Corbulo[2], satisfied public opinion at Rome that the Parthian defiance was to be met in a corresponding spirit. Cappadocia, hitherto governed only by a procurator[3], was to be his nominal province; and Ummidius Quadratus, who, in spite of his proved incapacity[4], was still left at his post as governor of Syria[5], was required to send to him two of his legions and a corresponding proportion of auxiliaries, to move his remaining forces to the Euphrates, and to make preparation for crossing it; while the neighbouring vassal kings, the Jewish prince Agrippa, Antiochus of Commagene, with Aristobulus and Sohaemus, newly appointed to rule Armenia Minor and Sophene, are directed to assist[6]. Corbulo promptly took possession of his province[7]; and the mere demonstration of Roman force reveals again, as so often formerly, the internal weakness of the Parthian monarchy. A rebellion, headed by the king's son and apparently strong enough to support itself for three years[8], starts up; Vologeses hastily evacuates Armenia, and under further pressure sends hostages chosen out of the Arsacid nobility[9]. With this incident, and a petty quarrel arising out of it between the ill-assorted Roman generals[10], all sight of the East for nearly three years is lost to us.

The whole following period is one in which our information is most unsatisfactory, as compared with what might naturally have been expected; for although the Roman general is known to have been the historian of his own campaigns, and his work is known to have been consulted by Tacitus[11], many of the points chiefly interesting to students of history are left in great obscurity. Regarding it as a military record,

[1] See above, p. 98.
[2] 13. 8, 1: for his previous services see 11. 18–20, and notes.
[3] See 12. 49, 1.
[4] See above, p. 107.
[5] He continued to be legatus of Syria till his death in 813, A.D. 60 (14. 26, 4). P. Anteius had been designated as his successor in 808, A.D. 55, but was detained in Rome (13. 22, 2).
[6] On these kings see 13. 7, 1, foll. and notes. They were to assist either governor, but preferred service with the more vigorous general (c. 8, 3).
[7] 13. 8, 4.
[8] See above, p. 97, note. Some have imagined a division of the monarchy during part of the reign of Vologeses (see Schiller, p. 100, 6).
[9] It is suggested (13. 9, 2) that he may have been glad thus to rid himself of dangerous subjects.
[10] 13. 9, 3–6.
[11] See 15. 16, 1, and note.

we find an absence of all strategical details, and rarely get even clear indications of time or place[1]. In the practice of grouping the events of two or more years together, so much is sacrificed to literary effect as to leave the time of the year, and even the year itself, and the distinction of one campaign from another, to be made out from some incidental allusion to season or climate; and again, the general features of the physical geography of the country are wholly ignored; the situation of important places is assumed as known or left altogether vague; and it is only here and there that the mention of some definite locality gives any indication of the routes taken or positions occupied. Nor are the defects less serious in the political history. The policy and instructions of the Roman government, the nature of the negotiations between the contending parties, and the terms proposed or rejected on either side, are oftener left to be gathered than expressly stated.

For most of these defects, Tacitus must himself be held responsible. We can hardly suppose that the chronology of the campaigns was thus confused in the original account; and the knowledge of the geography of Armenia which had grown up in Greece from the time of the Ten Thousand, and in Rome from that of the Mithridatic wars, is stated by Pliny to have entered upon a new era in his time through the additions made to it by Corbulo and from other contemporary sources[2]. It is likely enough, however, that the tendency to grandiloquence noticed by Tacitus himself in Corbulo[3], had left its traces on his work in some general exaltation of his own personality, which has been exaggerated to us rather than reduced, through the desire of the historian to throw a strong light upon what he conceived to be a portrait of true Roman heroism, in contrast to the degradation and effeminacy of Nero[4]. Though evidently not altogether blind to the existence of defects in his hero[5], he has not allowed them to interfere with his idealisation; and

[1] On these points, the account here given is constantly indebted to Egli's work, referred to at the beginning of this chapter.

[2] In coming to this part of his geographical description, he says (6. 8, 23), 'nunc reddatur ingens in mediterraneo sinus, in quo multa aliter ac veteres proditurum me non eo infitias, anxia perquisita cura rebus nuper in eo situ gestis a Domitio Corbulone regibusque inde missis supplicibus aut regum liberis obsidibus.' Pliny elsewhere (5. 24, 20, 83) quotes him and Mucianus as differing authorities respecting the source of the Euphrates, and in another place (6. 11, 12, 30) corrects a prevalent error of those who had served with him respecting the 'Caspiae portae' (see below, p. 125, 7). It is however justly noted by Egli (p. 336, foll.) that Pliny's 'anxia cura' has merely added a number of names and isolated facts to those already known, and that his general knowledge of Armenian geography is still far below that of Strabo, whose work he strangely nowhere mentions, and appears never to have seen.

[3] He is described as 'verbis magnificis' and 'etiam specie inanium validus' (13. 8, 4).

[4] On his fondness for such contrasts, as especially that implied between Germanicus and Tiberius, see Introd. i. iv. p. 28.

[5] Tacitus admits, for instance, besides

throughout the whole history of the war he has selected such incidents alone for prominence as concern Corbulo personally, and has frequently sacrificed the general narrative of events to biographical particulars.

What has been said above will serve to explain the necessity of here supplementing the narrative of Tacitus by such a geographical and chronological sketch as will make it intelligible.

It may be sufficient for the former purpose to trace the three chief mountain systems forming the highlands of Armenia and the river basins and plains of various elevation enclosed by them [1]. The central and highest range, that of the Dujik mountains, a prolongation of the Anti-Taurus, parts at its western extremity the two branches of the Upper Euphrates, the Murad and the Jephrat or Kara-Su; and is prolonged under the names of Dujik Dagh, Binghol Dagh, and others, rising at its eastern extremity to the two highest points in the whole country, those of Great and Little Ararat; at the foot of the latter of which the basin of the Erasch (Araxes) is joined to that of its tributary the Balyk. The southern range, treated as a prolongation of Taurus, or Taurus Niphates, parts the basin of the Murad from that of the Upper Tigris [2] under the name of Mush Dagh, and divides at the great plain of Lake Van into the Arjerosch and Erdoz Dagh south of the lake, and Jebel Nimrud and Sapan Dagh at the north of it, rising further to the north-east to the Ala Dagh [3], in which the Murad and Balyk find their source and watershed. The northern range, enclosing the whole country in its sweep, divides in its western portion the basin of the Kara-su from that of the Ioruk (Akampsis), and in its eastern that of the Araxes from that of the Kur (Cyrus); the watershed of the Kara-su and Araxes being found on the high table-lands, the highest in the whole country and near 7000 feet

the grandiloquence above mentioned, Corbulo's desire to prolong the war for his own advantage (15. 3, 1), his impatience of rivalry (15. 6, 6), his desire to add to the glory of his arrival in succour of Paetus by delaying it till the last moment (15. 10, 7); and gives, not indeed (as should be) for a fact, but for a report, the less creditable version of his arrangement with Vologeses (15. 6, 1-3). These admissions do not affect his general view; but it is not fair to suppose, as Mommsen thinks on one of these occasions (see Hist. v. 390, 1; E. T. ii. 57, 1), that he has no sense of the censure conveyed by his words. He does not always accept Corbulo's own statement, nor does he endeavour to soften his ungenerous words and acts in regard of Paetus (see below, p. 118, 10).

[1] This sketch is drawn mainly from Egli, pp. 294-302, but partly from various other sources. See also the map at the end of this volume.

[2] Another and much lower range, that of Mt. Masius, branching off from this to the south-east, encloses the basin of the Upper Tigris on the south, and was probably in part the southern frontier of Armenia.

[3] This is probably either the 'mons Aga' or 'Capotes,' which Pliny (N. H. 5. 24, 20, 83) gives, on the respective authority of Corbulo and Mucianus, as the source of the Euphrates; the other of them being probably the source of the Jephrat. The Balyk may be the 'Usus' of Plin. 6. 9, 10, 26; the Murad is generally taken to be the Arsanias (see 15. 15, 1, and note).

above the sea, of Erzeroum and Pasin; from which descend eastward the districts of Kars and Erivan; in the latter of which, on the bank of the Araxes, and near the northern foot of Great Ararat, lay Artaxata, the ancient capital. The roads and passes in such a country were few and difficult, and most of them during great part of the year impracticable; the routes most open to an invader from the west being either to cross the Euphrates near Melitene (Malatia) in Cappadocia, and follow the course of either of its branches, or to take one of the lines further north, answering to modern caravan roads, from Armenia Minor and Pontus, or from the Black Sea at Trapezus (Trebizond), to the table land of Erzeroum, and thence to strike at Artaxata. On the south, the vulnerable point was the Bitlis pass, on the west side of Lake Van, communicating with the plain of Mush in the centre of the country; whence again the Khynis pass, over the central mountain ranges, east of the Binghol Dagh, led directly to the plateau of Erzeroum[1]. How far south of the Bitlis pass the limits of Armenia extended is an uncertain point; still more so the situation of Tigranocerta[2], stated to have lain on the extreme southern frontier of the kingdom[3], on an elevated site[4], and close to a river known to Tacitus as the Nicephorius[5].

As regards the chronology, while it appears clear that the narrative in Book 15[6] is that belonging to the years 814–817, A.D. 61–63, the apportionment of the narrative in the two previous Books among the preceding years is matter of great difficulty; and the only winter mentioned in that period[7] has been assigned by critics to three different years.

If we reckon back from what seems clearly made out, the first question will be whether the events of 14. 23–26, related, as they are, wholly without a break, are those of the year 813, A.D. 60, alone, or of the previous year also: we have again to ask whether the beginning of this narrative is to be taken as separated from that ending in 13. 41, 4, by an intervening unmentioned winter; whether again the events of 13. 34–41 are those of one campaign or two, and whether the beginning of actual hostilities is to be placed in 811, A.D. 58, or the preceding year.

As regards the first question, Egli's arguments[8] seem clearly to show

[1] This was the route by which the Ten Thousand had passed through the country to the sea; and also that by which Lucullus had endeavoured to reach Artaxata in 686, B.C. 68.

[2] See note on 12. 50, 2.

[3] The computation of Claudius, cited in Pl. N. H. 6. 9, 10, 27, so places it.

[4] Plin. l. l. § 26.

[5] See 15. 4, 3, and note.

[6] 15. 1–18; 24–31. Although the whole period of the narrative in this Book seems thus clearly defined, its subdivision into separate years is full of difficulty: see below, p. 115, 10.

[7] 13. 35, 5.

[8] Pp. 288, 289. This conclusion rests on the notices of the season of the year implied in 14. 24, 2, 3.

that the occupation of Tigranocerta must be placed late in the autumn, and that few if any events of importance can have followed within the same year; certainly not such as involve a reference to Rome and the initiation of a fresh policy by the government, the mission of Tigranes, his establishment in the kingdom, and withdrawal of Corbulo to Syria[1]. On the other hand, Egli's supposition that the capture of Artaxata and Tigranocerta belong to one and the same campaign[2] involves the difficulty of supposing no break of time at all in so wide a break of narrative; while his chronology is further complicated by his untenable identification of the 'miraculum' observed at the capture of the former city with the eclipse of April 30, 812, A. D. 59[3], obliging him to assign an earlier period to the opening of the campaign than the climate of that region would permit[4]. Yet again, Mommsen's opinion[5], that in 13. 34–41 the narrative is carried down to the close of 812, A. D. 59, involves the difficulty already mentioned, of leaving all the events given in 14. 23–26 to be compressed into the one following year. Also we should hardly expect Tacitus here to antedate without giving some intimation that he is doing so, especially when a debate in the senate on the events, not likely to be thus antedated, is subjoined[6], and another event, obviously belonging to the current year, is introduced immediately afterwards by 'deinde'[7]. If the year 58 be fixed as the date of this campaign, it carries with it that of the previous winter spent in the enemy's country; and we are thus on the whole led to conclude that the narrative in 13. 34–41 belongs to 810, 811, A.D. 57, 58, and that in 14. 23–26 to 812, 813, A.D. 59, 60. But in any decision we have more or less a choice of difficulties; and some of those belonging to this view will have to be noticed in their place.

By adopting this chronology, the period of apparent inaction is reduced to the two years 808, 809, A. D. 55, 56. These are taken to have been spent by Corbulo in the re-organisation of forces demoralised by long inaction. The unfit are discharged, their places filled and the legions made up to full war strength by levies from the neighbouring provinces, and the whole is welded into an army by strict and inexorable discipline[8]. We are also to gather that Corbulo

[1] See 14. 26.

[2] Pp. 284–287.

[3] See 13. 41, 4; 14. 12, 3, and notes.

[4] Active operations are in this view supposed to have opened with the taking of the three forts not later than the beginning of April, and the preceding campaign is made to close at the end of 13. 38, where no break is given.

[5] Hist. v. 386, 1; E. T. ii. 53, 1.

[6] 13. 41, 5.

[7] 13. 42, 1. Various subsequent events in this Book are expressly referred to the current year (see 13. 45, 1; 48, 1; 50, 1; 58, 1).

[8] 13. 35.

was instructed from the first to make overtures, whereby Tiridates was to be recognised as king, on condition of acknowledging the grant by doing formal homage to the majesty of Rome[1]. But the Arsacidae still held their heads too high to do this, and considered that more than enough concession had been made by the delivery of hostages[2]. Tiridates had for some time been *de facto* king, was strong in national support[3], in constant expectation of effectual help from his brother[4], and probably led by the inaction of the Romans to doubt whether they meant serious war in any case.

Corbulo was thus forced in 810, A.D. 57, to begin hostilities in earnest by leading his now thoroughly disciplined army[5] into Armenia, where its training was to be completed by the terrible ordeal of a winter spent under canvas in probably the most inclement region ever held as a Roman winter-quarters[6]. We are told little, save what tends to bring out the portrait of the general, his heroic example to his soldiers[7], his iron discipline in camp and severity to disobedient officers[8], his insight into the treacherous designs of Tiridates[9], and the like. We gather, as it were incidentally, that the locality of the campaign which opened in A.D. 58 was such as to enable the Romans to draw their supplies from Trapezus (Trebizond)[10], and was therefore probably that of the great table-land of Erzeroum: also that Tiridates, strengthened by some assistance from his brother[11], pursued a system of predatory attacks, without allowing himself to be drawn within striking distance, and of hollow attempts to negotiate[12]; that the Romans were compelled to adopt similar tactics[13], aided by demonstrations from the Hiberi and Moschi on the north and the king of Commagene on the west[14], till the campaign, necessarily in that climate a short one[15], was brought to a crisis by the storming of three forts in a single day[16], followed

[1] He would have been permitted 'alienae id potentiae donum habere' (13. 34, 4), and is thus offered a 'stabile regnum' (c. 37, 6).

[2] In 13. 37, 4 he is made to complain 'cur datis nuper obsidibus (c. 9, 2) redintegrataque amicitia, quae novis quoque beneficiis locum aperiret, vetere Armeniae possessione depelleretur.'

[3] It is gathered from 13. 34, 5, that there was a Roman party, but that it was the weakest.

[4] This was constantly delayed, first by the pretendership of Vardanes (13. 7, 2, and note), afterwards by the Hyrcanian revolt (13. 36, 6; 14. 25, 2).

[5] It is seen from 13. 38, 6; 40, 3, that his force consisted of the Third, Sixth, and part of the Tenth legions, making up, with auxiliaries, some 25,000 Roman troops besides the contingents of the vassal princes.

[6] 13. 35, 5; 36, 1.

[7] 13. 35, 7.

[8] 13. 35, 8; 36, 5.

[9] 13. 38, 3.

[10] 13. 39, 1.

[11] 13. 37, 1.

[12] 13. 37, 4; 38, 1.

[13] Cp. 'dispertit vires' (13. 37, 2).

[14] 13. 37, 2, 3.

[15] Mommsen, in his account of Lucullus (Hist. B. v. ch. 2), estimates the season for active operations on the table land of Armenia at four months (June—September).

[16] 13. 39, 2, foll.

by a rapid movement along the Araxes, the complete disappearance of Tiridates[1], and the surrender of Artaxata without a battle[2].

The narrative of the next campaign (14. 23, foll.) is again chiefly a personal record of Corbulo, of his dealings with the submissive, the fugitive, the stubborn[3], his heroic example in the endurance of drought and heat, as before in that of piercing cold[4], his economy of Roman lives[5], his escape from threatened assassination[6]. Twice only are we helped, however slightly, by the occurrence of a definite name in the vague line of march. From the mention of his 'passing along the borders of the Mardi[7],' it is inferred that he had marched from Artaxata round the foot of Little Ararat to the high plain of Bayazid, and thence, leaving the basin of the Araxes for that of its tributary the Balyk, over the watershed of that stream and the Murad at Djadin, near the foot of the Ala Dagh, and thence along the latter river through the plain of Alashgerd or Arishgerd[8]. The march must have begun late, as we find the army now exposed to the fierce heat and drought of the short Armenian summer[9] (probably about July) and unable to vary their diet of mere animal food till they reached a region (perhaps Melazgerd) where the corn was ripe (about August)[10]. The locality next given ('Tauraunitium') may probably have been the plain of Mush[11], where they would leave the Murad and strike south-east for the Bitlis pass, and thence to Tigranocerta, which could hardly have been reached before September. With its occupation, and the reduction, after some resistance, of Legerda[12], the campaign may be taken to have closed[13].

The impression produced by the news of this campaign at Rome must be gathered from the fact that a complete change of policy was its result. Tiridates had wholly disappeared from the scene, his feeble attempt, in the autumn or following spring, to re-enter from Media, had been so crushed as to leave him without apparent hope

[1] He appears to have fled to Media (13. 41, 2; 14. 26, 1).

[2] It is noted above that it seems impossible to suppose, with Egli, that the long march upon Tigranocerta followed in the same season. If however we take it that the campaign closed here, and that the Romans wintered in Artaxata, we could not suppose that Corbulo burnt the city till he evacuated it in the following year. If therefore the view taken here is correct, the natural impression produced by the narrative is misleading.

[3] 14. 23, 1–3.

[4] 14. 24, 2.

[5] 14. 23, 4.

[6] 14. 24, 4.

[7] See 14. 23, 4, and note.

[8] Egli, pp. 307–311. The plain of Bayazid is now traversed by a great caravan road from Erzeroum to Tabriz.

[9] 14. 24, 2. The allusion to 'penuria aquae' is difficult to understand, and may be a touch added; unless it is meant that many of the streams feeding the Murad were dried up and the herbage was withered.

[10] 14. 24, 3.

[11] See 14. 24, 4, and note.

[12] 14. 25, 1, and note.

[13] Nipp. estimates the march as one of 275 Roman miles.

of resistance[1]; and he was now left out of account, and the old course, so often marked by failure, was re-entered, probably early in 813, A.D. 60, by sending out, to be set upon the throne, another Romanised prince, Tigranes, nephew of one of the same name who had ruled for a short time in the Roman interest in the last years of Augustus[2]. The neighbouring princes were bribed, each by a portion of Armenian territory, to support the new arrangement[3]; a force of 1000 legionary and 3000 or more auxiliary Roman troops was left in the country; and Corbulo, after vengeance executed on the disaffected[4], withdrew with his army to Syria[5], as if his work was done.

Yet he must have been well aware that the war, instead of being over, was only entering on a more serious phase; that to have led a powerful army from one end of Armenia to the other[6], in the absence of the Parthians, was no real conquest, and that the difficulties would begin again as soon as the backs of the legions were turned; that the new king could not hold his own for a day without Roman help, while his mere presence was a standing defiance which the Parthians could not but take up with energy; the more so as the long drag of the Hyrcanian revolt may probably at this time have been opportunely removed[7], and as Tigranes was himself taking up an openly aggressive attitude, by invading and endeavouring to annex the Mesopotamian district of Adiabene[8]. It was probably from his foresight that Rome had now entered upon a path that could only end in failure, that we find Corbulo now shrinking from the responsibility of undivided command, and desiring to confine himself to a purely defensive attitude on the Syrian frontier, and to devolve on another the real conduct of war in Armenia itself, with the province of Cappadocia as its base[9].

Before these arrangements had been completed, we hear of Vologeses, early in the spring of 814, A.D. 61[10], as shaking off his habitual caution

[1] 'Abire procul et spem belli amittere coegit' (14. 26, 1).

[2] See 14. 26, 1, and note.

[3] 14. 26, 3.

[4] He is described (14. 26, 1) as treating the country as conquered ('possessionem Armeniae usurpabat').

[5] 14. 26, 4.

[6] The march is represented as not strictly hostile ('non infenso exercitu'), though as one in which precaution was needed against treachery (14. 23, 1).

[7] The Hyrcanian rebellion is mentioned as continuing in 15. 1, 1 (a retrospective passage), but as brought to a close when Vologeses begins to act with vigour (15. 2, 5). We must connect with this the notice in 14. 25, 2 of the mission of a Hyrcanian embassy to Rome, sent back by a circuitous route under escort by Corbulo. It is to be supposed that their object, that of gaining active assistance from Roman arms, was seen to be hopeless, and that they made terms soon afterwards with the Parthian king.

[8] 15. 1, 2.

[9] 15. 3, 2.

[10] All the events in 15. 1–18 are related under the year 815, A.D. 62; but the narrative is evidently taken up from 813, A.D. 60 (14. 26, 4). The chief chronological difficulty arises from the apparently distinct mention of three winters (15. 6, 2; 8, 3; 17, 4), where room can be

and dread of Rome[1], and solemnly in presence of his council investing Tiridates with the diadem, despatching a force to deal instantly with Tigranes, and preparing to attack the frontier with all his strength[2]. Corbulo immediately met the challenge by despatching two legions to Armenia; but the promptness was more apparent than real; for the commanders are said to have been instructed not to be too energetic[3], and the legions were not those which he had trained and led, but the Fourth and Twelfth[4], which had been left in Syria, and could have been hardly more fit for active service than his own had been five years previously. On the other hand, all possible means were taken to secure the frontier of Syria on the Euphrates, and even to threaten an advance from it[5]; and Tigranes, behind the strong walls of Tigranocerta, well provisioned and garrisoned, mocked the feeble siege tactics of the Parthians[6], whose horsemen were themselves reduced to straits through the destruction of the herbage by locusts[7]. Under these circumstances we are certainly startled to find the Parthians able, a short time later, to gain in return for their own retirement from what is represented as a disadvantageous and untenable position, no less an equivalent than the evacuation of Tigranocerta, the retreat of the whole Roman army to such winter quarters as it could find in Cappadocia, the permanent withdrawal of Tigranes, and the opportunity of sending to make terms at Rome on the basis formerly proposed[8]. In the imperfection of our record, no trustworthy ex-

found for only two; inasmuch as this part of the narrative cannot well be taken to begin before the spring of 814, A.D. 61, and the disaster of Paetus must have taken place before the end of 815, A.D. 62, as the news of it reaches Rome in the following year 'veris principio' (c. 24, 1). It seems best to adopt the reckoning of Nipp. (Ed. 4) rather than that of Egli, and to suppose that the winter implied in c. 6, 2 is that of A.D. 61-62, and that the winter described as impending in c. 8, 3 was not so advanced but that the series of events related in the following chapters took place before it had fully set in, and was the same winter which Paetus afterwards spent in Cappadocia (c. 17, 4), that of A.D. 62-63. See notes on c. 6, 2; 8, 3; 9, 2; 17, 4.

[1] 15. 1, 1.

[2] 15. 2.

[3] The alleged secret instruction, 'compositius cuncta quam festinantius agerent,' and the imputed motive 'quippe bellum habere quam gerere malebat' (15. 3, 1), cannot come from Corbulo's memoirs and seems taken from the accusation brought against him afterwards; nor is the latter sentence easily to be reconciled with his apparent eagerness to settle matters (see c. 6, 1).

[4] Though we are not expressly so told in 15. 6, 5, it is reasonable to suppose that the legions now sent were those which afterwards remained with Paetus (c. 6, 5).

[5] 15. 5, 4.

[6] 'Partho ad exequendas obsidiones nulla comminus audacia' (15. 4, 5).

[7] 15. 5, 4. Egli points out (p. 291) that the season for such swarms is in June or July. Some interval must therefore be supposed between it and the treaty made at the approach of winter.

[8] Tacitus gives us two versions of the transaction, the one, that which he represents as held by most persons, and which he himself adopts, and which must have been that given by the admirers of Corbulo, that Vologeses unconditionally withdrew his forces from Armenia after a threatening message delivered to him at Nisibis (15. 5); the other, apparently the

planation of this turn of events is open to us; and it is hardly worth while to speculate whether Corbulo may have foreseen circumstances likely to make the retention of Tigranocerta during the winter impracticable, or whether, being aware, as he must have been, that no other ultimate solution than the recognition of Tiridates was possible, he desired either to win the credit of accomplishing it before his successor arrived, or to leave him to face the responsibilities arising out of its rejection[1].

The spring of 815, A.D. 62, brought with it the rejection of the Parthian embassage[2], and the arrival of L. Caesennius Paetus in Cappadocia[3], bringing with him, either as his instructions from Rome, or as a vaunt on his own part, another change of policy, that Armenia should be freed from puppet kings by becoming a Roman province[4]. It might be not much more costly to effect this object than permanently to keep up Tigranes; but such slight national support as that prince could command could no longer be counted on, and his threat in any case was idle, unless an addition of two or three legions to the normal military establishment was contemplated. Our record of his first and only effort to re-occupy and hold the country is little more than an elaborately contrasted portrait of the two generals; the one, cautious and vigilant, strengthening carefully the defences on the Euphrates, pushing his outposts gradually into the hostile country, and assuming so formidable an attitude as to make any attack on his position evidently hopeless[5]; the other, a braggart in success, and a coward in the face of disaster, starting, in defiance of what are made to have been the plain warnings of the gods[6], with an extravagant design, abandoning it for desultory plunder[7], and prematurely (as it would seem[8]) retiring to the inaction of a winter camp, yet wording his despatches as if the whole kingdom lay at his feet[9], and,

version of his enemies and subsequent accusers, that he made a secret compact to the effect above stated (15. 6, 1). This latter version is evidently in accordance with the actual facts; for the Romans are clearly represented as wintering in Cappadocia (15. 6, 2), and Tigranes is never afterwards mentioned. The only concession which the Parthians appear to have made was the acceptance of the condition, formerly rejected, of doing homage for Armenia (see on 15. 5, 5).

[1] As the ratification of such a compact at Rome was hardly to be expected, the latter is the motive imputed to Corbulo by his hostile critics: 'dilata prorsus arma, ut Vologeses cum alio quam cum Corbulone certaret, Corbulo meritae tot per annos gloriae non ultra periculum faceret' (15. 6, 3).

[2] 15. 7, 1.

[3] 15. 6, 4.

[4] He is made to announce, 'se tributa ac leges et pro umbra regis Romanum ius victis impositurum' (15. 6, 6). From the fact that Tigranes is left so wholly out of account, some have supposed that he had died in the interval.

[5] 15. 9, 1-2.

[6] 15. 7, 2-5. Tacitus recounts the omens with a faith beyond what is usual to him (see note on 15. 8, 1).

[7] 15. 8, 1, 2.

[8] See below, p. 119.

[9] 15. 8, 3.

though quartered in an enemy's country, granting his legions all the indulgences usual in profound security and peace[1]: again, on the approach of the enemy, we have him alternately resting on the advice of his subordinate officers and disdaining it[2], advancing with a show of courage and retreating in dismay at the first collision[3], dispersing in the supreme crisis a force all too scanty when concentrated, and placing his best troops in an indefensible position to be overwhelmed by numbers[4]; then, under the storm of actual attack, abandoning all self-possession, and sending a piteous appeal for help[5] to the colleague whom he had but lately hardly thought it needful even to inform of the approach of danger[6], and finally, blending the strange irony of bombastic messages to his conqueror[7] with a capitulation ranking among the most ignominious in Roman history[8], while the garrison had still provisions left and was in less strait than the enemy outside, and while the expected succour was but three days distant[9].

This description, drawn no doubt chiefly from the ungenerous representations of Corbulo[10], cannot now be checked in respect of its particulars from any other sources[11], but corresponds at least in its general outline with the broad facts of what actually took place. In attempting to deal with these we have a total absence of all geography, except the bare mention of the Arsanias[12], Mount Taurus[13], and Arsamosata[14], and such inferences as may be drawn from the statement that Paetus aimed at recovering Tigranocerta, and at carrying the war into districts which Corbulo had left untouched[15]. We should gather that he had crossed the Euphrates from Cappadocia, probably near Melitene[16], and marched through the friendly country of Sophene[17]; whence a route led then, as now, over the Taurus range and by Arsinia to Amida (Diarbekir), and

[1] 15. 9, 2.

[2] 15. 10, 2. The legatus of the Fourth legion was an officer of great subsequent distinction (see note on 15. 7, 2).

[3] 15. 10, 3, 4.

[4] 15. 10, 5, 6.

[5] 15. 11, 3.

[6] 'Aegre compulsum ferunt, ut instantem Corbuloni fateretur' (15. 10, 7).

[7] 15. 13, 4; 14, 3.

[8] The garrison are represented as persuading themselves that their disgrace was somewhat less than that incurred at the Caudine Forks, or than that of the capitulation of Mancinus at Numantia (15. 13, 2).

[9] 15. 16, 1.

[10] One at least of his statements is regarded with suspicion by Tacitus as 'augendae infamiae compositum' (15. 16, 3). See also the description of his want of magnanimity and generosity towards Paetus, in laying all the blame on him (15. 26, 3), and sending his son to bury the victims of his disaster (15. 28, 3).

[11] The account of Dio (62. 20, 2–22, 3) for the most part closely follows Tacitus, though resting also on independent sources, whence we get the name of the place (Rhandeia), and a few other particulars; but in the points on which he differs from Tacitus he appears untrustworthy (see notes on 15. 10, 3; 13, 4; 16, 2). The only sentence in which Suet. alludes to the disaster repeats and even adds to another exaggeration (see note on 15. 15, 2).

[12] 15. 15, 1.

[13] 15. 10, 5.

[14] 15. 10, 6.

[15] 15. 8, 1.

[16] See on 15. 7, 2.

[17] See 13. 7, 2, and note.

thence in whichever direction we take Tigranocerta to have lain[1]. We are told vaguely of forts taken, booty (chiefly corn for winter supply) collected[2], and long distances traversed[3], without any mention of the presence of the Parthian force, which must have been mainly confronting Corbulo[4]. But the campaign seems to have begun late[5], and a decision to have been soon taken to discipline the troops, like those of Corbulo[6], by a winter in the country, and to postpone the attempt to recover Tigranocerta till the following spring, when another legion, probably of better quality[7], would have joined him. With this resolution taken, he may be supposed to have retired, on the near approach[8], rather than at the actual arrival of winter, to the camp constructed probably on the north bank of the Murad, not far above its junction with the Kara-Su[9]; and, according to the reckoning here adopted[10], all the following events were compressed into the few weeks still left open for active operations[11].

Many of the races composing the Parthian empire, and especially those inhabiting the plain of Iran and the adjoining mountain tracts, were better able than Greeks or Romans to endure the severities of winter[12]; and once at least before in the history of the Arsacidae, a decisive victory had been snatched by them in this season[13]. On this occasion, the information that Paetus had dismissed all thought of being attacked and was giving furloughs to all who had asked for them[14], that even the two attenuated legions were not together[15], and that the camp was ill-provisioned[16], must have inspired Vologeses with the idea of suddenly launching on Armenia the force which then faced Corbulo at Zeugma[17], when any regular siege was precluded by the season, and when

[1] That he did not advance far in this direction would appear from the fact that Corbulo is represented in the following year as opening out this route afresh, and clearing the obstructions which had been long accumulating (15. 27, 1).

[2] 15. 8, 2.

[3] 'Longinquis itineribus percursando quae obtineri nequibant' (15. 8, 3).

[4] 15. 9, 1.

[5] The construction of a winter camp began almost at the outset (15. 7, 4; 8, 1); and his raid must have been after harvest time (15. 10, 3). The delay may well have arisen from the unfitness of his legions for service.

[6] See above, p. 113.

[7] The Fifth legion, from Moesia (15. 6, 5), which had been allowed to linger in Pontus (15. 9, 2).

[8] 'Instante hieme' (15. 8, 3).

[9] See notes on c. 10, 1; 15, 1.

[10] See above, p. 115, 10.

[11] That the winter of this part of Armenia is to be distinguished from that of its northern part is shown on 15. 9, 2.

[12] See Rawlinson, 'Sixth Oriental Monarchy,' p. 101.

[13] The occasion is that on which Phraates II. defeated and captured Antiochus Sidetes, in B.C. 128 (Rawlinson, l. l.).

[14] 15. 9, 2.

[15] The position of the Twelfth legion, before it joined the Fourth at Rhandeia (15. 10, 1) is not known.

[16] It is asserted that no pains were taken on the spot to provision the camp (c. 8, 1), and that the corn collected by Paetus himself was spoilt (c. 8, 3), but on the other hand that there was still corn left at the surrender (c. 16, 1).

[17] 15. 9, 2. The headquarters of Vologeses may probably have been at Nisibis (see 15. 5, 2).

the only chance was that of a *coup de main*, which in any ordinary case must have proved a failure, and which only a series of unforeseen blunders crowned with complete success.

The Twelfth legion was brought up to the Roman head-quarters; and the whole army, with its weakness revealed by concentration[1], was advanced on a reconnaissance in force[2] beyond the Taurus pass[3]; whence on the first collision both sides seem to have receded, the Romans retreating hastily to their camp, the Parthian advance probably falling back on their main body[4], a movement so misinterpreted by Paetus as to lead him to think that an isolated force of 3000 legionaries on the height, supported by a body of cavalry on the plain, would suffice to arrest his enemy's progress. By their speedy annihilation or dispersion, Paetus was left, deprived of his best horsemen[5] and of probably near half his legionaries[6], to hold out with the remnant (now still further weakened by the detachment of a cohort to Arsamosata[7]) till the succour, at last urgently implored[8], should arrive with Corbulo. That the case was still not desperate is evidenced by the fact that provisions still remained, and that the Parthians, though time was all-important, made no attempt to storm the camp[9]: nor, to do Paetus justice, is he represented by Tacitus as himself inclined to flinch from his undertaking[10], but as forced to make terms by the utter demoralisation of his troops[11]; which, partly no doubt, due to their original unfitness for service, had been aggravated by constantly increasing proof of their leader's incapacity, and finally brought to a head when the wounded survivors of the carnage on the mountain returned to increase the consternation and dismay[12].

The terms of capitulation, however less ignominious than rumour afterwards made them to have been[13], were ignominious enough. The

[1] 15. 10, 1.

[2] It should be noted that for this advance and retreat, as also for his march to the camp from his autumn campaign and for any advance contemplated from it in the following spring, Paetus would have to cross the Arsanias, which, at least for foot-soldiers, would require a bridge (see 15. 15, 6). It would thus seem that materials for constructing a temporary bridge must have been kept in camp, and that it was probably the replacement of this, rather than the construction of a bridge where none had previously existed, that the Parthians enforced (c. 15, 1).

[3] The pass could not have been far off from the camp, as the wounded are able to straggle home (15. 11, 2).

[4] 'Minus acriter institerat' (15. 10, 5).

[5] 'Robur equitatus' (15. 10, 5).

[6] The 3000 were all legionaries (c. 11, 1) and must have been nearly half the two weak legions. Only the wounded are said to have come back (c. 11, 2).

[7] 15. 10, 6.

[8] 15. 11, 3.

[9] The word used ('adpugnare') hardly denotes a real assault; and their efforts, though unusually active, are described only as made to provoke a sally (15. 13, 1): on their incapacity for sieges cp. c. 4, 5. Dio however (62. 21, 2) speaks of their showers of arrows as causing panic.

[10] 'Se fidem interim, dum vita subpeditet, retenturos' (15. 11, 3).

[11] 'Desperatione exercitus dux subactus' (15. 13, 4). Dio (l. l.) says nothing of this, and lays the whole blame on Paetus.

[12] 15. 11, 2.

[13] 15. 15, 2. The 'rumor' would be that which afterwards became current at

camp and its stores were to be surrendered, and the river bridged to enable the victors to carry off their booty[1]; and the evacuation itself, with the insults attending it[2], broke down the last remains of discipline, and turned the retreat into a headlong flight, in which forty miles were covered in one day and the wounded abandoned all along the route[3]; until, probably somewhere near Melitene, this wreck of what had been a Roman army encountered the troops advancing to their rescue[4].

Tacitus, if he has not directly charged any of the blame for this catastrophe on Corbulo, has certainly done so by implication, in attributing his inaction under the first message from Paetus to his desire to win the glory of appearing as a deliverer in the last extremity[5]. What explanation he may himself have given can be only guessed at; but it may probably have been that the first message was in no way urgent[6]; that a force supposed by him to consist of two unbroken legions in strong winter quarters should have been able to take care of itself; that in getting ready a force for instant action[7], despatching it on the first really urgent message, and hastening by forced marches to the spot[8], he had done all that could reasonably have been expected. Yet it cannot be denied that his whole attitude during the campaign had been that of one who desired not to aid but to increase his colleague's difficulties. He had sent to him for the most important service the least efficient legions[9]: his own elaborate preparations, and the forts constructed along the Euphrates, which betokened, if anything, preparations for an offensive movement, had only served to convince Vologeses that nothing of the kind was intended by them[10], and that he might safely withdraw his army from their neighbourhood; nor had the obvious course been taken of turning these advanced posts to account in support of such a demonstration in force beyond the river as might have recalled the invaders of Armenia to protect their threatened communications. His rejection of the proposal of Paetus, to lead at once the whole force back into Armenia[11] (from which Vologeses, apparently in great strait for forage[12], had at once retreated), is intelligible enough. The season was too late to

Rome. An alleged condition is disputed in c. 16, 2; another exaggeration is given in Dio (see note, l. l.).

[1] 15. 14, 5; 15, 1.

[2] 15. 15, 3. Not only the Parthians, but even the Armenians are there noted as insulting them.

[3] 15. 16, 3.

[4] Corbulo had already met a detachment (15. 12, 3), probably a body of the fugitives from Mt. Taurus (c. 11, 2).

[5] 15. 10, 7. Unless the suggested motive is a surmise of Tacitus himself, he would seem here to be again adopting the statements of Corbulo's subsequent accusers: see above, p. 116, 3.

[6] This is expressly stated (l. l.).

[7] 15. 10, 8.

[8] 15. 12, 6.

[9] See above, p. 116.

[10] 15. 9, 2.

[11] 15. 17, 1.

[12] 15. 16, 1.

take up new winter quarters in that country; his own force was not on a large scale[1]; and the rabble of Paetus would not be an aid but an incumbrance: still it is difficult to suppose that his instructions from home tied him as strictly as he implied, or that his position in Syria, held by three nearly complete and thoroughly efficient legions, was as much imperilled as he affected to apprehend[2].

The year closes with the retirement of Paetus to winter in Cappadocia[3], and with an interchange of messages between Vologeses and Corbulo, whereby the latter consented to destroy his outposts beyond the Euphrates, on condition of the withdrawal of all the Parthian garrisons left behind in various fortified places in Armenia[4]. Thus all preparation for offensive movement was abandoned on both sides, and affairs seemed to have drifted back once more into the position in which the arrival of Paetus had found them[5]; but with the difference that Tiridates, the only prince who could hold his own in Armenia by national support without external force, was more than ever master of the situation, and that the prestige of victory had shifted altogether from the Roman to the Parthian side.

The embassy which Vologeses had been 'permitted to send[6],' reached Rome early in 816, A.D. 63[7], and exposed the hollowness of the gasconading despatches of Paetus[8]. The Parthian king spoke with just pride of his success and clemency, and wrote as one who had to offer terms instead of petitioning. The actual sovereignty of Armenia was treated as no longer in question; but Tiridates would consent to do homage for it in presence of the symbols of the empire at the camp of Corbulo, and would even have offered to come to Rome for investiture, if it were not for a religious difficulty[9]. The council of Nero[10], driven to find some means of reconciling the facts of the situation with the satisfaction of imperial honour, fastened on the last point as one on which compliance might be extorted, so that they should not seem to have accepted terms from the victor. Outwardly indeed, the Parthian proposals were rejected in a spirit of defiance; but the possibility of such a compromise was understood to be implied in the conciliatory gifts

[1] 15. 10, 8, and note.

[2] 15. 17, 2. This overstrained language, probably repeated in his written narrative, seems to account for the exaggeration ('aegre Suria retenta') of Suet. Ner. 39.

[3] 15. 17, 4.

[4] 15. 17, 5.

[5] See above, p. 116.

[6] In 15. 14, 5, after specification of the terms of surrender, it is added ironically 'quibus perpetratis copia Vologesi fieret mittendi ad Neronem legatos.'

[7] 15. 24, 1.

[8] 15. 8, 3; 25, 1. Two unfair misinterpretations by Tacitus of the action of the government of Rome before the arrival of the disastrous news are pointed out in notes on 15. 18, 1, 2.

[9] 15. 24, 1-3.

[10] That the 'primores civitatis' were consulted, is here distinctly stated (15. 25, 2).

presented to the embassy[1], and was no doubt distinctly intimated in the new instructions to Corbulo; who (on the recall of Paetus[2]) was now reappointed to the undivided command[3], with such extended powers as would appear to imply the possession of a general 'imperium proconsulare[4]' in the East. His preparations, in accordance with the outward show of uncompromising hostility, were on such a scale as to betoken an intention of complete reconquest. The two broken and demoralised legions which had capitulated were sent back to Syria and replaced by the two famous legions of his former campaigns, to which were added that which should have joined Paetus from Moesia, and another now sent to him from Pannonia; the force being made up by its auxiliaries and the contingents of neighbouring princes to a strength of probably from 40,000 to 50,000 men[5], and forming by far the strongest army in numbers and quality which had ever been despatched against Armenia.

We have again, as in former years, the same personal exaltation of Corbulo. The powers conferred on him are likened to those given in old time to Pompeius[6]; he is made to open out afresh the disused route of Lucullus[7], as if to recall the memory of that famous campaign in which a force, barely amounting to one third of that now following him, had humbled the pride of the first Tigranes[8]. Vologeses, who had offered conditions at Rome as a victor, sends to him as a petitioner and obtains from him an armistice[9]; the respect in which his name is held[10] is such as to make Tiridates accept without hesitation at his advice the terms of submission which had been treated as impossible in the embassy to Nero[11]; after an exchange of courteous interviews, it is in his presence that the dishonour associated with Rhandeia is obliterated on the same spot[12] by the deposition before the eagles and the emperor's effigy of the diadem which Tiridates bound himself no more to wear till he should have received it again at Rome from the hand of Nero[13]; and it is with his dignified hospitality that the scene is closed[14].

As regards any military operations, our information is again vague

[1] 15. 25, 4. Dio (see note) makes such a proposal to have been distinctly intimated to them.

[2] The forgiveness awarded to him (15. 25, 7) would either show that he stood high in Nero's favour, or that some excuse could be made for him. That his reputation was not destroyed by his failure would seem to follow from his having been afterwards appoitned legatus of Syria by Vespasian (see note on 15. 6, 4).

[3] The story that Nero had some thought himself of taking the command, rests only on Dio (62. 22, 4).

[4] See 15. 25, 5, 6, and note. Another legatus is appointed to discharge the civil duties in Syria.

[5] 15. 26, 1, 2.

[6] 15. 25, 6. The comparison of Germanicus (see note) would seem more apposite.

[7] 15. 27, 1.

[8] Plut. Luc. 24, 25.

[9] 15. 27, 1; 28, 1.

[10] 15. 28, 1.

[11] 15. 28, 1; 29, 3.

[12] 15. 28, 2.

[13] 15. 29, 3-6.

[14] 15. 30, 1.

and meagre in the extreme. The mention of the route of Lucullus would point to an advance upon Tigranocerta; but there is no record that he ever reached or approached it[1], and we next hear of him as far off from it as Rhandeia: for the intermediate time we have no other record of this great army than as striking terror by expelling the principal supporters of Tiridates, destroying their strongholds, and other acts of desultory warfare, not greatly exceeding those recorded of Paetus[2]. For this startling contrast between the magnificent array of force and the results achieved by it, it would be unjust to blame the general, who was no doubt hampered by the instructions of his government, which had to extricate itself from the difficulty of seeming to accept terms which it had before rejected by insisting thus absolutely upon investiture at Rome. Probably by no other means but by the display of irresistible force on the spot, coupled with the conciliatory messages of Corbulo, could the Parthians be made to see that this one point of form alone kept them apart[3], but that, sooner than give up this, Rome was prepared to employ all the strength of the empire. This point once clearly seen, an understanding must have been soon arrived at. Not indeed that Tiridates conceded nothing, or would without considerable pressure have accepted a condition which, besides carrying with it a religious difficulty[4], involved the undertaking of a journey of vast length, at the slow pace necessitated by the pomp and state suitable to eastern royalty[5], the liability at every stage to what he might consider slights or insults at the hands of Roman officials[6], and, above all, a public scene of submission before the eyes of assembled Rome[7]; all of them condescensions to which a king and the brother of the Great King could not but be deeply sensitive, however he might feel that the substantial spoils of war were after all his, and however truly any such stately sentence as that with with Tacitus concludes this narrative might more fitly have become the Parthian than the Roman motto[8].

[1] He cannot have taken the field till somewhat late in the summer, as his appointment to the command did not take place till the spring, and he had then to collect and organize his forces.

[2] 'Megistanas Armenios, qui primi a nobis defecerant, pellit sedibus, castella eorum excindit, plana edita, validos invalidosque pari metu complet' (15. 27, 4). The record of the campaign of Paetus had said, 'capta quaedam castella, gloriaeque et praedae nonnihil partum' (c. 8, 2).

[3] It should be added that the bringing to Rome of his own sons and those of Vologeses, Pacorus, and Monobazus as hostages, which Dio (63. 1, 2) represents as done by Tiridates, must be supposed to have been part of the condition.

[4] See 15. 24, 3, and note.

[5] See the account given from Dio in Appendix to Book 16.

[6] The fear of this is shown by the stipulations made on his behalf (15. 31, 1).

[7] The language which Dio (63. 5, 2) makes him use is sufficiently humiliating: *ἐγώ, δέσποτα, . . . σὸς δοῦλος εἰμι. καὶ ἦλθόν τε πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐμὸν θεόν, προσκυνήσων σε ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν, καὶ ἔσομαι τοῦτο ὅ τι ἂν σὺ ἐπικλώσῃς· σὺ γάρ μοι καὶ μοῖρα εἶ καὶ τύχη.*

[8] 'Non inerat notitia nostri, apud quos vis imperii valet, inania tramittuntur' (15.

To recapitulate the phases through which the Armenian question had in these years passed:—at the outset, the offer to recognise Tiridates, on condition of his acknowledging the kingdom as the gift of Rome, had been made by the Roman government and rejected by the Parthians[1]: at a second stage, when Artaxata lay in ashes, Tigranocerta was occupied by Roman troops, and Tiridates was a fugitive in Media, the offer had been cancelled, and Tigranes set on the throne[2]; and after his withdrawal there had been at least some professed intention of reducing the kingdom to a province[3]: at a third stage, the Parthians had so far learnt prudence as, even in their hour of victory, to offer in some shape the homage which they had at first disdained[4]: in the last, the condition of the personal presence of Tiridates in Rome is insisted on rather to save Roman honour than as important in itself; a lame and impotent conclusion to so severe a struggle, yet preferable to the only possible alternative, that of the tenure of Armenia as a province and the permanent increase of the military establishment by the force required to hold it[5].

Tiridates returned to Armenia in 819, A.D. 66, as its acknowledged king[6]; and the settlement had at least the merit of permanence. The only expedition subsequently projected by Nero in the East was in the Parthian no less than in the Roman interest[7]: the memory of Nero was held in friendly recollection throughout those regions even after his

31, 2). Nero at least took credit for the restoration of peace, which he signified by closing the temple of Janus (see 16. 28, 5, and note).

[1] See above, p. 113.

[2] See p. 115.

[3] See p. 117.

[4] See p. 122.

[5] The number of legions in the East had been increased during these hostilities from four to seven (cp. 13. 8, 2; 15. 26, 1, 2, and notes), and could hardly have been fixed at less than six; and the temporary weakening of other provinces would have had to be made up. This increase would have been irrespective of that actually found necessary by Vespasian (see Momms. Hist. v. 395: E. T. ii. 63).

[6] It may be assumed that during the three years of his absence, Armenia had been occupied and administered by Corbulo without opposition. Two inscriptions found close to Kharput (Eph. Ep. v. p. 25) record the construction of a fort in 817, A.D. 64, by T. Aurelius Fulvus (see H. 1. 79, 8), legatus of the Third legion, under the orders of Corbulo. This would at least show that means were then taken to secure the entrance into Armenia from Sophene. See Mommsen's comments in Hermes, xv. 1880, pp. 289–296.

[7] This expedition is described in H. 1. 6, 5, as directed 'ad claustra Caspiarum ('Caspias portas' Suet. Ner. 19; cp. Dio 63. 8, 1) et bellum quod in Albanos parabat.' The statement in Pliny (N. H. 6. 13, 15, 40) is no doubt correct, that the pass spoken of is that often wrongly called 'Caspiae' but rightly 'Caucasiae portae' (cp. Id. 6. 11, 12, 30), the well-known Dariel pass between Tiflis and Vladikaukas (cp. 6. 34, 4, and note); and the people aimed at must have been, as Mommsen shows (Hist. v. 394, 1: E. T. ii. 62, 1), not the Albani, who lived chiefly, if not wholly, south of the Caucasus, but the Alani near the Tanais and Maeotis, who appear from a confused account in Jos. B. I. 7. 7, 4, to have launched a predatory horde on Media and Armenia at a time which might coincide with and account for this expedition. To furnish forces, the famous Fourteenth legion was withdrawn from Britain (H. 2. 11, 2; 27, 3; 66, 2), and a new legion, the 'Prima Italica' (see Suet. l. l.), enrolled, and detachments were added from Germany

death[1]; nor in the vicissitudes of civil war that followed it was any advantage taken of the crisis by the Parthian king[2]. The agreement brought about at this time stood the strain for half a century, till the memories of Eastern warfare were again awakened by Trajan.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN UNDER CLAUDIUS AND NERO.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

NOTE.—In this chapter, and in the notes on the corresponding portion of the text, constant obligations must be acknowledged to Mommsen, Hist. v. ch. 5; to Hübner's treatise 'das Römische Heer in Britannien' (Hermes, xvi. 1881, pp. 514–584), and to various notes in his edition of the inscriptions of Britain (C. I. L. vii); to Professor Rhys ('Celtic Britain,' London, 1882); and to many other works which are mentioned in their place; also to information communicated by Mr. F. Haverfield.

THE writings of Tacitus, even in the mutilated state in which we now possess them, constitute our most complete and most consecutive authority for the whole history of Roman invasion and conquest in Britain down to the recall of Agricola (837, A. D. 84), from whom it is natural to suppose that most of his information respecting the country and people was derived. It is here proposed, after a slight notice of previous events, to enter into so much only of the subject as is comprised in the period of the Annals, so much, that is, as would have been related in that work, if it had come down complete to us. An examination of his sketch of the geography and ethnology of the island belongs

and Illyricum (H. 1. 6, 5); all of which were on their way when the news of the rising of Vindex caused their recall.

[1] Suet. states (Ner. 57) that Vologeses, in a letter to the senate, 'magnopere oravit ut Neronis memoria coleretur,' and that the cause of the false Nero of twenty years afterwards found enthusiastic support in the Parthian Empire (cp. H. 1, 2, 3).

[2] On the relations of Parthia towards Rome at that period and down to the time of Trajan, see Momms. Hist. v. 393–397: E. T. ii. 62–65.

more properly to an edition of the Agricola. It is sufficient here to note that his general knowledge on these points is hardly so much in advance of that of Caesar and Strabo as we should have expected from his date and his exceptional means of information.

In the Agricola he correctly characterises the results of the invasions of Julius Caesar[1], and refers the long subsequent inaction to the civil wars, the 'politic forgetfulness' of Augustus, and the powerful influence of his ideas on the mind of his successor[2]; an explanation which he would probably have set forth with more detail in the body of his larger work.

It must be plain that Caesar's professed object in invading Britain[3] could have been only very imperfectly and temporarily attained by the successes gained in it; and that, if he really believed the independence of the island to be a standing menace to the peace of Gaul, he must have contemplated some permanent occupation of it; and that this scheme, though thrown into the background by the great expedition to the East, on which his energies were concentrated at the time of his death, was among the ideas bequeathed by him to his successors. He had shown that to land an army in the country and to penetrate its forests was practicable, and that the means of dividing its people by intrigue were ready to hand; that there would be tribes, such as were in his time the Trinovantes of Essex[4], as ready to invite Roman interference as had been the Aedui and Remi of Gaul.

By the partition of the empire under the triumvirate, the execution of the dictator's ideas in respect of the occupation of Britain would fall to the share of his nephew, who was apparently so far penetrated with the necessity of sustaining his reputation by an advance in that direction as to have at least made some show of preparing to invade this country as early as 720, B.C. 34, when he was recalled from Gaul by the Dalmatian rising[5].

The idea of this conquest, though again postponed by the imminent civil war[6], is kept prominently before the public mind in the literature of the years immediately before and after Actium[7]; and the announce-

[1] 'Potest videri ostendisse (Britanniam) posteris, non tradidisse' (Agr. 13, 2).

[2] 'Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, et longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum' (Agr. l. l.).

[3] 'Quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat' (B. G. 4. 20, 1).

[4] B. G. 5. 20, 1. The submission of other tribes is mentioned in 5. 21, 1. On the Trinovantes (or Trinobantes) see 14. 31, 4, and note.

[5] Dio 49. 38, 4.

[6] Hence the lament of Horace, apparently at this date (Epod. 7, 7), that the strength of Rome should be spent in self-destruction, instead of 'Intactus . . . Britannus ut descenderet Sacra catenatus via.'

[7] The Georgics, completed in 724,

ment of an expedition for this purpose under the personal command of Augustus must have roused expectation to its height in 727, B.C. 27[1]. This intention again is stated to have been frustrated in the following year by the rising of the Salassi and the obstinate resistance of the Cantabrians[2]; and some doubt may be allowed whether a conquest of Britain, any more than of Parthia[3], was ever seriously entertained, in the light of his reduction of the vast army that had come under his command at the close of the civil war to a standing peace establishment of only eighteen legions[4]. It is at any rate certain that from the year above mentioned the idea of a British expedition fades out of sight[5], and that, at some time afterwards, some similar combination of policy and good fortune to that which brought about a peaceful solution of the Parthian question[6] enabled Augustus to save his credit, and to represent his object as substantially gained, without loss of blood or treasure. Two British princes are recorded to have fled from their land to his protection[7]; and the prominence given to this event in the 'Monumentum Ancyranum' allows us to suppose that it was duly represented at the time in some light favourable to Roman dignity[8]; while some more unmistakeable acts of homage are instanced by Strabo[9], who describes the island generally as

B.C. 30, contain the aspiration, 'tibi serviat ultima Thule' (1, 30), and already anticipate the expected triumph, by representing British captives drawing up the curtains of the stage in the ideal votive games of Vergil (3, 25).

[1] This no doubt supplies the motive of the prayer to Fortune, 'Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos Orbis Britannos' (1. 35, 29). In another ode (3. 5, 3), Caesar is reminded that he is to win the dignity of deification in life by adding Parthia and Britain to the empire. In Propertius (5. 3, 9), 'Arethusa' imagines 'Lycotas' facing the enemies of Rome all over the world, among them the Briton 'with his painted car.'

[2] Dio 49. 25, 2.

[3] See above, p. 99.

[4] See Introd. I. vii. p. 103; Momms. R. G. D. A. p. 73, foll.

[5] In Tibullus (?) 4. 1, 150, this conquest is imagined as reserved for Messala ('te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus'); but the date and authorship of this poem are very doubtful.

[6] See above, p. 100.

[7] 'Ad me supp[lic]es confug[erunt] reges . . . Britann[o]rum Dumnobellau[nus] et Tim' . . . (Mon. Anc. 5. 54; 6. 2). The first of these is generally identified with the 'Dubnovellaunos' shown by coins to have ruled in Essex and part of Kent, where he may probably have been successor to the king of the Trinovantes protected by Julius Caesar. The second name, which is now wholly gone, may have been 'Tincommius' (Evans, pp. 158, 500), though Mommsen (R. G. D. A. p. 139) doubts it. The date is unknown.

[8] This expulsion of friendly princes by a hostile party must really have been a loss of Roman influence. Dumnobellaunus was probably driven out by Cunobelinus.

[9] *νυνὶ μέντοι τῶν δυναστῶν τινες τῶν αὐτόθι πρεσβεύσεσι καὶ θεραπείαις κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν φιλίαν ἀναθήματά τε ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ οἰκείαν σχεδόν τι παρεσκεύασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον* (4. 5, 3, p. 200). The date at which Strabo was writing would fall into the last years of Augustus, or even later; but some change appears to have taken place as early as 741, B.C. 13, when Horace wrote (Od. 4. 14, 47), 'te (audit) beluosus, qui remotis Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis.' Some ten or fifteen years later, Ovid (M. 15. 752) seems to have taken his cue to depreciate the dictator's exploit ('Scilicet aequoreos plus est domuisse Britannos'); as, at a later date, Lucan (2. 571) makes Pompeius reproach him with positive defeat ('Territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis').

rendered friendly, and adds what we may suppose to be the official reasons against its occupation as a province [1].

The example of Augustus, and his precept against extension of the empire [2], were no doubt a sufficient law to Tiberius, under whom the continuance of friendly relations is attested by the treatment of the shipwrecked soldiers of Germanicus by British princes [3]. The long ascendancy of Cunobelinus (the Cymbeline of Shakespeare), who established his capital in the Trinovantian town of Camulodunum [4], and who must have been paramount, if not sole ruler of south eastern Britain, from the later years of Augustus to almost the year of the Claudian invasion, was evidently a period of peaceful and commercial intercourse, and extension of Roman influence [5]. It is however evident that the immediate antecedents of the invasion are connected with the fortunes of his family: one of his sons, Adminius, is the fugitive whose surrender, with a few followers, Gaius is said to have magnified into a national submission [6]; Bericus or Vericus, the suppliant to Claudius [7], may possibly have been another; two others certainly are, as will be seen, the main objects of the attack, and the leaders of the national resistance.

Mommsen maintains that the occupation of Britain was necessary to the security of Gaul, and must have been sooner or later undertaken [8]. It is not, however, evident that the island Celts had been any source of disquiët during the long period of peace [9]; though there seems to be some reason to think that the detention of Adminius and Bericus was

[1] *τοὐλάχιστον μὲν γὰρ ἑνὸς τάγματος χρῄζοι ἂν καὶ ἱππικοῦ τινος, ὥστε καὶ φόρους ἀπάγεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, εἰς ἴσον δὲ καθίσταιτ' ἂν τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῖς προσφερομένοις χρήμασιν.* The estimate of one legion and a body of cavalry was far below the force actually required to hold the country.

[2] 'Addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii' (1. 11, 7).

[3] 'Quidam in Britanniam rapti et remissi a regulis' (2. 24, 5).

[4] It is given as the town of the Trinovantes in Ptol. 2. 3, 22, and as the *βασίλειον* of this king in Dio, 60. 21, 4. The view, partly resting on the similarity of name, partly on its being somewhat nearer to the estuary of the Thames (see 14. 32, 2, and note), that its site was that of Maldon, is now generally abandoned in favour of Colchester (see below, p. 142, and note on 12. 32, 5). Of his coinage,. generally inscribed as minted at Camulodunum, it is noted (Evans, p. 292) that very many specimens, of fifteen different types, have been found at Colchester, and none at Maldon.

[5] His coinage is strongly assimilated to the Roman type, and was probably struck by Roman artists. The same is true to some extent of that of his brother Epaticcus, and their father Tasciovanus (see Evans, Anc. Brit. Coins, p. 289, foll.). The same author notes, as evidence of the extent of his influence, that his coins, though found chiefly in Essex, are traced also in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Nottingham, Herts, Beds, Bucks, Oxon, Middlesex, and Kent. Suetonius (Cal. 44) calls him 'Britannorum rex.'

[6] Suet. l. l.

[7] *Βέρικος γάρ τις ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ στάσιν ἔπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον δύναμιν ἐς αὐτὴν πέμψαι* (Dio, 60. 19, 1). There is no further evidence about him; the coinage inscribed 'Verica' being of much earlier date.

[8] Hist. v. 157; Eng. Tr. i. p. 173.

[9] The only Gallic rising in the time of Tiberius (3, 40-46) is in a wholly different quarter.

resented as a grievance, and that some note of defiance was blown across the Channel[1], which may have had its share, with the remembrance of former failure, in irritating the Roman pride. Also, in such a ruler as Claudius, personal vanity, and the desire to out-do his predecessors, must count for something. Suetonius, as might be expected, thinks his desire to win the full honours of a triumph a sufficient explanation of the whole undertaking[2]; and the monotony with which the rhetorical boast, that he had been first to extend the empire beyond the Ocean, is paraded in his own speech[3], in the triumphal inscription[4], and in contemporary epigrams[5], shows the light in which he wished the achievement to be regarded. Lastly, the prominence of Narcissus in the narrative of the despatch of the expedition[6] suggests the cupidity of freedmen and other courtiers as another great prompting motive[7], and that the increased trade may have led the Romans to exaggerate the mineral and other wealth of Britain no less than they had before depreciated it[8].

The circumstances of the time were favourable to a new extension of the empire, in so far as the general tranquillity on the northern and north-eastern frontier allowed the garrisons there stationed to be reduced below the strength which Augustus (in his later years) and Tiberius had considered necessary[9]. It is, however, to the credit of those who organised this expedition, that they foresaw that it could not be undertaken without some augmentation of the standing army[10], and

[1] The expression in Suet. Cl. 17 ('Britanniam . . . tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas') appears rightly taken by Mommsen to mean more than internal discord, and probably to imply some threatened pillaging on the Gaulish coast.

[2] 'Cum, decretis sibi a senatu ornamentis triumphalibus, . . . vellet iusti triumphi decus, unde adquireret Britanniam potissimum elegit' (Suet. l. l.).

[3] 'Oratio Claudii' (App. to Book 11) col. i. l. 39. See also the caricature of this boast in the mock dirge of Seneca (Lud. 12. 3, 25–35).

[4] See below, p. 140, 9. The words there are a probable supplement.

[5] Eight of these, probably composed at the time of the triumph, are preserved (Anth. Lat. Ed. Teubn. i. 419–426), and are all in much the same strain. One (424) may be taken as a specimen: 'Mars pater, et nostrae gentis tutela Quirine, Et magno positus Caesar uterque polo; Cernitis ignotos Latia sub lege Britannos? Sol citra nostrum flectitur Oceanum. Ultima cesserunt adaperto claustra profundo, Et iam Romano cingimur Oceano.'

[6] Dio states (60. 19, 2) that, when the soldiers were unwilling to embark, Narcissus mounted the tribunal to address them; that they refused to listen to one whom they regarded as still a slave, and drowned his speech by cries of ἰὼ σατουρνάλια, but were nevertheless shamed into compliance.

[7] This cupidity is made prominent in the speech attributed to Calgacus (Agr. 30, 5), 'soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt,' and in the remark ascribed to Caratacus (see note on 12. 36, 6). In Agr. 12, 6 the metals of Britain are called 'pretium victoriae,' and its pearls are spoken of.

[8] Strab. l. l.

[9] For the disposition of the forces at that time see Introd. i. vii. p. 103.

[10] In place of the four legions withdrawn (see below), two new ones, the XV Primigenia and XXII Primigenia, were enrolled; the former replacing the legion drawn from Lower, the other the two legions drawn from Upper Germany, thus

that they planned it on no such paltry scale as that estimated under Augustus[1], but on one really commensurate with the magnitude and difficulty of the enterprise, and more nearly following the actual experience furnished by the second expedition of Julius Caesar[2].

Four complete legions[3], all well known subsequently in British warfare, were drafted for the service, the 'Secunda Augusta' and 'Quartadecima Gemina Martia' from Upper Germany, the 'Vicesima Valeria Victrix' from Lower Germany, and the 'Nona Hispana' from Pannonia; which province also furnished a 'vexillatio' or detachment, probably from 500 to 1000 strong, from another of its legions, the 'Octava Augusta[4].' This would give a strength of from 20,000 to 25,000 legionaries as the nucleus of the army, to which must be added more than as much again, for the 'alae' and 'cohortes' of auxiliary or non-citizen troops[5], making the whole army probably nearly 60,000[6].

The great flotilla collected to transport these troops and to protect their landing was no doubt the commencement of the 'classis Britannica;' which plays a conspicuous part in the campaigns of Agricola[7], and which appears afterwards to have had its principal station at Lymne ('portus Lemanis')[8].

The same appreciation of the importance of the expedition was shown

leaving both that province and Pannonia weakened each by a legion. See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 434.

[1] See above, p. 129, note 1.

[2] In that campaign, in which he crossed the Thames, and is thought to have reached Verulam (see note on 14. 33, 4), his force consisted of five legions, thoroughly trained in war, and 2000 cavalry.

[3] The names of all these are mentioned in the narrative of the rising of Boudicca (see 14. 32, 3; 34, 1; 37, 6). The Fourteenth was recalled in the last years of Nero (see below, p. 140, 5), and the three other legions furnished detachments to the army of Vitellius (H. 3. 22, 2). The Second ('Adiutrix') appears to have taken the place of the Fourteenth, and to have been itself recalled by Domitian. The Ninth was annihilated in the time of Hadrian and replaced by the Sixth ('Victrix'); which, as also the Second ('Augusta') and Twentieth, remained in Britain during the whole period of Roman occupation. The names of soldiers belonging to all these and also to other legions occur in numerous inscriptions. See Index, C. I. L. vii.

[4] This is inferred from the inscription in which Gavius Silvanus, a 'primipilaris' of that legion, is recorded to have received decorations from Claudius in the British war (see note on 15. 50, 3). His tribuneship in the praetorian guard would, no doubt, be of later date.

[5] The narrative in Dio (60. 20, 2) mentions Celtic auxiliaries; and eight Batavian cohorts are mentioned in H. 1. 59, 2 as attached to the Fourteenth legion. The inscriptions in Britain record a great number of 'alae' and 'cohortes,' drawn from various tribes of Gauls, Germans, Thracians, and others of the Western provinces. It is not easy to say which of them belonged to the original invading force; but military 'diplomata' of the time of Trajan and Hadrian (C. I. L. vii. 1193–1195) show that many of these corps were as permanent in the country as the legions.

[6] Hübner gives a total of 70,000, which is rather an outside estimate. Mommsen rates it only at about 40,000.

[7] Agr. 25, 1, &c.: cp. H. 4. 79, 5; Marquardt, ii. 503. The transports for the first force may have been supplied from the Rhine fleet, and the special British fleet may have grown up afterwards.

[8] The inscription of a 'praefectus classis,' and several inscribed 'tegulae' have been found there (C. I. L. vii. 18, 1226), not apparently of early date.

in the selection of its officers. It is doubtless due to the imperfection of our history of this period that so little is known of the previous life of Aulus Plautius Silvanus, the commander-in-chief, who can hardly be supposed to have owed his advancement in any degree to his relationship to one of the emperor's wives[1]. He is called by Dio 'a senator of the highest reputation[2],' is known to have been consul some fourteen years previously, and at some time legatus of Delmatia[3], and must have been at this time in command of some important province connected with the expedition[4]. His capacity may be taken as established by his achievements; and he was supported by subordinates, to command whom must have been in itself no mean honour. Foremost among them stands the great name of Vespasian, who was then legatus of the Second Legion after his praetorship[5], and whose distinction in this war was afterwards regarded as his first 'designation by fate' for future eminence[6]. In some command under him was his elder brother Flavius Sabinus[7], better known as the city praefect of the great year of civil war[8]. Apparently in command of another legion was Cn. Hosidius Geta[9], already known as having succeeded to, and carried out to its completion, the daring strategy of Suetonius Paulinus in Mauretania[10], and afterwards credited in this campaign with having once at least snatched a victory out of a defeat[11]. The names of the other 'legati legionum' are unfortunately lost to us; but we find a still more distinguished staff following in the personal train of Claudius. First among these is another tried soldier and future emperor, Servius Sulpicius Galba[12], another a consular of long standing, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, who had already won triumphal honours for some previous exploit[13]. Among others of the same high

[1] The divorce of Plautia Urgulanilla 'ob libidinum probra et homicidii suspicionem' (Suet. Cl. 26) would have rendered any of her relations obnoxious rather than otherwise to Claudius.

[2] βουλευτὴς λογιμώτατος (60. 19, 1).

[3] See note on 13. 32, 3.

[4] It is possible to suppose him to have been successor to P. Gabinius in Lower (Dio, 60. 8, 7), or to Galba in Upper Germany (Suet. Galb. 6); but there is no evidence of his having held either post. A more natural supposition would make him to have been legatus of Gallia Belgica, in which the army was got together. This province was usually held by a legatus of only praetorian rank, but may have been for this special purpose given to a consular, as we find Corbulo placed in charge of the inferior province of Cappadocia (see note on 13. 8, 2).

[5] H. 3. 44, 2; Suet. Vesp. 4.

[6] 'Monstratus fatis Vespasianus' (Agr. 13, 5).

[7] ὑποστρατηγοῦντά οἱ (Dio, 60. 20, 3).

[8] H. 3. 64, 1, &c. The statement in Dio, 60. 30, 1, that Titus also accompanied his father to this war, and on one occasion saved his life in an encounter, has been copied into many narratives, but is chronologically impossible; inasmuch as the received date of the birth of Titus (Suet. Tib. 2) would make him only two years old at this time.

[9] Dio, 60. 20, 4. That he held such a post is probable from the facts there stated, that he received 'triumphalia' for this war, and that he was not a consular.

[10] Dio, 60. 9, 1.

[11] Dio, 60. 20, 4.

[12] See Suet. Galb. 7, where it appears to be implied, but is not clearly stated, that he accompanied Claudius.

[13] For his consulship see 4. 62, 1, and

rank were the high-spirited Gaulish senator, Valerius Asiaticus[1], and probably the last colleague of Gaius, Cn. Sentius Saturninus[2]; while among younger men of promise was Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus[3], a near relation of the commander-in-chief, who shows a record of great subsequent achievements in Moesia[4].

Even this formidable army did not embark on an expedition beyond the Ocean without reluctance[5]; and appears, after embarkation, to have been driven back by stress of weather, but to have been reassured by a meteor travelling westward, and to have set out again in that direction, and to have effected a landing at three places unopposed. From this point our only narrative, that of Dio, is very vague, and contains many difficulties[6]. It states that Caratacus and Togodumnus, who had lately succeeded to the power of their father Cunobelinus, endeavoured to draw the Romans into morasses, but were overtaken and successively defeated; that some part of one of the nations subject to them, the Boduni[7], made voluntary submission and received a garrison; that soon afterwards, at the crossing of an important river, a determined resistance was offered, and the crossing effected after two days of fighting, in which Vespasian and Hosidius won great distinction; that from this point the Britons fell back upon the Thames, and crossed it at some point within tidal influence, profiting by their knowledge of the fordable points; that the Gaulish auxiliaries swam across after them, and other Roman troops crossed by a bridge somewhat higher up; but that this advanced force

note, for his 'triumphalia,' Suet. Cl. 17. The recently discovered inscription on his tomb (see 'Times,' Apr. 6, 1885), is thought to show that he had been legatus of Mauretania.

[1] See 11. 3, 1.

[2] Eutropius (7. 13) speaks of Britain as 'devicta' under Claudius, 'per Cn. Sentium et A. Plautium.' No Sentius was ever commander-in-chief; but it has been inferred that such a person took part in the expedition, and that the consul of 794, A.D. 41, is meant.

[3] The biographical record contained in the inscription prominent on the well-known family Mausoleum at the foot of the heights of Tivoli (Or. 750; Wilm. 1145) speaks of him as 'comes Claudi Caesaris in Britannia,' and details his subsequent services: on their date see Wilm. l. l.

[4] Among subordinate officers may be noted C. Julius Camillus, L. Gavius Silvanus (see 15. 50, 3), and M. Vettius Valens, all of whom received decorations (Or. Insc. 363, 3568, 6767), also Xenophon, afterwards known as the physician of Claudius, who is shown to have filled the important position of 'praefectus fabrum' (see on 12. 61, 2).

[5] See the anecdote of Narcissus cited above (p. 130, n. 6). The point of embarkation is not stated. That of Julius Caesar (B. G. 5. 2, 3) had been Portus Itius (probably Wissant), that of Claudius (Suet. Cl. 17) was Gessoriacum (Boulogne); which was generally used afterwards, and is supposed to have been used on this occasion also.

[6] See Dio, 60. 19–21.

[7] *μέρος τι τῶν Βοδούνων, ὧν ἐπῆρχον Κατουελλανοὶ ὄντες* (Dio, 60. 20, 2). On the Boduni see below: the name 'Catuvellauni' is found in an inscription (C. I. L. vii. 863), and traced in that of the prince Cassivellaunos of Caesar's time, and is now read by Müller for *Κατυευχλανοὶ οἱ καὶ Καπελάνοι* in Ptol. 2. 3, 21, as that of the people who lived in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire and had Verulam for one of their towns.

received a severe check, and the Britons, though Togodumnus had now perished, appeared in no way dispirited; whereupon Plautius, in accordance with previous instructions, halted the whole army on the bank of the Thames, and sent for further reinforcements[1] and for the presence of the emperor himself.

In this narrative, the most definite detail is the mention of the Boduni, and it is a great question whether it is not also the most misleading. The name, which is otherwise unknown, has been naturally taken to be an error of transposition for that of the Dobuni, who in the time of Ptolemy had Corinium for their town[2], and must have occupied a district coinciding mainly with Gloucestershire. This, added to the statement of Dio that the expedition sailed westward, led most modern critics to put the landing-places considerably further west than would otherwise be supposed[3], and to take the river at which the chief resistance was encountered to be as far distant from the place of landing as the Gloucestershire Avon, or some other stream in that part of the country[4]. But on this supposition, the retreat of the Britons from any such point to the south side of the estuary of the Thames seems wholly inexplicable[5]. If, on the other hand, we conclude, with Mommsen[6] and others,

[1] Dio states (c. 21, 2) that among these were included elephants, a rare adjunct to Roman warfare.

[2] Μεθ' οὓς Δοβοῦνοι καὶ πόλις Κορίνιον (Ptol. 2. 3, 25). The name of Corinium is clearly traced in 'Cirencester,' and appears also to form part of 'Durocornovium,' which answers to that town in the Itinerary. Hübner appears however (C. I. L. vii. p. 22) to doubt their identity, and to take the latter only to be Cirencester. The name 'BODVOC,' found on coins in this district, is taken to be that of a prince rather than of the people (Evans, 134–139).

[3] As for instance at Clausentum (Bittern, near Southampton) and other places near it. Hübner suggests that this port was named after the emperor ('Claudientum'). From this point an advance is supposed in the direction of Venta (Winchester) and Calleva (Silchester), and thence to the north-west. See Hübner, das Römische Heer, pp. 527–529.

[4] The place garrisoned (see above) has been taken to be Glevum (Gloucester); which would on this supposition have been the first position permanently occupied by the Romans in Britain.

[5] The view set forth by Dr. Guest, in his treatise on the campaign of Plautius (Origines Celticae, &c. ii. pp. 399, foll.), agrees in the main with that stated above as to the direction taken, but differs on some important points. He thinks that the landing was effected probably at Richborough, Dover, and Hythe, but that the Britons abandoned Kent without a struggle; that their first stand (in which Caratacus was defeated) was near Silchester, the second (in which Togodumnus was defeated) near Cirencester; that the unnamed river to which the Britons then fell back, and where the chief battle took place, was really the Thames, which was crossed at Wallingford; that the so-called Thames which the Britons afterwards crossed, and at which the Roman advance was checked, was really the tidal estuary of the Lea, near Stratford; and that the place where Plautius then waited was London, where his camp formed the first permanent castellum, and where he does not think that there is evidence of any previous British settlement. He supports this view from a passage in which Alfred (who is supposed to have followed some confused Welsh Chronicle) ascribes to Caesar a march somewhat resembling the above (but stated as by way of Wallingford to Cirencester); but the difficulties involved seem extremely great. Plautius could hardly be unaware that the headquarters of the resistance lay on the

that the word read Βοδοῦνοι represents the name of some tribe which we are unable to identify[1]; or that, if they are identical with the Dobuni, their submission has been misplaced in order of time[2]; the whole narrative can be explained in a far more probable manner. The three landing points can be placed on the south-eastern coast[3]; the first point of concentration may have been at or near them; the resistance will have been encountered still within Kent; and the unnamed river at which the chief struggle took place could be the Medway[4].

The time occupied before sending for Claudius, or between that and his arrival, can only be estimated in the light of the statement that he

north and north-east of the lower Thames, and that the royal city of Cunobelinus was the chief aim of the campaign; and this seems to make it hardly possible to suppose that he would have allowed himself to be led in a wholly opposite direction to a point 160 miles from his only secure base, and would have followed his enemy again thence through another long line of country, which those retreating before him would already have drained of supplies. A widely different view, taken by Professor G. B. Airy, originally published in the Athenaeum of June 28, 1860, and subsequently (with some additions) reprinted with other papers (London, 1865), holds that the westerly course mentioned by Dio was really that from the North Foreland to the coast of Essex, where the landing took place (probably at or near Southend); that the Britons retreated south-west; that the unnamed river, the scene of the chief conflict, was the tidal portion of the Lea; that the Britons, retreating thence, crossed to the south of the Thames, followed by the Romans, who took up a position (probably at Keston), whence they recrossed the Thames with Claudius, and struck at Camulodunum. This view appears to involve the hardly possible supposition, that the Britons, instead of falling back upon their stronghold at Camulodunum, deliberately marched away from it and left it open to attack, and that the Romans, instead of availing themselves of that opportunity, marched after them, and even crossed the Thames, knowing that they would have to recross it for the main object of the campaign. Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell, in a paper read at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute, November 1888, takes a view partly in accordance with each of the above writers, partly distinct from both. He places the landing on the Hampshire coast, and makes the Romans march to Gloucestershire and thence eastward till they reach the Lea (the unnamed river of Dio); whence he also makes them follow the Britons southward across the Thames (probably near Tilbury, supposed to be then above the tidal limit), and wait there for Claudius. The objections to this view will be gathered from those already stated. We seem thus to see that no view is open to fewer objections, or more on the whole in accordance with the narrative of Dio, than some such as that here adopted, making Plautius land at some near points, and not extend his operations beyond parts of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, till the arrival of forces under Claudius emboldened him to cross the Thames once for all, and strike at the British headquarters.

[6] Hist. v. 160 (E. T. i. 175), note.

[1] It would not be an unreasonable supposition to consider that the people spoken of (whatever their real name may have been, and whatever corruption may have here taken the place of it) were the Sussex tribe known to us by what is perhaps a subsequent Roman designation (see below, p. 136) as 'Regni.'

[2] Some at least of the people inhabiting the district assigned to the Dobuni would seem to have been still independent under Andedrigus, at a date subsequent to that of the first invasion (see below, p. 138, 2), and to have been associated with the Iceni rather than the Catuvellauni.

[3] There is much improbability in supposing that so large and heavily loaded a fleet of transports coasted as far as Bittern before landing. The westward course which Dio (c. 19, 4) describes them as taking might loosely mean what is strictly a north-westerly direction to such a point as Lymne. The terrors of the ocean would lead them to make as short a passage as wind and tide permitted.

[4] See Merivale, ch. 51, p. 21.

was altogether six months absent from Rome, and returned to it in the beginning of the following year; which would show him to have left it about July[1]. We may suppose Plautius to have spent the interval in securing the ground already won, and constructing or improving the roads from the readiest points of disembarkation to the place where he was to cross the Thames[2]. His position was probably further secured by the accession of a prince in his rear; as we find that Cogidumnus, who may probably have been a discontented vassal-prince under Cunobelinus, was rewarded by Claudius for his services by a gift of territory[3], probably that which he had already ruled, and generally identified with that of the Regni (Sussex), with its chief town, Chichester[4].

[1] Dio, 60. 23, 1. He may have been in Gaul in expectation of a summons before it reached him.

[2] The place where he waited, and where he subsequently crossed, is generally assumed to be identical with that at which the Britons had already crossed, and where he had attempted to follow them (see above, p. 133); but the statement of Dio (60. 20, 5) that 'this was at a point where the river pours itself into the ocean, and forms lakes,' is not conclusive as to the locality. Dr. Guest's view, that the Lea and not the Thames is meant (see above, p. 134, note 5), is grounded on the mention by Dio of a bridge a little higher up the stream, and on the unlikelihood that the Britons of that date could have bridged such a river as the tidal Thames. But Dio's words are quite consistent with the supposition that the bridge was above the tidal limit; and it need not be supposed to have been more than a rude wooden structure. The point of crossing has been generally taken to be at or near London; and Mr. Loftie considers ('London,' p. 3) that the existence of such tidal lakes there is suggested by various considerations, especially by the low level of the opposite lands on the south side. A more definite place is suggested by his note (p. 6), that the earliest direction of the Watling Street (often supposed to have partly followed the line of a previous British track) took a course mainly coinciding with the Edgware Road and Park Lane to Tothill fields and Thorney island (the site of Westminster Abbey); where the river spread so widely over Pimlico, Kennington, &c., as to be probably fordable at low tide; whence the same road went on to the South East coast, and may even then have become the Roman marching route. The view suggested in Mr. Spurrell's paper (see above, p. 135, 5), that the limit of tidal influence was at that time some twenty miles below London, near Tilbury and Gravesend, cannot well be adopted or rejected until such evidence as can be derived from borings in the Thames' marshes has been more fully discussed. It is certainly difficult to suppose that London could have attained such great commercial importance at so early a date (see 14. 33, 1), without possessing greater accessibility for sea-going ships than could well have been afforded by such a stream as the Thames, not sustained by locks, distributed over marshy ground, and twenty miles above tidal influence.

[3] 'Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), ut, vetere ac iampridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges' (Agr. 14, 2). It is implied that he was allowed the title of 'rex,' whence Professor Rhys (p. 78) thinks may be derived the name of the people ('Regni' = 'Regnii'), as given in Ptol. (2. 3, 28), *Ῥῆγνοι, καὶ πόλις Νοιόμαγος*. Their town can hardly be any other than Chichester; which is generally identified with the Regnum of the Itinerary.

[4] The identification rests on the famous Chichester inscription preserved at Goodwood (C. I. L. vii. 11): '[N]eptuno et Minervae templum, [pr]o salute Do[mus] Divinae, [ex] auctoritate [Ti.] Claud. [Co]gidubni R., Lega[ti] Aug. in Brit(annia), [Colleg]ium fabror. et qui in eo d(e) s(uo) d(at), donante aream [Clem]ente, Pudentini fil.' The abbreviation 'R.,' apparently for 'Regis,' is remarkable, still more so the title 'legatus Augusti,' never known elsewhere to have been borne by a foreign prince. As he has

The record of the movements of Claudius, which may probably have been taken from the 'acta publica,' represents him as having been only sixteen days in Britain[1], a space barely sufficient for what Dio tells us of his doings: that he found the army on the Thames, immediately crossed with it, fought and won another battle, pushed on to and occupied Camulodunum, and received the submission of those princes who surrendered on the spot, and, after repeatedly accepting the title of 'imperator[2],' set out for Rome, sending on Pompeius and Silanus, his sons-in-law, to announce his victory. On his arrival he celebrated a magnificent triumph, followed by games and other spectacles on a grand scale, and distributed with a lavish hand distinctions and decorations among his followers[3].

It is of more importance to endeavour to trace the progress of conquest, during the three remaining years of the command of Plautius; but of these no further record is left to us than a short summary of the achievements of Vespasian: that he 'fought thirty battles, subdued two powerful nations, took more than twenty towns, and reduced the island of Vectis (Wight)[4].' The scene of these exploits has been generally placed in the south-western part of Britain, part of which must certainly have been reduced to submission at a very early date, as the pigs of lead from the Mendip district are found to bear the names of the emperor and his son as early as 802, A.D. 49[5]. It is suggested that a very early frontier[6] of the province may have been represented by a line

not the official title ('legatus Augusti propraetore'), it is suggested that it may have been an honorary title only. Hübner gives, ad loc., a full commentary on the difficulties presented by the inscription. For '[Clem]ente,' '[Pud]ente' is read in many versions; and the person has been taken to be the Pudens of Martial, and even that of 2 Tim. iv. 21. It would be hardly relevant here to state the objections.

[1] Dio, 60. 23, 1. The account in Suet. (Cl. 17) generally agrees, but does not even credit him with a battle: 'a Massilia Gessoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto, inde transmisit, ac sine ullo praelio aut sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte insulae in deditionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit.' If this version is true, the representation given in the Campus Martius of the storm of Camulodunum (Suet. Cl. 21) must have been wholly imaginary.

[2] Dio points out (c. 21, 4) that this title was not by usage accepted more than once for a single war.

[3] Dio (l. l.) describes the triumph and the games held afterwards: see also Suet. Cl. 17.

[4] Suet. Vesp. 4. All these successes are said to have been won 'partim Auli Plauti legati consularis, partim Claudii ipsius ductu.'

[5] Two have been found in this district, one (C. I. L. vii. 1201) inscribed 'Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug., P. M., Trib. p. viiii, Imp. xvi, de Britan.'; the other (1202) 'Britannic[i] Aug. fi.', and (on the side) 'V. et P.' (taken to mean 'Veranio et Pompeio cos.'). That the Romans pushed their mining enterprise still further west, is in itself probable, but unsupported; as Mr. Haverfield notes that hardly any traces of Roman mining or occupation in Cornwall are found till a much later date. We should therefore suppose that the Damnonii west of the Mendips were not strictly part of the early province, but ignored, as not actively hostile.

[6] In speaking of this or any other line as a 'frontier,' the term can be only loosely used. Mere invasion may have gone, even in the earliest campaigns,

drawn somewhat north of the Thames, and perhaps westward near the Mendips, resting on Camulodunum (Colchester), and Glevum (Gloucester)[1]. Verulamium would form an intermediate point, and Londinium, with perhaps other positions, would be places of support in the rear. At some early date, the powerful people of the Iceni, in Norfolk and Suffolk, with perhaps other of their neighbours, accepted a position of dependence[2]; so that the practically subject country, at the time of the appointment of Ostorius, might not improbably lie within a diagonal line, drawn from the mouth of the Severn to that of the Nen, or even of the Trent[3]. The reward of Plautius for these great steps in the direc-

considerably further than the supposed limit; and on the other hand the subjugation within must have been very gradual and for a long time imperfect; as is shown by the disaffection with which Ostorius had to deal (12. 31, 2), and by the great rising later of even those who seemed to have been most completely subjected (14. 31–39). It may however be taken to be meant that the chief positions on such a line as is indicated were permanently occupied, and were more or less supported by communications in their rear, and that within this limit, conscription, tribute, and other incidents of Roman government were gradually and systematically established.

[1] Without accepting the view which makes Glevum to have been held from the very first campaign (see above, p. 134, 4), weight must be attached to the evidence given (see Mr. J. Bellows, in Transactions of Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, vol. i. 1876, pp. 153–166) by the many genuine, and (what is more significant) the many imitated coins of Claudius found there, that it was occupied at a very early date, probably as soon as it became evident that South Wales was the head-quarters of the resistance. If the square form and limited area (45 acres) of the enclosure are correctly given, they would show that it was laid out strictly as a camp; and the supposition that it was the head-quarters of the Second legion before it was pushed on to Caerleon, may on general grounds be considered sufficiently probable in itself, although it has not yet been confirmed by the discovery of inscriptions or other unmistakeable evidence on the spot.

[2] 12. 31, 3. The history at this time of the Iceni and some other peoples connects itself with the fortunes of a prince Andedrigus; whose name (or some abbreviation of it) occurs on numerous coins found in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, also near Bath, and (in a considerable number) near Frome. In Norfolk and in Somerset, Roman coins are found mingled with them, especially in the latter place some of Claudius and Antonia (the latter imitated), showing his rule to have continued there after the Roman invasion (see Evans, pp. 143–148, 383–388; Suppt. 489–493, 583–585). Dr. Evans inclines to think that he was ruling at the time of the Icenian rising against Ostorius; but it seems difficult to suppose the 'longa opulentia' of Prasutagus (14. 31, 1) not to have already begun before that time. Possibly Andedrigus (of whom nothing is known beyond his coinage) may have been leader of a national and Prasutagus of a Roman party at the time of the first invasion; and when the Iceni, at some date between A.D. 43 and 47, voluntarily submitted to Rome (12. 31, 3), the latter was confirmed as king, and the former may have retired westward, and maintained himself there (like Caratacus) as a national leader of the Dobuni (see above, p. 134) and others, possibly, as Dr. Evans thinks, till about A.D. 55. The view that his Somerset subjects may have been the lead-producing people whose name is generally read as 'Ceangi' is discussed on 12. 32, 1. The name of Prasutagus has not been found on any coins; nor is there distinct evidence of any later Icenian coinage of any sort.

[3] The disarmament of the Iceni (12. 31, 2) marks their position as one of undisguised vassalage even before their first rising, becoming probably still more so after it; but the supposition that some such line as that indicated above formed what is called a frontier, could hardly be taken as resting on evidence without involving the acceptance of a conjectural

tion of conquest was the honour of an ovation[1], otherwise as jealously reserved for the imperial family as the greater triumph itself[2].

With the appointment of his successor P. Ostorius Scapula, in 800, A. D. 47, we recover the guidance of Tacitus; but it cannot be said that we gain from him any clear conception of the military movements. We have rhetorical descriptions of battles and vague geography, reminding us of that of the campaigns of Germanicus: nor have we even, as we have usually in the Annals, the means of distinguishing the campaigns of successive years[3].

We are told that the new legatus, on his arrival late in the season[4], had at once to deal with aggressions of the unsubdued tribes without and the first recorded insurrection within the subjected territory; the latter movement being headed by the Iceni, who had already fallen under suspicion, and rose in indignation against the precautionary measures[5] enforced upon them. The rising, which can hardly have been very widespread or formidable, was crushed by the auxiliary troops without the aid of the legions[6]; and the Iceni, though still left under the rule of a native prince[7], had probably from this time an approach to the undisguised and oppressive subjection which some thirteen years later drove them to despair.

We may probably place in the spring of 801, A. D. 48, the raid made on some portion of Cheshire or Flintshire[8], and the contemplated progress in that direction, checked by the threatening attitude of the hitherto friendly Brigantes of Yorkshire and other adjacent counties[9]. For the remaining three years or more of his rule and lifetime, Ostorius is engaged in the struggle, destined to last till the time of the Flavian emperors[10], against the desperate resistance of North and South Wales. At the opening of our narrative these are united under the heroic leadership of Caratacus, who, after the wreck of his inherited dominion in the East[11], had thrown himself into this stronghold of national independence,

reading of the passage in 12. 32, 2 (where see note). The statement in Agr. 14, 1, that, under Plautius and Ostorius, 're-dacta paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae,' while it supports the view that the subjection of even south-eastern Britain was gradual, leaves the proportion of the subdued to the independent country undefined. The friendly relations with Rome of the great northern tribe, the Brigantes, during the joint leadership of Venutius and Cartismandua (12. 40, 3), must have left them still so independent as to make Caratacus believe that they could shelter him (12. 36, 1).

[1] See 13. 32, 3, and note.

[2] His case appears to be the solitary exception to this rule after 728, B.C. 26; see Momms. Staatsr. i. 136, 1.

[3] The only year clearly dated is that of the capture of Caratacus (12. 36, 1).

[4] 12. 31, 1.

[5] See 12. 31, 2, and note.

[6] 12. 31, 5.

[7] 14. 31, 1.

[8] On the name of the people generally taken as inhabiting this territory see 12. 32, 1, and note.

[9] 12. 32, 3, 4.

[10] See below, p. 146.

[11] See above, p. 133.

and won confidence by many successful and drawn battles fought under his command[1]. A single sentence, describing the diversion of the first attack on the Silures by a skilful lateral movement along the valleys, making North Wales and the adjacent counties the immediate seat of war[2], seems to be all our record of some three years of conflict, traces of which may probably be found in the British entrenchments on the Wrekin and on several other hills, in some of whose names that of the chieftain seems to be preserved, in Shropshire and Herefordshire[3]; one of which (Caer-Caradoc, near Church Stretton) confronted at a distance of some ten miles the Roman position of Viroconium[4] (Wroxeter); which we may suppose to have become at this time the headquarters of the attacking force, and probably the permanent station of the Fourteenth legion[5]. Nor is anything told us of the circumstances which led or forced Caratacus, probably in the course of 804, A.D. 51, to stake his fortunes on a pitched battle, the description of which[6] resembles that of many another conflict with Germans or other enemies of similar quality. The enemy, wrought up to the highest pitch of courage by the leader's example and exhortation, occupies a carefully chosen position, strong by nature, and additionally strengthened by stone walls, which are carried by the Roman 'testudo'; a second position further up the heights is stormed with equal success; the close attack of the legions, added to the storm of missiles hurled by the light troops on the bare heads and unprotected bodies of their adversaries, completing the victory and carnage. The immediate capture of the wife and daughter, and surrender of the brothers of Caratacus[7], is followed soon by his own deliverance into captivity, and from the time of the transportation of these illustrious prisoners to Rome[8] the great house of Cunobelinus is lost sight of in British history[9].

[1] 12. 33, 1.

[2] 'Locorum fraude prior . . . transfert bellum in Ordovicas' (12. 33, 2).

[3] See Scarth, Rom. Brit. 138.

[4] See note on 12. 31, 2. The occupation of this position is naturally connected with the war against the Ordovices, but the camp may have been closer to the junction of the Tern and Severn, and was doubtless much smaller than the subsequent town; which shows no trace of camp form, and was encircled only by a slight rubble vallum of some three miles' circuit and of irregular shape, enclosing an area of some 223 acres. See the descriptions and plan given in the works of Mr. Wright and Mr. J. C. Anderson.

[5] The two epitaphs there found of soldiers of that legion (C. I. L. vii. 154, 155) are the only traces of it in Britain. It was summoned to Italy in the last year of Nero (H. 2. 11, 2), and after a very short return in the following year (H. 2. 66, 7), was permanently withdrawn from Britain in 823, A.D. 70 (H. 4. 68, 5). An epitaph of a soldier of the 20th legion has also been found there (156).

[6] 12. 33–35. For the locality suggested see on 12. 33, 2.

[7] 12. 35, 7.

[8] 12. 36–38.

[9] It is to this year, the fifth consulship of Claudius and the eleventh year of his tribunitian power, that the completion of his triumphal arch, fragments of which, discovered near the Sciarra palace, are still preserved, belongs. The inscription as now read and supplemented (see Or. 715;

Otherwise, the catastrophe appears to have made little difference, except that no more pitched battles are risked, and that the tactics previously successful are steadily adhered to. Almost immediately after the fall of Caratacus, it is found necessary to fix the permanent headquarters of the Second legion at Isca Silurum[1] (Caerleon on Usk); and the position is with the greatest difficulty established. At one time the force on the spot is barely rescued from utter destruction by the timely support of the main army[2]; at another, the foraging parties are cut off[3]; at another, the whole legion sustains a reverse, and the Silures, rendered only more desperate by threats of extermination[4], are again masters of the country and draw other tribes to join them[5]. From this time too the hostility of the powerful Brigantes in the North has to be reckoned with; and Venutius, one of their princes, comes to the front as the most skilful national leader[6].

Early in these renewed troubles Ostorius died at his post, worn out by continual warfare[7]; and during the five years of Didius Gallus[8] and the one year of Veranius[9] (805–811, A. D. 52–58) no advance of dominion is noted; though it is probable that in this period of seeming inaction the chains of conquest were being firmly riveted upon the land within and slightly beyond the space already subjected[10]; that Isca and probably its subordinate post Venta (Caerwent) are strongly held against the Silures, Viroconium against the Ordovices; while Deva (Chester) and Lindum (Lincoln) form also outposts confronting the Brigantes; each of these four positions becoming the headquarters of a legion; and all being connected with each other and with their bases of support in the south-east of the province by the long lines of the Foss Way and the Watling Street, and their subsidiary branches[11].

Wilm. 899 a; C. I. L. vi. 920), describes it as dedicated to him, 'Quod reges Brit[anniai] XI d[evictos sine] ulla iactur[a in deditionem acceperit] gentesque [barbaras trans oceanum] primus in dici[onem populi Romani redegerit].' The number of the eleven conquered princes may probably have included Caratacus and his brothers, and all others who had submitted down to that date.

[1] See 12. 32, 4; 38, 3, and notes.

[2] 12. 38, 3–39, 2.

[3] 12. 39, 5.

[4] 12. 39, 5.

[5] 12. 40, 1–3.

[6] 12. 40, 3–6.

[7] 12. 39, 5. The date of his death is not fixed, but appears to be not long after the capture of Caratacus.

[8] 12. 40, 1, and note. He is described (Id. § 7) as a distinguished officer, but already aged.

[9] 14. 29, 1, and note.

[10] The 'neque . . . nisi parta retinuerat,' said of Didius in 14. 29, 1, is somewhat qualified by the 'paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis' of Agr. 14, 3. The year of Veranius is marked only by predatory attacks on the Silures, and extravagant promises cut short by death (14. 29, 1). With this period are also to be reckoned the first two years of Paulinus (see below, p. 143).

[11] The evidence for the early occupation of Isca and Viroconium is given above. The hostility of the Brigantes supplies a natural motive for the occupation of Deva and Lindum; and the former place would have been the natural base of support for the advance of Paulinus on

The necessity for some central garrison in the established province to make up for this withdrawal of the legions to its outposts had been foreseen; and it was apparently early in the government of Ostorius that the island received its first Roman colony[1]; for the site of which, in spite of the greater commercial importance of Londinium[2], the choice naturally fell on what had probably been from the time of its occupation the seat of government, the old capital of Cunobelinus[3]; which had assumed under him an importance eclipsing that of all other British 'oppida,' though still apparently resembling the general type[4] in consisting of a large enclosed tract of some square miles, protected on the east, north, and south by the tidal marshes of the Colne and its small tributary (still called the Roman river), and on its assailable side, the west, by strong earthworks, in part still traceable, from stream to stream[5]. On the formation of the colony, a theatre[6], and, no doubt, other public buildings rapidly grew up, and a temple was erected to Claudius[7], to become, as other such had been, the provincial centre of the cultus of Rome[8]; but the whole place was laid out rather as a pleasure resort than a military position[9], and no pains were taken to strengthen its antiquated defences. Here, and at the large municipal town of Verulamium, and most of all at Londinium, we are told of a great population, Roman and Romanized[10], living in a fatal dream of security destined to undergo a rude awakening.

Mona, and may well have been one of the 'praesidia' secured by him (Agr. 14, 4). Also the supposition that these two places had already become the stations of the legions subsequently associated with them, is rendered probable by circumstances in the narrative of the great insurrection (see below, p. 144), in which also the existence of the Watling Street road appears to be implied (p. 145, 2). Many of these roads are thought to have followed at least in part the lines of previous British trackways.

[1] 12. 32, 5, and note. Its foundation appears to have been at least contemplated before the fall of Caratacus, and probably not later than 803, A.D. 50.

[2] 14. 33, 1.

[3] See above, p. 129, and, for its identity with Colchester, see note on 12. 32, 5. In the inscription there cited, it is called 'Colonia victricensis' or 'Victrix,' a title best taken as commemorative of its conquest by Claudius, and of which the statue of Victory (14. 32, 1) was the representation.

[4] 'Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt' (Caes. B. G. 5. 21, 3).

[5] The description given here and below (p. 147) is drawn partly from personal observation, partly from works on the subject, especially the Rev. E. L. Cutts' 'Colchester' (Historic Towns Series), London, 1888. Tidal influence now ceases a mile or two below the town; and the Colne is now at this place a stream of some ten yards average breadth and moderate depth. The earthworks are those of the 'Grimes Dyke,' just beyond Lexden (about two miles from the present town), where British coins, weapons, &c., have been found, and which has been thought more strictly to represent the site of the British 'oppidum' than Colchester itself.

[6] 14. 32, 1.

[7] 14. 31, 6.

[8] See 1. 78, 1, and note.

[9] 'Dum amoenitati prius quam usui consulitur' (14. 31, 7).

[10] See 14. 33, 1, 4. The fact that 70,000 such persons were massacred in

It is probable that the successes which marked the first two years' rule of the distinguished soldier, C. Suetonius Paulinus[1] (812, 813, A. D. 59, 60), were gained in the region of North Wales, as we find him emboldened by them in the following year (814, A. D. 61), after careful preparation of means of transport, to carry the Roman arms into its furthest recess, and by the occupation of Mona (Anglesey) at once to deprive the rebels of their safest refuge[2], and to extirpate British Druidism in its innermost sanctuary. Even veteran soldiers recoiled at first in panic from the sacred soil; the shores of which, besides bristling with armed defenders, were lined with the holy men uplifting their hands to heaven in solemn imprecation, and with dark robed torch-bearing women, reminding them of the furies of tragic legend. Notwithstanding these terrors, the landing was soon forced, and the firebrands of the enemy turned to their own destruction; the massacre had taken its course, the altars of human sacrifice had been destroyed, the sacred groves had fallen before the axe[3], when Suetonius was hastily recalled to face the gravest crisis that had ever threatened Roman rule in Britain.

The great rising of the Britons of the eastern districts[4] is not only fully described in the Annals[5], but also occupies what is a considerable proportionate space in the Agricola[6], and still more so in the abridgement of Dio[7]. Both authors have duly chronicled the portents by which the disaster was said to have been heralded[8]; and to Dio we owe further a description of the personal appearance of the heroine queen; her commanding stature, stern countenance, flashing eyes, masculine voice, her abundance of auburn hair floating down to her hips, her golden torc, embroidered tunic, and thick cloak clasped over it, as she stands, spear in hand, to address her countrymen[9].

The causes of the rising, as given by Tacitus earlier in the Agricola[10], amount to no more than the general grievances of a proud and free

the insurrection is striking evidence of the rapid growth of Roman influence in so short a time. See Friedl. ii. 66.

[1] 'Biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis' (Agr. 14, 4).

[2] It is spoken of as 'incolis validam et receptaculum perfugarum' (14. 29, 3), also as 'vires rebellibus ministrantem' (Agr. l. l.).

[3] We are also told of a 'praesidium inpositum victis' (14. 30, 3); but we can hardly suppose that any force left there was not at once withdrawn to meet the emergency elsewhere; and the reoccupation of Mona by Agricola seventeen years later is represented as in fact a new conquest (Agr. 18, 4). The blow struck at Druidism appears however to have had more permanent effects.

[4] That it was not confined to them would appear from the incidental mention in the speech of Calgacus (Agr. 31, 5) of the Brigantes as attacking Camulodunum under Boudicca; unless we are to suppose this to be an error.

[5] 14. 31–39.

[6] c. 15, 1–16, 3.

[7] 62. 1–12. Most of this space is taken up with speeches of Boudicca and Paulinus.

[8] 14. 32, 1, 2; Dio, 62. 1, 2.

[9] Dio, 62. 2, 3.

[10] c. 15.

people, governed as provincial subjects were still too often governed. In the Annals[1] the wrongs of at least the Iceni and Trinovantes are definitely specified; we have the personal outrage inflicted on Boudicca and her daughters, the extortionate spirit in which the Romans exacted the inheritance left to them by the old king Prasutagus, the spoliation and even enslavement of the Icenian nobles; while the Trinovantes had been goaded to despair by the violence of the veteran colonists of Camulodunum, by the consecration of their slavery in the erection of a temple there to Claudius, and by the exactions of the priests at that alien sanctuary. Dio tells us[2] that the procurator was treating as revocable, and actually reclaiming, the former bounty of Claudius to friendly chieftains, and adds that at the same time Seneca was rigorously exacting from the overburdened people the repayment of a loan of forty million HS., which he had induced them against their own will to contract.

The fatal confidence which had banished all the legions to a distance and left the heart of the province unguarded[3], was now signally chastised. The feeble garrison of Camulodunum, with the trifling reinforcement thrown into it by the procurator, was speedily overpowered, its only stronghold, the temple precinct, was stormed, its garrison massacred, and the obnoxious procurator only saved by flight to Gaul. A still graver disaster followed: the Ninth legion, hurrying rapidly to the rescue, probably from Lindum[4], under Petillius Cerialis, was cut to pieces, and only the legatus and the cavalry escaped[5].

In endeavouring to retrieve the terrible consequences of his own negligence, Suetonius had probably as arduous a task before him as had ever fallen to the lot of a Roman general. We may suppose that the Fourteenth legion had accompanied him to Mona, with perhaps part of the Twentieth, that the remainder of that legion was at Deva, the Second

[1] 14. 31.

[2] 61. 2, 1.

[3] Besides the few troops at Camulodunum, we hear only of some scattered 'castella' or 'praesidia,' which are represented in Agr. 16, 1, as stormed, but in 14. 33, 4. as left alone. They were probably held by auxiliary troops only.

[4] Mommsen, Hist. v. 165; E. T. i. 181, note, calls Tacitus 'the most unmilitary of all authors' (a distinction which Livy might perhaps contest with him), and thinks this perhaps the worst of his narratives. It is certainly true that on all points connected with the position and movements of the legions at this time, we gain no assistance from him. It is thought probable that the Ninth legion was at Lindum, as this is known to have been its permanent station, previous to Eburacum, and from this point it would naturally reach the neighbourhood of Camulodunum before the others.

[5] 14. 32, 6. The scene of this disaster has been imagined to be at Wormingford, near Colchester, on the strength of the discovery there of a mound containing many hundreds of sepulchral urns, regularly arranged and seeming to belong to a single interment. It is suggested that those who fell may have there received burial after order was restored.

at Isca Silurum, and that he had intended to collect his troops at Viroconium[1]. But the officer in charge of the Second legion, pleading perhaps the necessity of holding down the Silures, disobeyed his summons; the remainder of the Twentieth could hardly, as it would seem, be withdrawn without leaving Deva at the mercy of the Brigantes; the Ninth had already marched on and met its fate. So that the Fourteenth and part of the Twentieth legion, with auxiliaries making up the total to about 10,000 men, were the sole force with which he had to face the enemy and reconquer the province. He reached Londinium[2] without molestation, but was compelled to leave both that town and Verulamium to their fate, and was unable to prevent a massacre of Roman citizens, traders and others friendly to them, such as had not been seen since the days of Mithridates. From seventy to eighty thousand are computed to have perished; and it must have been somewhere in the midst of this horror and carnage that he was compelled by want of provisions[3] to stake the whole issue on a battle against overwhelming numbers, flushed with previous victory and animated to a crowning effort. It was perhaps never known in Rome how near the tragedy of the Teutoburgiensis Saltus had been to repeating itself. But Paulinus, whatever his errors, was no Quintilius Varus, nor were the British ranks commanded by an Arminius. Though compelled to fight, he was allowed by some strange error of his enemies to choose his own battleground, and chose one where he could neither be surrounded in the rear nor outflanked[4]. With this advantage, the steady valour of the legionaries enabled them to await the decisive moment when the Britons began to waver under the storm of 'pila,' and to break their centre in a wedge-like column[5]. The unwieldy mass became its own worst enemy; the waggons in which their wives had been brought to see their victory enclosed the rear; the

[1] All this again is an inference from what we know of the permanent quarters of the legions and from the position of Viroconium on the great road.

[2] Mommsen notes (l. l.) that no reason whatever is assigned why he should have gone to Londinium only to abandon it: but if we may suppose his object to be Camulodunum, and his line of march the Watling Street, it would be necessary to reach that place through Verulamium and Londinium.

[3] Dio, 62. 8, 1. Tacitus does not make him compelled to fight; but such must have been the case under his circumstances. For the number of the Britons we have only Dio's extravagant estimate (62. 8, 2) of 230,000.

[4] 14. 34, 2. The locality cannot be identified, but is generally taken to have been somewhere between London and Colchester. Essex contains remains of several encampments, more than one of which, as for instance Haynes Green, near Messing, between Maldon and Colchester, has been imagined by some to afford a resemblance to the features of the position described by Tacitus. On the other hand it is not impossible that Paulinus on finding the formidable strength of the enemy may have fallen back again from London and Verulam to a less hostile district, and may have been there overtaken and brought to bay.

[5] 14. 37, 1.

constantly increasing heaps of slain still further blocked escape; and the carnage was computed as equalling all that the Britons had themselves inflicted[1]. Boudicca, according to Tacitus, poisoned herself[2], and the strength of the resistance died with her; the commanding officer of the Second legion atoned by suicide for his disobedience[3]; reinforcements arrived from Gaul; new permanent positions were occupied[4]; and the whole army was brought together to stamp out the embers of the rebellion with a merciless severity which went far to defeat its object. The scarcity arising from neglect of tillage during the war was further aggravated by ravaging with fire and sword all rebellious or even suspected territories[5]; and sheer despair led to prolongation of the struggle even when all hope of success was gone. The strong representations of the new procurator[6], that peace could only be restored by a governor not steeled against clemency by the horrors which he had witnessed, led to the despatch from Rome on a special mission of Polyclitus, one of the most trusted freedmen; who though received, as we are told, with dismay by Romans and disdain by Britons[7], showed creditable judgment in recommending a middle course, by which Paulinus, though not disgraced by immediate supersession, was apparently unrewarded for his victory[8], and was soon after recalled on a trifling pretext[9]. Under his successor Q. Petronius Turpilianus (814–816, A.D. 61–63) the wounds began to be healed[10]; and the uneventful rule of this officer and that of Trebellius Maximus[11] (817–822, A.D. 64–69) carry us down to and beyond the close of the Annals.

In this latter period, though the limits of the settled province were not extended, and Isca Silurum, Viroconium, and Deva, still confronted im-

[1] Tacitus estimates it at 80,000. He departs from his usual habit (see Introd. i. p. 23) in estimating also the Roman loss, which he states at 400 killed and rather more than that number wounded.

[2] Dio states (62. 12, 6) that she died of disease, and that her death alone prevented them from fighting again. In making this battle somewhat less decisive, he is borne out by what Tacitus tells us of the renewal and subsequent continuance of hostilities (c. 38, foll.), as before after the defeat of Caratacus (12. 38, 2).

[3] 14. 37, 6.

[4] 'Cohortes alaeque novis hibernaculis locatae' (c. 38, 2). It is reasonable to suppose that the headquarters of the rebellion were controlled by the occupation of Venta Icenorum (Norwich or Caistor).

[5] 14. 38, 2.

[6] 14. 38, 4.

[7] 14. 39, 2, 3.

[8] There is no trace of any award of 'triumphalia' to him, nor of any further employment till he received the consulship in 818, A.D. 66 (16. 14, 1). A leaden medal, bearing the laurelled head of Nero, and, on the reverse, the word 'Paullin' and a figure of Mars, is thought to commemorate his victory (Eckh. vi. 265); which was also probably one of those for which Nero received the title of Imperator.

[9] The sympathies of Tacitus, or his informant, appear to be with Paulinus, as he represents the report of the procurator as prompted by mere spite, sneers at the mission of Polyclitus, and speaks contemptuously of the policy of Petronius ('non inritato hoste neque lacessitus honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit').

[10] 14. 39, 5; Agr. 16, 3.

[11] H. 1. 60; Agr. 16, 4, 5.

perfectly subdued nations to the west, while the latter place and Lindum were still the Roman outposts to the north, much was no doubt done to reestablish order, and bring back commerce to its accustomed channels. No subsequent outbreak within the conquered district is ever recorded; and we may assume that the towns which had been wrecked soon rose from their ruins, and that the fatal negligence which had left them unprotected was not repeated. Camulodunum, in particular, may probably have owed to this restoration the still remaining walls[1], a mile and three quarters in circuit, enclosing an oblong camp-like area of 108 acres, a space which, if forming the limit of the colonia at this date, is far short of that covered by urban and suburban habitations in subsequent days of peace.

The walls of Verulamium appear to be of similar strength to those at Colchester, but are those of a town rather than of a military position, enclosing an area of nearly double the extent, and taking a circuit bearing so considerable a resemblance to the size and shape of Pompeii[2] as to have suggested the possibility of intentional imitation; a supposition which, should it be confirmed by further investigation, would tend to show that the town had been thus laid out before Pompeii was destroyed, and therefore (as is otherwise probable enough) at a date soon after its ruin in the insurrection.

The defence of Londinium appears to have been less completely provided for; as the only Roman walls now traceable round the city or recorded by any evidence are referred to a much later date[3]; but the

[1] See the plan given by Mr. Cutts, in the work already (p. 142, 5) referred to, in which all the numerous places, both within and without the walls, where tessellated pavements and other evidences of Roman habitation have been found, are indicated. The natural elevation of the site has been in parts made steeper by escarpment; and the walls, perhaps the most perfect of the Roman period remaining in Britain, appear to have been some twenty feet high, and ten feet thick, backed by a bank of earth. One of the gateways is still preserved; much Roman brick has been worked into subsequent buildings; and a large collection of local antiquities is to be seen in the museum.

[2] This resemblance has been shown by Mr. J. W. Grover (Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc. vol. xxvi. 1870, pp. 45, foll.). The walls of both towns take a very similar quasi-oval circuit; the diameter of Pompeii is 4300 by 2400 feet, that of Verulam 4488 by 2541; the area of the former is 167, that of the latter 190 acres. The foundations of a theatre have been exposed, of almost exactly the same dimensions as the larger theatre at Pompeii; the diameter of the one being 195, and that of the other 193½ feet. But these resemblances, fully capable of being regarded as accidental, are the only ones at present supported by evidence; the site of Verulam, though open to investigation, having been apparently only so far explored as to show that its longer diameter was traversed by the Watling Street, and its shorter by another road; the two crossing at right angles at a point near St. Michael's Church.

[3] The line of these walls, coinciding to a considerable extent with the present limits of the City, is shown by Mr. Loftie in a map, and their circumference is computed by him as three miles and a quarter, and the enclosed area as 380 acres. Their date is taken by him to be as late as the middle of the fourth century.

most essential point, the command of the passage over the Thames, was probably from this time secured by a permanent bridge, the approach to which was guarded by a strong 'castellum'[1]; within which met two great roads, the Ermine Street leading to Camulodunum and the north, and the Watling Street, diverted from its older and unprotected course[2] to one thus placed thoroughly under command. It is probable also that the approach to the bridge on the southern side was similarly protected[3].

We may further assume that most, if not all, of the stations already mentioned as permanent quarters of legions became, as elsewhere in the empire, centres round which a Romanised population grew up[4]. The same must have been the case with the seaports through which the commerce with the continent may have passed, as Portus Lemanis (Lymne)[5], Rutupiae (Richborough), Regulbium (Reculver), Dubris (Dover), Portus Magnus (Porchester), and perhaps Clausentum (Bittern)[6].

The date of other Roman settlements within the conquered territory

[1] See Mr. Loftie's map. The fort extends along the Thames from the site of Cannon Street Station on the west to Mincing Lane on the east; its north-west angle being about the point where London Stone stands. It would appear from the plan to be of about three quarters of a mile circuit and hardly 25 acres area. Dr. Guest has thought (see above, p. 134, 5) that this fort dates from the first campaign of Plautius, but the absence of any allusion to it in 14. 33 is against this view. It is also reasonable to suppose that the fort and the bridge were constructed at the same time; and Mr. Loftie justly argues that if a permanent bridge had then existed, Suetonius would never have abandoned a point of such great strategical importance. That it began, however, to exist soon after this time, is inferred from the very early date of many of the coins found in its locality.

[2] See above, p. 136, 2. The branch here spoken of parted from the other near the Marble Arch, going by Oxford Street and Holborn and thence diagonally, entering the fort by London Stone, which was probably the point from which its miles were reckoned (see Loftie, p. 7).

[3] Mr. Loftie notes that extensive Roman remains have been found in Southwark, and suggests that the fort on that side may have been confounded with the other in the geography of Ptolemy, and may have led him to set down Londinium as a town of the Kantii, with Durovernum and Rutupiae (2. 3, 27). See also Mr. Roach Smith, in Dict. of Geog. s. v.

[4] On these stations see above, p. 141. Gloucester (see above, p. 138, 1) and Caerleon were strictly occupied as camps, the area of both being nearly the same (45 acres); and in neither are there such indications of a large Roman population growing up outside the enclosure as are evident at Colchester (see above). The area of Caerwent (Venta Silurum) does not appear to have been made out. At Chester, and apparently also at Lincoln, it is maintained (see Watkin, Roman Cheshire, pp. 86, 91) that an original enclosure of similar restricted dimensions went through more than one stage of subsequent enlargement; but this supposition, however probable, appears to be as yet unconfirmed by evidence; and the existing remains are taken to be of later date. At Viroconium, the position and size of the original camp, as distinct from the subsequent town, are unknown.

[5] See above, p. 131.

[6] Some of these ports may have been in use from the first year of invasion, and (for native traffic) even much earlier; but the fortifications remaining in them are usually referred to a late Roman date, and their names are mostly known to us from no earlier sources than Ptolemy and the Itinerary. Rutupiae, however, was known by name to Lucan (6, 67), and was famed for its oysters in Domitian's time (Juv. 4. 141): and the situation of the others would make their early occupation seem probable.

cannot be even approximately given; but it is reasonable to suppose that among the earliest localities to be occupied were the great road centres, as Canterbury, Silchester, Winchester, Cirencester [1], and a place possessing such a gift of nature as Bath [2]. It is probable enough that some at least of these places had received their first Roman settlers [3] before or during the ten years of rest which preceded the next movement of conquest under the legati of Vespasian [4].

[1] Among these, the most open site, and that which has been most explored, is Silchester, which had a strongly walled circuit of irregular polygonal (approaching to circular) form of about 1½ miles, enclosing an area of some 120 acres (see Mr. McLauchlan's map in Archaeol. Journal, viii. p. 227); where most complete foundations of a forum, double basilica, and other buildings, forming a rectangle of some 320 by 280 feet, have been discovered (see Mr. Joyce's paper and plan in Archaeol. Journ. xxx. pp. 10–27), and where further exploration is now in progress. At Cirencester also important remains have been found, and a circuit of two miles, enclosing an area of some 200 acres, is traced (see the work of Messrs. Buckman and Newmarch, London, 1850). The other sites mentioned are more completely built over.

[2] The Roman name of Bath is given as 'Aquae Calidae,' the ὕδατα θερμά of Ptol. 2. 3, 28 (where it is placed among the towns of the Belgae), and 'Aquae Solis' (Itin.), generally taken to be an error for 'Aquae Sulis,' as there is evidence that the springs were looked upon as a gift of Sul (Minerva). Mr. Scarth gives the circuit of the Roman town as one mile. The principal object within it would be the famous baths, the remains of which (though now only partially brought to light) are probably the most important relics of the Roman period yet found in Britain.

[3] It should be mentioned that in all the several cases noted above, the estimates given of the areas appearing to be enclosed by Roman walls are only to be taken as evidence of the character and importance of the places at the date of such enclosure; which date must be determined by other considerations, and cannot be assumed to be that of their first settlement.

[4] See Agr. 17.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XI.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

A. U. C. 800, A. D. 47. Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus IV, L. Vitellius III, coss.

Ch. 1–4. Persons destroyed through the influence of Messalina.

1–3. Valerius Asiaticus accused by Suillius and Sosibius: his acquittal prevented by a device of Vitellius: he commits suicide. 4. Two knights named Petra condemned on pretext of a dream: rewards given to the accusers.

Ch. 5–7. Discussion respecting the payment of fees to advocates: a limit of ten sestertia imposed.

Ch. 8–10. Affairs in the East.

8. The Parthians, alienated by the cruelty of Gotarzes, call in Vardanes, who besieges Seleucia. 9. Mithridates, who had been imprisoned by Gaius, is sent out by Claudius and recovers Armenia: Gotarzes and Vardanes make terms; the former retiring in favour of the latter: Seleucia surrendered. 10. Gotarzes renews hostilities and is defeated, but returns to the throne on the death of Vardanes.

Ch. 11–15. Affairs at Rome.

11. Ludi saeculares held: young L. Domitius wins popular favour. 12. Messalina diverted from attacking Agrippina and Domitius by her new passion for Silius. 13. Censorial edicts of Claudius: new letters added by him to the alphabet. 14. Digression on the origin and history of letters. 15. A college of haruspices founded.

Ch. 16–21. Affairs in Germany.

16, 17. Italicus, son of Flavus, the brother of Arminius, sent from Rome to be king of the Cherusci: he meets with various fortune at their hands. 18. Corbulo, appointed legatus of Lower Germany, restores the discipline of the army, and repels the Chauci from the province. 19, 20. He imposes terms on the Frisii, and plans an expedition against the Chauci maiores, but is recalled by Claudius, and makes a canal between the Maas and Rhine. 21. Curtius Rufus opens mines in Upper Germany: his origin and history described.

Ch. 22. Nonius, a knight, found with arms in the emperor's presence: candidates for the quaestorship obliged to give gladiatorial shows: origin and history of that magistracy.

A. U. C. 801, A. D. 48. A. Vitellius, L. Vipstanus Poplicola, coss.

Ch. 23, 24. Debate on admitting citizens from Gallia Comata to the 'ius honorum:' speech of Claudius on the subject.

Ch. 25. New patrician families created: unworthy senators removed: a lustrum held, and the number of citizens enumerated.

Ch. 26–38. Last excesses and death of Messalina.

26, 27. Silius urges Messalina to celebrate marriage with him: opportunity taken of the emperor's absence at Ostia. 28, 29. Alarm of the chief freedmen: Narcissus alone takes immediate action. 30. Claudius informed of the marriage by two women and Narcissus. 31. Advice given to Claudius: representation by Messalina of a vintage festival. 32. News of the approach of Claudius disperses the guests, most of whom are arrested. 33. Bold course taken by Narcissus. 34. Claudius refuses to see Messalina and the children. 35, 36. Narcissus takes him to the house of Silius and thence to the praetorian camp; where Silius and the other chief persons, also Mnester the actor, are executed. 37, 38. Messalina goes back to the gardens of Lucullus; where her mother joins her. Narcissus, fearing a change of purpose in Claudius, gives orders in his name for her execution, and allows him to suppose that she had committed suicide. Her memory condemned by the senate, and Narcissus rewarded.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XI.

1 **1.** . . . nam Valerium Asiaticum, bis consulem, fuisse quondam adulterum eius credidit; pariterque hortis inhians, quos ille a Lucullo coeptos insigni magnificentiā extollebat, Suillium ac-
2 cusandis utrisque immittit. adiungitur Sosibius Britannici educator, qui per speciem benevolentiae moneret Claudium cavere vim atque opes principibus infensas: praecipuum auctorem

1. **nam,** &c. It is evident that the subject of 'credidit' is 'Messalina,' and that 'eius' is referred to Poppaea (see c. 2, 1). It would appear that the story, if we had it in full, would be that Messalina had evidence of adultery between Mnester, one of her own favourites (see c. 28, 1), and Poppaea (c. 4, 1), and that she desired to destroy the latter without sacrificing the former, and therefore brought up a charge against her of adultery with Asiaticus (whom she also desired to put to death for the sake of his gardens), and found other pretexts for vengeance on those in whose house Mnester and Poppaea had met (c. 4, 2).

bis consulem. P. Valerius Asiaticus must have been cos. suff. before the death of Gaius, at which date he is mentioned as a consular (Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 20; Dio, 59. 30, 2), and was ordinary consul in 779, A.D. 46 (Dio, 60. 27, 1). The inscription (C. I. G. 2587) mentioning a person of this name and rank as also city praefect, is referred by Nipp. to one of later date.

5. **hortis inhians.** This originally poetical metaphor is repeated in 12. 59, 1: cp. 4. 12, 5; 16. 17, 5. The gardens of Lucullus were the chief ornament of the Pincian ('Collis Hortorum'), and are noted by Plutarch (Luc. 39, 518) as still in his time τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τοῖς πολυτελεστάτοις. These gardens are mentioned again as the scene of the last hours of Messalina (c. 32, 2; 37, 1).

6. **coeptos,** 'laid out': cp. 1. 50, 2, and note.

extollebat, 'he was beautifying'; apparently so used only here and in 13. 21, 6.

Suillium. On the antecedents of this person, see 4. 31, 5, and note. He had already been the accuser of Julia, daughter of Drusus, and of many others (13. 43, 3), and continued to pursue the trade (c. 4, 1; 5, 1), but was ultimately himself tried and condemned (13. 42, 1, foll.).

7. **immittit,** 'she sets on': for the metaphor, cp. 4. 19, 1, and note; for the gerundive dat., Introd. 1. v. § 22.

8. **educator** = παιδαγωγός. Sosibius, who was probably, like Anicetus (14. 3, 5), a freedman, was put to death at the instance of Agrippina soon after her marriage with Claudius (Dio, 60. 32, 5).

cavere: so nearly all edd. for the Med. 'caueri,' which is not perhaps an impossible reading; but 'orabant cavere' is found in 13. 13, 4, and an infin. with 'moneo' in 1. 63, 2; 4. 67, 6; 13. 37, 2, etc., as with many similar verbs (Introd. 1. v. § 43).

9. **praecipuum auctorem.** Asiaticus, though he had been grossly insulted by

Asiaticum interficiendi *Gai* Caesaris non extimuisse contione in
populi Romani fateri gloriamque facinoris ultro petere; clarum
ex eo in urbe, didita per provincias fama parare iter ad Germanicos exercitus, quando genitus Viennae multisque et validis
propinquitatibus subnixus turbare gentiles nationes promptum
haberet. at Claudius nihil ultra scrutatus citis cum militibus 3
tamquam opprimendo bello Crispinum praetorii praefectum
misit, a quo repertus est apud Baias vinclisque inditis in urbem
raptus.

2. Neque data senatus copia: intra cubiculum auditur, Mes- 1
salinā coram, et Suillio corruptionem militum, quos pecuniā et
stuprō in omne flagitium obstrictos arguebat, exim adulterium

Gaius (Sen. de Const. Sap. 18, 2), is not recorded as one of the actual conspirators against him; but his subsequent speech to the people, here alluded to, is mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 19. 1, 20) and Dio (59. 30, 2), who state that the excited crowd, demanding to know who were the assassins, were cowed by his answer (εἴθε γὰρ ἔγωγε). He is also said to have aspired to the principate (Jos. l. l. 4, 3), and is therefore a strong instance of the comprehensiveness of the amnesty granted by Claudius (see Introd. p. 25).

1. **Gai.** Recent edd. have followed Rup. in the insertion of this praenomen (or its initial letter), which could hardly be omitted unless the Caesar spoken of was either the ruling prince or one specified in the context.

contione in: so Halm and Nipp. for the Med. 'contionem'; such an anastrophe of the prep. being not uncommon in Tacitus (Introd. I. v. 77, 4). Most others follow Lips. in reading 'concione,' taken apparently as a harsh abl. abs. (= 'concione existente'). The Med. text has been retained by Ritt., who places a stop at 'Romani;' but we should then expect 'fateri' and 'petere' to be past tenses.

3. **didita . . . fama,** abl. of quality: the expression is taken from Verg. Aen. 8, 132.

4. **Viennae,** Vienne, in Dauphiné, then the chief town of the Allobroges of Gallia Narbonensis. On its importance and distinction at the time, see the speech of Claudius (Appendix to this Book, col. ii, l. 9, and note).

5. **propinquitatibus,** 'kinships.' The civic population of Gaul must have furnished many recruits to the German legions.

gentiles, 'of his fatherland': so 'gentile solum' (3. 59, 3), etc. Nipp. notes that this sense occurs first in Sen. Herc. F. 915 (917) 'te ramus oleae fronde gentili tegat.'

promptum haberet, 'would have ready means': cp. 'promptam expugnationem' (1. 68, 1), also 2. 2, 6; 5, 4; 82, 8.

6. **citis** = 'cito agmine ductis' (cp. 4. 25, 2): so in 12. 31, 2; 14. 26, 1.

7. **opprimendo bello,** dat. of purpose.

Crispinum, Rufrius Crispinus, colleague in the 'praefectura praetorii' with Lusius Geta (12. 42. 1). He was the first husband of Poppaea, wife of Nero (13. 45, 4). For his exile and death under Nero, see 15. 71, 8; 16. 17, 1.

8. **vinclis inditis:** cp. c. 32, 3; 15. 56. 1.

10. **senatus copia,** 'access to (cp. 1. 58, 6) the senate,' i.e. the privilege of trial before it. A senator would usually expect this, but could not demand it as a right (see Introd. i. vi. p. 78, and note). On the private trials ('intra cubiculum') before the princeps, see Id. p. 74; also 13. 4, 2; 14. 50, 2, and notes.

11. **corruptionem militum.** According to Dio (60. 29, 5), this part of the case utterly broke down; the soldier who professed to have communicated with Asiaticus being unable even to identify him in court.

12. **in omne flagitium:** so most edd. after Rhen. for the Med. 'in omni flagitio,' which some (as Walther) would retain, with the sense of ἐν πάσῃ πονηρίᾳ. But the expression would thus appear super-

2 Poppaeae, postremum mollitiam corporis obiectante. ad quod
victo silentio prorupit reus et 'interroga,' inquit, 'Suilli, filios
3 tuos: virum esse me fatebuntur.' ingressusque defensionem,
commoto maiorem in modum Claudio, Messalinae quoque lacri-
4 mas excivit. quibus abluendis cubiculo egrediens monet Vitel-
5 lium, ne elabi reum sineret: ipsa ad perniciem Poppaeae festinat,
subditis qui terrore carceris ad voluntariam mortem propellerent,
adeo ignaro Caesare, ut paucos post dies epulantem apud se
maritum eius Scipionem percontaretur, cur sine uxore discubuis-
set, atque ille functam fato responderet.
1 **3.** Sed consultanti super absolutione Asiatici flens Vitellius,

fluous; and the accus. is needful to express his purpose in binding them to his service. For 'obstrictos,' cp. 12. 25, 1; 14. 7, 5, etc.

1. **postremum.** Wölfflin (Philol. 27. 119) would read 'postremo;' which is used some sixty-five times by Tacitus, whereas 'postremum' (in a similar sense) is found only here and in 1. 74, 2; 2. 62, 2; H. 4. 46, 4; in all of which he considers it open to suspicion. Here, as in H. l. l., a word of similar termination comes close to it. It seems, however, very difficult to agree with his emendation of the other two places.

2. **victo,** here used of breaking through a self-imposed resolution, as in 4. 8, 3 ('victo gemitu') of suppressing an emotion.

filios. He had two sons bearing the cognomina of Caesonius (c. 36, 5) and Nerullinus (13. 43, 7, and note on 12. 25. 1).

4. **maiorem in modum,** 'powerfully': so 'eum tibi commendo maiorem in modum,' Cic. ad Q. f. 2. 12 (14), 3.

5. **quibus abluendis,** dat. of purpose (cp. c. 1, 1, etc.). Nipp. notes here the latent irony of Tacitus in the contrast of the tears with the stern injunction of Messalina, as also between the inclination of Claudius and the 'clementia' (c. 3, 1) of his actual sentence.

Vitellium, L. Vitellius, the most famous courtier of the time (on whose previous history see 6. 28, 1; 32, 6). He was in this year consul for the third time and colleague with Claudius in that office and in the censorship, and was evidently sitting as assessor with him in this trial. His son, the emperor A. Vitellius, represented on some coins the effigy of his father, with the inscription 'L. Vitellius cos. iii. censor' (Cohen i. p. 367).

6. **Poppaeae.** Poppaea Sabina, daughter of one of the most trusted officers of Tiberius (see on 1. 80, 1; 6. 39, 3, etc.), was the most beautiful woman of her time (13. 45, 2), and, before her marriage with Scipio, had been the wife of T. Ollius, to whom she bore her more famous daughter of the same name (13. 45, 1, foll.).

7. **subditis,** 'persons being set up': so in 3. 59, 5, etc.

carceris, i. e. of being strangled by the executioner in the common dungeon: cp. 3. 50, 1; 51, 1, etc.

8. **ignaro.** His question would seem to show not only that he knew nothing of her death, but that he had even forgotten that there was any charge against her. On this trait in his character, see c. 38, 2, and Introd. p. 48.

9. **Scipionem,** P. Cornelius Scipio (c. 4, 7; 12. 53, 3), generally identified with the person mentioned as a legatus in Africa twenty-five years previously (3. 74, 2, where see note).

sine uxore. The wives of senators were often invited with their husbands to imperial banquets: see Suet. Cal. 36; Plut. Oth. 3, 1067; Dio, 60. 7, 4.

discubuisset. On the use of this verb of a single person, cp. 3. 14, 2, and note.

10. **responderet.** The force of 'ut' is extended over this word, because the ignorance of Claudius is illustrated not only by the question, but also by the answer, which Scipio would hardly have made unless he knew that the question was asked in real unconsciousness.

11. **sed,** carrying back the narrative to the trial of Asiaticus.

consultanti. This dative is closely parallel to that in 2. 76, 2 (where see note), and may well here be taken as dependent on the notion of speaking or answering contained in 'permisit' (see

commemorata vetustate amicitiae utque Antoniam principis matrem pariter observavissent, dein percursis Asiatici in rem publicam officiis recentique adversus Britanniam militiā, quaeque alia conciliandae misericordiae videbantur, liberum mortis arbitrium ei permisit; et secuta sunt Claudii verba in eandem clementiam. hortantibus dehinc quibusdam inediam et lenem 2 exitum, remittere beneficium Asiaticus ait: et usurpatis quibus insueverat exercitationibus, laute corpore, hilare epulatus, cum se honestius calliditate Tiberii vel impetu Gai Caesaris periturum dixisset, quam quod fraude muliebri et inpudico Vitellii ore caderet, venas exsolvit, viso tamen ante rogo iussoque transferri partem in aliam, ne opacitas arborum vapore ignis minueretur: tantum illi securitatis novissimae fuit.

note below), or in 'commemorata.' Instances are also found in Tacitus (as in other authors) of a more distinctly absolute (or Greek) dative of this kind (see Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 50).

flens Vitellius, etc. In order to carry out the injunction of Messalina (c. 2, 4), Vitellius affects not to notice the inclination of Claudius to acquit, and, as if assuming that Asiaticus must be condemned, pleads earnestly, as a friend, that he should be allowed, as an extreme concession, to choose his own death (in Dio, 60. 29, 6, he is even made to say that Asiaticus had besought him to procure this boon); and Claudius is then led to think that by such an indulgence ('clementia') his own promptings to mercy would be fully satisfied. That any kindly feeling that he had ever had in the matter was soon obliterated, is shown by the vindictive mention of Asiaticus a year later ('Oratio Claudii,' ii. 14), also by the fact that the gardens, and probably his other property, were confiscated, contrary to the usual rule (see 6. 29, 2) in such cases. On the ease with which the feelings of Claudius were worked upon, cp. 12. 3, 3; Introd. pp. 40, 46.

1. **Antoniam**; see 3. 3, 2. She was then dead, but her memory was much honoured (see Introd. i. ix. p. 146).

3. **recenti . . . militia.** The part taken by Asiaticus in the British war is otherwise unknown. He is of too high rank to have been a 'legatus legionis,' and was probably on the personal staff of Claudius.

4. **conciliandae misericordiae.** For this use of the gerundive genit. with the force of a genit. of quality, see Introd. i. v. § 37 c.

5. **permisit** = 'permittendum censuit': see note on 3. 36, 3.

in eandem clementiam, 'to the same gracious effect' (ironical). The idea of such a participle as 'spectantia' may be taken to be supplied in such uses of the 'in consecutivum': cp. the closely parallel 'in eundem dolorem' (6. 49, 3); also 13. 41, 5, and note.

6. **hortantibus . . . lenem exitum.** Such a construction is used by Cic. and others, and resembles that of παραινεῖν τι. 'Inediam et lenem exitum' are a hendiadys; and the latter expression is applied to self-starvation, not as less painful than other forms of suicide, but as less violent, and more resembling a natural death. Probably from this view, or as more agreeable to Roman stoicism, it was often chosen (cp. 4. 35, 5; 6. 26, 3, etc.).

7. **remittere beneficium,** 'he declined the favour' (i. e. such indulgence of time as was implied in the 'clementia' of Claudius), and would despatch himself at once. This sense of 'remittere' is akin to that of 'excusing' (see c. 36, 5; 1. 8, 6, and note). On the omission of 'se,' see Introd. i. v. § 8.

8. **exercitationibus,** 'gymnastics.' The allusion in the speech of Claudius (see above on § 1) styles him 'palaestricum prodigium.'

9. **periturum,** sc. 'fuisse': cp. Introd. i. v. § 39 c.

10. **fraude muliebri,** that of Messalina: so used in 2. 71, 4, of Plaucina.

12. **partem in aliam,** sc. 'hortorum' (those mentioned in c. 1, 1).

vapore, 'heat': so often in Lucr. (as 1. 663, etc.): cp. 14. 64, 3; 15. 64, 5.

13. **securitatis novissimae,** 'compo-

1 **4.** Vocantur post haec patres, pergitque Suillius addere reos
2 equites Romanos inlustres, quibus Petra cognomentum. at causa necis ex eo, quod domum suam Mnesteris et Poppaeae con-
3 gressibus praebuissent. verum nocturnae quietis species alteri obiecta, tamquam vidisset Claudium spicea corona evinctum, spicis retro conversis, eaque imagine gravitatem annonae prae-
4 dixisset. quidam pampineam coronam albentibus foliis visam atque ita interpretatum tradidere, vergente autumno mortem

sure at the last hour': cp. 'novissimo servitio' (16. 11, 3). The writing here of 'e' for 'ae' in Med. is noticed by Ritt. as an error constant in this MS. For this sense of 'securitas,' cp. 3. 44, 4; 14. 6, 2; 15. 55, 6, etc.

1. **vocantur . . . patres.** Asiaticus had been tried privately before Caesar (c. 2, 1).

2. **equites . . . inlustres**: see 2. 59, 4, and note.

quibus Petra cognomentum. On the use of 'cognomentum,' see 1. 23, 6, and note. Tacitus would usually give the gentile name also, in a single mention of persons of this rank, and is therefore thought by Orelli to be drawing from some unofficial narrative, in which no other name was given. The cognomen 'Petra' appears otherwise unknown, unless it is traceable in the 'ala Petrina' (or 'Petriana') of H. 1. 70, 3, etc.

at causa necis. If the text is sound, we must suppose (with Nipp.) that the word 'reos' suggested to the writer the charge actually preferred (see below), and led him to contrast with it the real cause. Ern. suggests that the true reading may have been 'cognomentum erat;' and other alterations have been proposed.

3. **Mnesteris**: so in Bud., and probably so intended by the Med. 'nesteris': other inferior MSS. and old editions violently substitute 'Valerii.' The complete narrative would probably have explained the allusion sufficiently (see note on c. 1, 1). This famous pantomimist was a freedman of Tiberius, as appears from an inscription (Grut. 615, 1) 'Ti. Iulio Aug(usti) l(iberto) Mnesteri.' His death is recorded in c. 36, 1. Many stories are told of his arrogance and profligacy, and of the passion of Gaius and Messalina for him: see c. 28, 1; Suet. Cal. 36; 55; Dio, 60. 22, 3; 28, 3. The consideration in which such persons were generally held is to be seen from 1. 77, 5; 4. 14, 4 (where see notes), etc.

4. **praebuissent.** The subjunctive is used to express the allegation without affirming its truth.

nocturnae quietis species, 'a dream': cp. 1. 65, 2, and note.

5. **tamquam**, 'on the ground that:' the allegation is not necessarily implied to be false: see 3. 72, 4, and note, Introd. i. v. § 67.

spicea corona. Such a crown was represented in figures of Demeter or Ceres, and was worn from the earliest times by the Arvales (Plin. N. H. 18. 2, 6). The inversion of the ears would generally be an evil omen of some sort; an inverted crown having been taken as a presage of the death of Cassius (Plut. Brut. 51, 1002).

6. **praedixisset**: so most edd. after Rhen. for the Med. 'dixisset,' which some (as Orelli) retain, as a simple for compound, but which would seem to require the addition of such a verb as 'portendi' (as advocated by Cornelissen in Mnemos. 1884, on the analogy of 12. 64, 1; H. 2. 78, 4). Anyhow, it must be taken as alleged that he himself so read his vision; for the dream could hardly be maintained to convey its own interpretation. Dearth would make the princeps, who was personally responsible for the corn-supply (2. 87, 1; 3. 54, 8; 4. 6, 6), unpopular (6. 13, 1; 12. 43, 2).

7. **visam.** It is implied that it was seen on the head of Claudius.

8. **interpretatum.** This could have a passive meaning ('the dream was interpreted'), but it is best to take it (with Nipp.) actively, supplying 'eum' (which Ritt. inserts) from the sense, and thus making Petra the alleged author of the interpretation.

vergente autumno. The season is portended by the 'albentia folia,' which appear besides to convey the idea of decay

principis ostendi. illud haud ambigitur, qualicumque insomnio 5
ipsi fratrique perniciem adlatam. sestertium quindeciens et in-
signia praeturae Crispino decreta. adiecit Vitellius sestertium 6
deciens Sosibio, quod Britannicum praeceptis, Claudium consiliis
iuvaret. rogatus sententiam et Scipio, 'cum idem' inquit 'de 7
admissis Poppaeae sentiam quod omnes, putate me idem dicere
quod omnes,' eleganti temperamento inter coniugalem amorem
et senatoriam necessitatem.

5. Continuus inde et saevus accusandis reis Suillius multique 1
audaciae eius aemuli; nam cuncta legum et magistratuum munia
in se trahens princeps materiam praedandi patefecerat. nec 2
quicquam publicae mercis tam venale fuit quam advocatorum

and death; also a passage of Artemidorus (1, 77, p. 110 Reiff.), quoted by Orelli, makes the Bacchic crown itself an evil sign when seen on the heads of any but the priests or votaries of Bacchus.

1. **qualicumque insomnio**, 'by his dream, whatever it was.' The brother must have been charged with a share in interpreting the dream or spreading the story.

2. **insignia praeturae.** Instances are found under the Republic, in which senators received the honorary distinction ('ornamenta' or 'insignia') of a higher rank than they had attained (Dio, 36. 40 [23], 4). The practice of giving such to persons who were not senators at all but (as in this case) knights, is stated to have originated with the gift of 'praetoria ornamenta' to Seianus by Tiberius (Dio, 57. 19, 7), who afterwards gave the same to Macro, and 'quaestoria ornamenta' to Laco, the 'praefectus vigilum' (Dio, 58. 12, 7). On their further extension under Claudius, see c. 38, 5; 12. 21, 2, and notes. Such distinctions, though not giving a seat in the senate, entitled the bearer to wear the appropriate dress and to sit with persons of that rank at festivals, &c. See Momms. Staatsr. i. 461–465.

3. **adiecit** = 'adiciendum censuit,' like 'permisit' (c. 3, 1).

sestertium deciens, the senatorial census (see 1. 75, 5, and note). The extravagant rewards given to Crispinus for the mere arrest (c. 1, 3), and to Sosibius, the subordinate accuser (c. 1, 2), are to be noted. That of Suillius, which is not stated, must have been much larger.

4. **consiliis**, alluding to c. 1, 2.

5. **Scipio**: see c. 2, 5.

6. **admissis**: so used substantively for 'delicta' in H. 4. 44, 2; also in Cic. Part. Or. 35, 120, etc.

7. **eleganti temperamento**, 'with graceful compromise' (cp. 3. 12, 1; 4. 20, 4, and notes). The obvious meaning of his words would be that he believed in Poppaea's guilt, as did all the others, but desired to be spared the pain of directly expressing his belief; but a covert meaning is also conveyed, that he disbelieved it, as did all the others if they dared say so. That a senator, even under the Republic, was under compulsion to answer the question put to him, is seen from Liv. 28. 45, 5, foll.

9. **continuus . . . accusandis reis**, 'incessantly occupied with criminal accusations.' Almost the same expression is used of 'annus' (personified) in 4. 36, 1. The case is probably abl. of respect (see note there).

10. **cuncta legum**, &c. Similar words are used of Augustus in 1. 2, 1; but the reference here is more particularly to the way in which all judicial functions were engrossed by Claudius (see Introd. p. 37). The whole expression is subject of 'patefecerat,' which is emphatic ('had opened widely'): any one might be accused when all rested on the caprice of one man.' 'Materia' is so used in a sense approaching to that of 'opportunity' in 1. 76, 7; 3. 31, 3, etc.

11. **nec quicquam**, &c., 'nor were any wares in the public market so saleable as the treachery of advocates' (bribed to betray a case committed to them). 'Advocati' were properly those who supported a plaintiff or defendant by their presence; but the term had now become synonymous with 'causidicus' or 'patro-

perfidia, adeo ut Samius, insignis eques Romanus, quadringentis nummorum milibus Suillio datis et cognita praevaricatione ferro
3 in domo eius incubuerit. igitur incipiente C. Silio consule designato, cuius de potentia *et* exitio in tempore memorabo, consurgunt patres legemque Cinciam flagitant, quā cavetur antiquitus, ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat.
1 **6.** Deinde obstrepentibus iis, quibus ea contumelia parabatur, discors Suillio Silius acriter incubuit, veterum oratorum exempla referens, qui famam et posteros praemia eloquentiae cogitavis-

nus' (Dial. 1. 1; Quint., Plin. Ep.). Seneca (Lud. 12, 3, 54) speaks of the 'causidici, venale genus'; and various other charges brought against them are collected in Friedl. i. 292–294.

1. **Samius.** Inscriptions give this name (I. R. N. 290), and also the form 'Sammius' (see Wilm. Ind. p. 354).

insignis, apparently equivalent to 'inlustris' (c. 4, 1, etc.).

2. **cognita praevaricatione.** Nipp. explains the transaction to be that Suillius had lodged a charge against Samius, and taken this bribe from him to make it fail; and had then, by a double treachery, broken his own corrupt engagement. Samius, having ascertained this, and being certain of ruin, brings the scandal home to the advocate by committing suicide in his house. 'Praevaricari,' though more commonly used of collusive accusation in a public trial, can be used of collusive advocacy on either side (Ulp. Dig. 47. 15, 1; cp. Cic. Clu. 21, 58); and it would seem more natural to suppose that Samius had made no corrupt bargain, but had retained Suillius, by this fee, for his defence, and had been betrayed by him. Suillius, however, as the context shows, is usually an accuser.

3. **consule designato:** cp. c. 28, 1. As he never became consul and is still called 'consul designatus' after his death (Sen. Lud. 13, 4), Nipp. supposes that he must have been designated cos. suff. for the last two months of the next year. Mommsen thinks (Staatsr. i. 587, 4) that Messalina, who heaped distinctions upon him (c. 12, 4), had procured his designation for an ordinary consulship two years in advance. As consul designate, he would be asked his opinion first on whatever question was brought before the house (see 3. 22, 6, and note), and evidently takes the opportunity of making this speech 'per egressionem' (see 2. 38, 3, and note).

4. **memorabo:** see c. 12, 2; 26, 1, foll.

consurgunt, they rise in their places to signify their agreement with the speaker.

5. **legem Cinciam.** The clause here cited is only one of the provisions of the plebiscite 'de donis et muneribus' passed by M. Cincius Alimentus, trib. pl. A. U. C. 550, B.C. 204, with the support of Q. Fabius Maximus (Cic. de Sen. 4. 10; cp. also de Orat. 2. 71, 286; ad Att. 1. 20, 7). Livy (34. 4, 9) makes Cato speak of it as intended to free the people from bondage to the great 'patroni,' who were senators; and Thrasea is made to refer to it (15. 20, 3) as called forth by the 'oratorum licentia.' It had no doubt become obsolete, but was revived by Augustus, who in 737, B.C. 17, *τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀμισθὶ συναγορεύειν ἢ τετραπλάσιον ὅσον ἂν λάβωσιν ἐκτίνειν ἐκέλευσε* (Dio, 54. 18, 2). We gather that it was still systematically evaded; but Ovid (Am. 1. 10, 39) expresses its sentiment 'turpe reos empta miseros defendere lingua.' For the regulations made at this time and subsequently see c. 7, 8, and note; and other references in Marquardt, Privatl. 770. Suillius was again accused under it eleven years later (13. 42, 1).

7. **iis:** so most recent edd., after G, for Med. 'si his': others read 'his,' Ritter 'illis,' on the ground that 'iis' and 'ea' would hardly be used so close together.

8. **discors,** so used with the force and construction of 'inimicus' in 2. 56, 1 (where see note), etc.

incubuit, 'made an attack'; absol., as in 4. 24, 1; 73, 3, etc.

9. **famam et posteros.** The plural 'praemia' is somewhat against taking this as a hendiadys, like 'posteritate et infamia' (3. 65, 1); but the expression is one of a class common in Tacitus, where a more specific word is added with emphasis to a more general: cp. 'testamenta

sent. pulcherrimam alioquin et bonarum artium principem 2
sordidis ministeriis foedari; ne fidem quidem integram manere,
ubi magnitudo quaestuum spectetur. quodsi in nullius mercedem 3
negotia agantur, pauciora fore: nunc inimicitias, accusationes,
odia et iniurias foveri, ut quo modo vis morborum pretia meden-
tibus, sic fori tabes pecuniam advocatis ferat. meminissent C. 4
Asinii, M. Messallae ac recentiorum Arruntii et Aesernini: ad
summa provectos incorrupta vita et facundia. talia dicente con- 5
sule designato, consentientibus aliis, parabatur sententia, qua
lege repetundarum tenerentur, cum Suillius et Cossutianus et
ceteri, qui non iudicium, quippe in manifestos, sed poenam statui
videbant, circumsistunt Caesarem, ante acta deprecantes.

et orbos' in 13. 42, 7, and Nipp. there. The above plural is also an objection to reading 'famam ad posteros' (cp. 1. 8, 2), with Dr.

1. **pulcherrimam alioquin,** 'a talent which would otherwise be the noblest' (cp. 'languescet alioqui industria' 2. 38, 6). Most recent edd. follow Nipp. in this correction for the Med. 'pulcherrima' (taken with 'praemia'); which would necessitate 'et' being less well taken for 'etiam.' 'Foedari' and the other infinitives are not to be taken as following out the thought of the 'veteres oratores,' but as depending on the notion of such a participle as 'dicens' implied in 'incubuit.'

2. **sordidis ministeriis,** 'service for money.'

ne fidem quidem, etc., i.e. 'praevaricatio' (c. 5, 2) is more common.

4. **negotia agantur.** Halm so reads after Heins. and Orelli, and suggests that the Med. text ('negotiant' with an erasure) may have been originally, as in some inferior MSS., 'negotiantur,' a reading which could easily have been corrupted from that here given. Nipp., Dr., and Jacob follow Gron. in reading 'eant'; the verb being taken in the sense of 'turning out,' as in 5. 11, 3; 12. 68, 3. Other readings are 'fiant,' 'tueantur,' etc. On the force of 'in' here see Introd. i. v. § 60 b.

5. **foveri,** 'are nursed,' made the most of: the 'fori tabes' is litigiousness.

6. **C. Asinii, M. Messallae.** Med. has 'gali Asinii Messalae'; but it is evident from c. 7, 5, that not Gallus Asinius (see 1. 12, 2, etc.), but his father Pollio, who is known as 'insigne maestis praesidium reis' (Hor. Od. 2. 1, 13), is meant; 'Gali' being apparently a corruption of 'Gai.' Heins. adds the praenomen (which may easily have dropped out) before 'Messallae'; the person intended being of course M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (on whom see 3. 34, 2, etc.). Nipp. omits both praenomina, on the analogy of the following names.

7. **Arruntii et Aesernini.** L. Arruntius (on whom see 1. 13, 1, etc.) and Aeserninus Marcellus (on whom see 3. 11, 2, and note) were leading pleaders in the later time of Augustus and under Tiberius.

8. **provectos,** sc. 'esse,' 'that they had attained the highest rank.'

9. **parabatur sententia;** the consul was preparing to give effect to the expression of feeling thus manifested (cp. c. 5, 3) by making a formal motion on the subject. In a similar instance later (13. 26, 1), the presiding magistrates do not venture to do this without consulting the princeps, but on this occasion Claudius was present (cp. 'circumsistunt Caesarem'), and must have in some way signified approval.

10. **lege repetundarum tenerentur;** i.e. that all pleaders who took any fees should be liable to the charge of 'repetundae.' The subject is easily supplied from the sense.

Cossutianus. As only one name is given, we must suppose that Tacitus had already spoken of the notorious accuser Cossutianus Capito, who is prominent in these Books. After his accusation of Thrasea and his friends (16. 28, 1; 33, 4), nothing more is known of him.

11. **manifestos,** 'plainly guilty'; oftener with genitive of the crime, as in 2. 85, 3; 13. 26, 4.

12. **ante acta deprecantes,** 'asking

1 7. Et postquam adnuit, agere incipiunt: quem illum tanta
2 superbia esse, ut aeternitatem famae spe praesumat? usui et
rebus subsidium praeparari, ne quis inopia advocatorum poten-
3 tibus obnoxius sit, neque tamen eloquentiam gratuito contin-
gere: omitti curas familiares, ut quis se alienis negotiis intendat.
4 multos militia, quosdam exercendo agros tolerare vitam; nihil a
5 quoquam expeti, nisi cuius fructus (ante) providerit. facile Asi-
nium et Messallam, inter Antonium et Augustum bellorum
praemiis refertos, aut ditium familiarum heredes Aeserninos et
6 Arruntios magnum animum induisse. prompta sibi exempla,
quantis mercedibus P. Clodius aut C. Curio contionari soliti sint.

pardon for the past,' i. e. that the decree, if passed, might not touch them retrospectively. 'Deprecor' has usually an accus. of the penalty (as in 4. 31, 8, etc.) or other evil expected (as in 4. 41, 1); 'ante acta' having here the force of 'ante actorum poenam.' 'Facti deprecatio' is used similarly in Cic. Part. Orat. 37, 131, and 'inertiae deprecatio' in Hirt. B. G. 8, Praef. 1.

1. **agere**, a correction in Med.; the word in the first hand being 'tacere,' which Weissenborn (whom Ritt. follows) supposes with much probability to be a corruption of 'ita agere.' Some less well read 'iacere' with Freinsh.

quem illum, brachyl. for 'quem illum esse qui': so 'quis ille . . . sprevisset' (12. 36, 3); 'quidquid hoc' (14. 43, 2): cp. also 14. 22, 4, and note, and 'quis iste dies' (Cic. Acad. 2. 22, 69); 'quaenam illa' (Id. pro Sest. 24, 53).

2. **usui et rebus subsidium praeparari**: so most edd., for Med. 'praeparare' (Nipp., after Haase, reads 'parari'). The argument, which is obscure from condensation, seems best taken, with J. H. Müller (Beitr. iv. p. 1), as putting forward a more humble and practical view against that which would make renown the only legitimate aim of the advocate. The professional orator seeks to make provision for meeting a requirement and for the business of life, with the object that none should be at the mercy of powerful antagonists for lack of advocacy, as would often happen if all who had to live by the profession were shut out from it. But men cannot acquire the pleader's art without cost, or exercise it without neglecting their own affairs, and have therefore just claim to a recompense. For this sense of 'usus' cp. 'ex rerum usu' (15. 6, 5), also 'ex usu temporis' (4. 6, 6), and a nearly similar sense of the word in c. 8, 5; 12. 48, 3. A different explanation will be found in Nipp.'s notes. Dr. and Jacob less well take 'usui et rebus' here to be a hendiadys, with the meaning of the expression cited from 15. 6, 5.

5. ut, best taken, with Nipp., to mean 'in order that': more commonly 'ut quis' means 'accordingly as one' (cp. 4. 23, 6, etc.).

6. **multos militia**, etc. Nipp. notes that only such occupations as were open to senators (who were debarred from ordinary trade) are here mentioned. This sense of 'exercere' (cp. 12. 43, 5; 13. 54, 3; G. 29, 4; Agr. 31, 3) seems taken from Verg. (Aen. 7, 798, etc.): 'tolerare vitam' (cp. 15. 45, 6) is also in Verg. (Aen. 8, 409), but previously in Caes. (B. G. 7. 77, 12).

nihil . . . expeti, 'no calling in life is sought.'

7. **ante providerit**, a similar pleonasm to that in Caes. B. G. 5. 33, 1 ('qui nihil ante providisset'). Nipp. shows that 'providere' and 'praevidere' (which Pich. would substitute here), though distinguishable in meaning, are often used equivalently.

9. **Aeserninos . . . Arruntios**, rhetorical plurals: cp. 1. 10, 3, etc.

10. **magnum animum induisse**, 'played the magnanimous part' (in pleading gratuitously).

11. **P. Clodius aut C. Curio**. The examples are not creditable; for the former is stated (see Cic. de Harusp. Resp. 20, 42) to have been bribed to scandalous 'prevaricatio' by Catiline, and the corruption of the latter by Caesar is attested by Lucan (4, 819) and Suet. (Jul. 29).

se modicos senatores, *qui* quieta re publica nulla nisi pacis 7
emolumenta peterent. cogitaret plebem, quae toga enitesceret:
sublatis studiorum pretiis etiam studia peritura. ut minus decora 8
haec, ita haud frustra dicta princeps ratus, capiendis pecuniis *statuit* modum usque ad dena sestertia, quem egressi repetundarum tenerentur.

8. Sub idem tempus Mithridates, quem imperitasse Armeniis 1
iussuque Gai Caesaris vinctum memoravi, monente Claudio in

1. **modicos**, 'of moderate means,' with little more than the bare senatorial census; analogous to the 'modici equites' of 1. 73, 1. In reality, Suillius (see 13. 43, 6), and probably the others, were very wealthy. On the enormous rewards frequently given to accusers see Friedl. i. 231.

quieta re publica, in contrast to 'bellorum praemiis refertos.' The Med. text 'qui et a . . . peterent' is commonly altered (after Pich.) to 'quieta . . . petere'; but that 'qui' has dropped out where Halm inserts it is extremely probable.

2. **cogitaret**, sc. 'Claudius'; 'he should think of the plebeians who won distinction by forensic practice': recent edd. have generally followed Pich. and J. F. Gron. in reading 'quae' for the Med. 'qua.' 'Toga,' besides being used generally of peace and its occupations (Cic. de Or. 3. 42, 167), sometimes denotes specifically the pleader's dress and function: cp. 'in toga negotiisque versatur' (Pl. Ep. 1. 22, 6), and Martial's praise of Quintilian (2. 38, 5) as 'Romanae gloria magna togae.' The use of 'enitescere' in this sense (cp. 12. 58, 1) appears to be taken from Sallust (Cat. 54. 4). Juvenal speaks (8. 47–50) of plebeian advocates and lawyers; and the 'causidici' whose work and scanty fees he describes (7, 106, foll.) belong no doubt to this order.

4. **haud frustra**, 'not without grounds': cp. 1. 20, 3, and note.

5. **statuit modum**: so Halm and Dr. after Orelli (ed. 1). Med. has no verb; most edd. follow G in inserting 'posuit'; Baiter (in Orelli, ed. 2) reads 'modum fecit' (cp. 'modum . . . facerent' H. 4. 40, 3). The enactment appears to have been made by an imperial edict.

dena sestertia. That this was a considerable reduction, is seen from the fact that four times as much had been given by Samius to Suillius (c. 5, 2). A further change was made at Nero's accession (see 13. 5, 1, and note), but the reference to Pliny there given shows that in his time 10000 HS. might lawfully be given to an advocate after the trial was over.

repetundarum tenerentur. Such elliptical genitives with this verb (cp. 3. 67, 2) are common in Quint. and Dig.; the full expression is given in c. 6, 5.

7. **Sub idem tempus.** This date is to be taken as a very loose one, as the date of the return of Mithridates, determined by that of the contemporary Parthian history (see below) and by that of Vibius Marsus (see on c. 10, 1), can hardly have been later than 796, A.D. 43, and may have been in the year before that. It is mentioned by Dio (60. 8, 1) as taking place soon after the initiatory measures of Claudius.

Mithridates. This prince had become king of Armenia by the aid of Tiberius (see 6. 32, 5, foll.). Gaius is recorded by Dio (60. 8, 1) to have summoned him to Rome and kept him there bound in custody: cp. Sen. de Tranq. 11, 12: 'Ptolemaeum Africae regem, Armeniae Mithridatem, inter Caianas custodias vidimus.' Armenia had apparently been during that time under Parthian influence (see Momms. Hist. v. 379: E. T. ii. 45).

8. **iussuque Gai**: so Halm, Or., Ritt., after Urlichs. Med. has a lacuna between 'Armeniis' and 'Caesaris,' in which a later hand, apparently following G and other inferior MSS., has written 'et ad p̄sētiā' ('praesentiam'), which the old editors admitted into their texts, altering 'vinctum' into 'vocatum,' 'vectum,' etc. But the accounts of Sen. and Dio (see above) confirm 'vinctum'; and it is evident that the praenomen before 'Caesaris' has dropped out, as in c. 1, 2; 29, 1. For the rest, it might possibly be better (with Walth., Nipp. and Jacob) to leave the lacuna; which Nipp. thinks may have been filled by some such words as 'mox evocatum in urbem iussu.'

2 regnum remeavit, fisus Pharasmanis opibus. is rex Hiberis
idemque Mithridatis frater nuntiabat discordare Parthos summa-
3 que imperii ambigua, minora sine curā haberi. nam Gotarzes
inter pleraque saeva necem fratri Artabano coniugique ac filio
eius paraverat, unde metus [eius] in ceteros, et accivere Var-
4 danen. ille, ut erat magnis ausis promptus, biduo tria milia
stadiorum invadit ignarumque et exterritum Gotarzen proturbat;
neque cunctatur quin proximas praefecturas corripiat, solis

monente, 'suggesting'; cp. 2. 37, 4, and the nearly similar sense in 12. 69, 1, and that of 'praemonente' in c. 35, 3.

1. **Pharasmanis.** On this prince see 6. 32, 5, foll., and on the kingdom of Hiberia, 4. 5, 4, and note; on the poetical dat. 'Hiberis,' Introd. i. v. § 19. 'Fisus . . . opibus' is repeated from H. 4. 61, 2: cp. 'fisos loco' (4. 25, 1).

2. **summa imperii ambigua**, 'the throne itself was in dispute; whatever was less important (as Armenia) was treated carelessly': so 'externa sine cura habebantur' (H. 1. 79, 1).

3. **nam Gotarzes inter.** Halm and Nipp. follow Doed. in this restoration of the corrupt Med. text 'nam inter Gotharzes,' and also omit the Med. 'qui' before 'necem.' Most older edd. and Orelli read 'nam inter Gotarzis,' retaining 'qui' and omitting 'et' before 'accivere,' so as to make the latter word the principal verb, and 'qui necem . . . ceteros' parenthetical. Ritt. inserts 'infensos' before 'inter,' and alters 'qui' to 'atque.' Pfitzn. alters 'inter' to 'interim,' and 'qui' (after Madvig) to 'quin.' The way in which the names of Gotarzes and Vardanes are here introduced would either imply that they had been already mentioned, or would support Madvig's theory (Adv. ii. 550) that a lacuna exists, and that a sentence beginning with 'nam inter Gotarzem' had given some account of the original contention for the throne, and had gone on to speak of 'Gotarzis pleraque saeva,' and that the scribe had skipped from one mention of the name to another. On the question as to who was the successor of Artabanus III. (on whom see 2. 3, 1, etc.), see Introd. p. 105, 3. Med. has here alone the form 'Gotharzes,' elsewhere generally 'Gotarzes,' which form, as well as 'Goterzes,' is found on coins. For 'Vardanes,' Med. has in three places 'bardanes,' which is also the form in Jos. Ant. 20. 3, 4.

5. **paraverat**: so Halm (who is followed by Nipp. and Jacob), on the analogy of 6. 3, 4; 13. 1, 1, etc. Most others retain 'praeparaverat,' the corrected form of the Med. text; some (after Muret.) read 'properaverat.'

metus [eius] in ceteros. Tacitus would hardly have written 'eius' twice so close together, referring to two different persons. The parallel passage (4. 2, 1) is also in favour of the omission.

6. **ausis.** For this substantive see 2. 39, 3, and note.

biduo, in forty-eight hours. The whole space is 375 Roman (nearly 350 English) miles; and the rate of progress, averaging over seven English miles for every hour, must be impossible for an army, even though wholly consisting of horsemen. If we suppose him to have come with a few followers, and by relays of horses, the rate is the same as that of Hannibal from Zama to Adrumetum (App. Pun. 47), and less than that of Tiberius to his brother Drusus (Pl. N. H. 7. 20, 84). A critic, cited by Walther, as also Kritz (see Halm, Not. Crit.), suggest that 'triduo duo millia' should be read.

7. **invadit**, 'traverses,' or 'leaves behind him.' The word is nowhere else precisely thus used; but the sense is analogous to that of occupying a country (6. 31, 2), gaining possession of an army (H. 4. 68, 4), or the empire (15. 52, 3); the space traversed being as it were occupied in so doing. The Vergilian 'invade viam' (Aen. 6, 260), which Pfitzn. compares, seems to have a different meaning. The conjectures 'evadit' (Heins.), 'pervadit' (Haase), seem needless.

8. **praefecturas**, 'provinces': cp. c. 10, 1; 6. 42, 5; 15. 28, 1. These appear here to be the great viceroyalties (corresponding somewhat to the old satrapies of the Persian empire) which Pliny (N. H. 6. 25, 29, 112) calls 'regna,' and states to have been eighteen in number in the whole Parthian empire. The viceroys

Seleucensibus dominationem eius abnuentibus. in quos, ut 5
patris suique defectores, irā magis quam ex usu praesenti accensus, implicatur obsidione urbis validae et munimentis obiecti
amnis muroque et commeatibus firmatae. interim Gotarzes 6
Daharum Hyrcanorumque opibus auctus bellum renovat, coactusque Vardanes omittere Seleuciam Bactrianos apud campos
castra contulit.

9. Tunc distractis orientis viribus et quonam inclinarent in- 1
certis, casus Mithridati datus est occupandi Armeniam, vi militis Romani ad excindenda castellorum ardua, simul Hibero exercitu
campos persultante. nec enim restitere Armenii, fuso qui proe- 2
lium ausus erat Demonacte praefecto. paululum cunctationis 3
attulit rex minoris Armeniae Cotys, versis illuc quibusdam pro-

were styled *βίστακες*, or 'vitaxae' (see Momms. Hist. v. 344; E. T. ii. 6). The term 'praefectura' is also used (see 13. 37, 2, and note) of the military subdivisions of Armenia.

1. **Seleucenses**, of Seleucia on the Tigris: see 6. 42, 1, etc. On their revolt from Artabanus see c. 9, 6, and note.

2. **defectores**, a Tacitean word (see Introd. i. v. 69, 1), afterwards in Suet. Ner. 43, and Justin. 16. 1, 13.

ex usu praesenti, 'in accordance with immediate utility': cp. 'ex usu temporis' (4. 5, 6, and note).

4. **amnis**, the Tigris, on the banks of which Seleucia and Ctesiphon (the Parthian capital) face each other.

5. **Daharum Hyrcanorumque**, Scythic races south-east and east of the Caspian. On their situation and previous relation with Artabanus cp. 2. 3, 1; 6. 36, 5, and notes.

6. **Bactrianos.** Bactria or Bactriana, the tract between the upper Amoo (Oxus) and the Hindoo Koosh (Paropamisus), appears after the fall of its Greek dynasty to have been a debateable land between Parthians and Scythians. See Mr. Vaux, in Dict. of Geog.

8. **incertis**, probably best taken as 'de quibus incertum erat.' Nipp. compares 13. 19, 1, also 'neque plane occultati . . . et tamen incerti' (Sall. Jug. 49, 5), and some instances in Livy, as 'incertus, mas an femina esset, natus est' (27. 37, 5); cp. also the passive uses of 'gnarus' (1. 5, 4, etc.), 'ignarus' (2. 13, 1, etc.), 'innoxius' (Sall. Cat. 39, 2).

9. **casus**, 'opportunity': cp. 1. 13, 2, and note. The whole passage from 'nam Gotarzes' (c. 8, 3) to the end of the chapter must be taken as retrospective, and the narrative is here taken up from c. 8, 1.

vi, instrumental abl., varied in the next clause to abl. abs. (cp. 3. 37, 1, and note). The Hiberians were mostly horsemen, but had some infantry (6. 34, 2).

11. **campos persultante**, 'scouring the plains'; with similar accus. in H. 3. 49, 2, Agr. 37, 4; apparently from Lucretius (1. 14). Tacitus also has the verb without an accus. (4. 47, 4, etc.).

restitere: so Nipp. and Halm; others generally retain the Med. 'resistere,' but the perfect is more likely to have been used in a mere statement of facts.

12. **praefecto**, 'the viceroy or satrap,' cp. 'praefecturas' (c. 8, 4; 13. 37, 2, etc.)

11. **proelium ausus.** The accus. with 'audere,' very frequent in Tacitus (1. 69, 1, and note), is found also in Liv. and Vell. and earlier in poets.

12. **paululum cunctationis attulit**, a phrase repeated in c. 36, 1; 12. 54, 6; cp. 3. 46, 6. He delayed the acceptance of Mithridates by forming a party for himself.

13. **Cotys**, one of the sons of Cotys king of Thrace (see note on 2. 67, 4), to whom, in 792, A.D. 39, Gaius gave the kingdom of Lesser Armenia (Dio, 59. 12, 2), a small strip of country, west of the upper Euphrates, between Greater Armenia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, which had for some time previously been united with the kingdom and subsequent province of Cappadocia (see 2. 42, 2, and note): see 13. 7, 2; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 211.

illuc, towards him: cp. 1. 3, 3, etc.

cerum; dein literis Caesaris coercitus, et cuncta in Mithridaten
fluxere, quamquam atrociorem quam novo regno conduceret.
4 at Parthi imperatores cum pugnam pararent, foedus repente
iaciunt cognitis popularium insidiis, quas Gotarzes fratri patefecit;
congressique primo cunctanter, dein complexi dextras apud
altaria deum pepigere fraudem inimicorum ulcisci atque ipsi
5 inter se concedere. potiorque Vardanes visus retinendo regno:
at Gotarzes, ne quid aemulationis exsisteret, penitus in Hyr-
6 caniam abiit. regressoque Vardani deditur Seleucia septimo
post defectionem anno, non sine dedecore Parthorum, quos una
civitas tam diu eluserat.

1 **10.** Exim validissimas praefecturas invisit; et reciperare Armeniam avebat, ni a Vibio Marso, Suriae legato, bellum mini-

2. **fluxere**: cp. the similar expression with 'cessere' (1. 1, 3), 'vergere' (1. 3, 3).

quamquam atrociorem quam: so Halm after Haase for the Med. 'quam atrociorem quam.' Most others omit the first 'quam.' 'Atrox' need not be taken here in a stronger sense than that of 'unconciliatory': cp. 4. 52, 3, and note.

3. **imperatores**, those of the confronted armies (c. 8, 6). Nipp. notes that Tacitus appears so to style Gotarzes and Vardanes, as neither was indisputably 'rex'; though the term might be used even of kings.

foedus iaciunt: so in Med. Nipp. reads, with MS. Agr. 'iciunt' (on which form see his note), others (after Lips.) 'faciunt.' The Med. text would be taken to mean 'sermones iaciunt (cp. 4. 68, 4, etc.) de foedere,' and would be a condensed expression somewhat like 'terminos iaciebat' in 6. 31, 2. Walther rightly points out that only the first overtures are here spoken of.

4. **patefecit**, aorist: cp. 1. 53, 5, and note.

5. **cunctanter**: cp. 2. 64, 5; 4. 22, 2, etc.

complexi dextras. The ceremony usual on these occasions is described in 12. 47, 3.

6. **pepigere**, with inf., as in 14. 31, 4. Dr. cites also Liv. 43. 21, 3.

7. **potior.** Dr. notes that this word here takes the construction of 'aptus,' 'idoneus': no other instance appears to occur.

8. **penitus . . . abiit.** On the suggestion of Mommsen, that the inscription found in Kurdistan (C. I. G. 4674) to a Γωτάρζης σατράπης τῶν σατραπῶν, may, if it refers to this Gotarzes, designate a position of eminence reserved to him on his resignation of the kingdom, see Introd. p. 106, 3.

9. **septimo . . . anno.** The date of its surrender has been taken to be 799, A.D. 46, and that of the revolt has been fixed accordingly (see Rawlinson, 'Sixth Oriental Monarchy,' pp. 248, 252); but Nipp. appears rightly to consider that the revolt must be that recorded in 789, A. D. 36 (6. 42, 1), and that the recovery must be dated in 796, A.D. 43. Such a date is confirmed by the mention of Vibius Marsus as legatus of Syria (c. 10, 1), and by the date of the death of Vardanes (c. 10, 5). The temporary independence of Seleucia is attested by coins (Gardner, p. 12).

12. **invisit**, 'inspects,' to establish his authority in them. Some inferior MSS. and old edd. read 'invasit;' which reading is somewhat supported by the fact of his having declared war against one great feudatory, Izates king of Adiabene (Jos. Ant. 20. 3, 4). It may have been this distraction that gave Gotarzes his opportunity.

13. **Vibio Marso.** On this person see 2. 74, 1, and note. It would appear (see Nipp. here, and Zumpt, Comm. Epig. ii. p. 137) that he may probably have become legatus of Syria about 795, A.D. 42, in succession to P. Petronius (see on 3. 49, 2), and must have been succeeded by C. Cassius not later than 798, A.D. 45 (see on 12. 11, 4). The threatened hostilities

tante cohibitus foret. atque interim Gotarzes paenitentiā concessi 2
regni et vocante nobilitate, cui in pace durius servitium est,
contrahit copias. et huic contra itum ad amnem Erinden; in 3
cuius transgressu multum certato pervicit Vardanes, prosperisque
proeliis medias nationes subegit ad flumen Sinden, quod Dahas
Ariosque disterminat. ibi modus rebus secundis positus: nam 4
Parthi quamquam victores longinquam militiam aspernabantur.
igitur exstructis monimentis, quibus opes suas testabatur nec 5
cuiquam ante Arsacidarum tributa illis de gentibus parta, re-
greditur ingens gloriā atque eo ferocior et subiectis intolerantior;
qui dolo ante conpositō incautum venationique intentum inter-
fecere, primam intra iuventam, sed claritudine paucos inter
senum regum, si perinde amorem inter populares quam metum
apud hostes quaesivisset. nece Vardanis turbatae Parthorum 6
res inter ambiguos, quis in regnum acciperetur. multi ad 7
Gotarzen inclinabant, quidam ad Meherdaten prolem Phraatis,

between Vardanes and Rome are alluded to in Jos. l. l.

3. **huic**, read in almost all edd. after G. for Med. 'hinc,' which Nipp. retains, but which does not appear capable of a satisfactory sense.

Erinden. This unknown name is thought by Ryck to be meant for the Charindas, which must have been one of the streams flowing into the south coast of the Caspian, being mentioned by Ptolemy (6. 2, 2) as close to the boundary of Media and Hyrcania.

4. **multum certato**: so 'diu certato' (H. 4. 16, 4). The impersonal passive of this verb is very common in Tacitus.

5. **Sinden.** This river also is unknown. Rawlinson (p. 254) considers that nothing more can be made out than that the campaign took place in the country between the Caspian and Herat. Nipp. thinks that the Arii, who lived S.W. of Bactria, cannot here be meant, and that the word is a corruption for the name of some race living north or east of the Dahae in the region of the Oxus or Iaxartes. The boast in his inscription below is made to say that he had penetrated beyond the established limits of the empire.

6. **disterminat**, here alone in Tacitus; a rare word, chiefly in Plin. ma.

7. **aspernabantur**, 'detested': cp. 1. 27, 2; 3. 21, 5, etc.

8. **monimentis.** Nothing is known of these; the only memorial apparently belonging to this period being that noted in Introd. p. 106, 3.

10. **intolerantior**, probably 'more arbitrary' (see 3. 45, 4, and note).

11. **conposito**, 'concerted': cp. 4. 10, 2, etc.; and 'conponunt' (3. 40, 3).

venationi, the great Parthian national exercise: see 2. 2, 5, etc.

12. **paucos inter**, 'to be named with the few greatest (i.e. equalled by few) among even long-lived kings' (although his reign had been so short). Cp. 16. 18, 4, 'Oratio Claudii' ii. 11, and the description of the battle of Thrasymene in Livy (22. 7, 1) as 'inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades'; also other instances quoted here by Nipp. from Curt., Quint., Plin. ma. For the anastrophe cp. Introd. i. v. § 77, 4; for the use of 'perinde . . . quam' cp. 2. 1, 2, and note; and for the apparent variation between this phrase and 'proinde quam,' 13. 21, 3, and note.

14. **nece Vardanis.** The latest coin attributed to Vardanes appears in A.D. 45, and those of Gotarzes are found in the following year (Gardner, pp. 12, 48). The following sentences give a brief summary of events down to the end of 801, A.D. 48; after which the subject is resumed (12. 10, 1), and the parentage of Meherdates further defined.

15. **inter ambiguos** = 'cum ambigui essent': cp. 1. 50, 7, and note.

8 obsidio nobis datum: dein praevaluit Gotarzes. potitusque regiam, per saevitiam ac luxum adegit Parthos mittere ad principem Romanum occultas preces, quis permitti Meherdaten patrium ad fastigium orabant.

1 **11.** Isdem consulibus ludi saeculares octingentesimo post Romam conditam, quarto et sexagensimo quam Augustus ediderat
2 spectati sunt. utriusque principis rationes praetermitto, satis
3 narratas libris quibus res imperatoris Domitiani composui. nam is quoque edidit ludos saeculares iisque intentius adfui sacerdotio

1. **obsidio**, 'by way of hostageship'; apparently an abstract formed from 'obses' and found here only.

potitus regiam. The accus. with 'potior,' found here alone in Tacitus, seems taken from archaic usage (Lucr. etc.), like that with 'fungi' (3. 2, 1; 4. 38, 1, etc.). Some old edd. and Ritt. follow some inferior MSS. in reading 'regia.'

2. **adegit . . . mittere.** On this infin., and the accus. and inf. after 'orabant,' see Introd. i. v. §§ 43, 44. The embassy here described as sent by the princeps was referred by him to the senate (see 12, 10, 1), as appears to have been the usual practice: see H. 4. 51, 2, and other references in Momms. Staatsr. ii. 957; iii. 1156.

3. **permitti**, etc., 'should be let go to assume the sovereignty of his fathers.' The expression 'patrium fastigium' is repeated from 6. 32, 1.

5. **Isdem consulibus.** Claudius and Vitellius, the consuls of the year, are meant, though they had probably now given place to 'suffecti' and had become censors (c. 13, 1). Lehmann (p. 274) gives the time of the games as April 21.

ludi saeculares. On the whole subject of these games, see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. pp. 385–394; whence such information as is not expressly cited as from other sources is here taken. The chief authorities are of late date (Censorinus, A. D. 238, and Zosimus, cir. A. D. 450), and the early history is obscure, nor can we trace the name 'ludi saeculares' any earlier than the time of Augustus, who in 737, A.D. 17, solemnly inaugurated the first 'decennium' of his principate by holding, under this title, what was in fact a revival of certain old games called 'Terentini,' which had been held at periods supposed to be those of a 'saeculum' (see below), but apparently fixed rather by Etruscan lore and interpretation of prodigies than strict mathematical reckoning. They were held for three days and nights continually. The account of the ceremonies given by Zosimus, and the Sibylline verses, prescribing the ritual, which he has preserved, are quoted in full by Orelli and Mr. Wickham in their Introductions to the 'Carmen Saeculare' of Horace.

octingentesimo. On the ellipse of 'anno,' see Introd. i. v. § 80. Ritt. points out that Claudius followed the Varronian era; the year, according to the Fasti Consulares, being 799.

7. **rationes**, 'the calculations' of the 'saeculum' (which was taken to represent the extreme length of human life). The Sibylline verses (ap. Zos., cp. Hor. Carm. Saec. 21) made it a period of 110 years; and the traditions of the Quindecimviri professed to support this view by dates of previous celebrations (Marquardt, p. 373), which Augustus ostensibly followed, though he anticipated the proper time by a year. Claudius, who is stated (Suet. Cl. 21) to have approved in his writings the reckoning adopted by Augustus, here follows those Augustan authorities (Marquardt, p. 372) who had taken the period as the 'saeculum civile' of a hundred years, which could be shown by some historical evidence to have been approximately followed on previous occasions. He reckons, however, not, with his authorities, from the supposed date of former celebrations, but from that of the foundation of the city. Domitian, professing to follow the reckoning of Augustus (Suet. Dom. 4), arbitrarily anticipated the period by six years, and held them in 841, A.D. 88. For later celebrations see Marquardt, p. 390.

8. **libris**, etc. This allusion shows the Histories to be an earlier work.

9. **intentius**, i. e. as a person on duty, not a mere spectator.

sacerdotio quindecimvirali. On this priestly college see 3. 64, 3, and note: 'praeditus' is so used of one in-

quindecimvirali praeditus ac tunc praetor, quod non iactantia 4
refero, sed quia collegio quindecimvirum antiquitus ea cura et magistratus potissimum exsequebantur officia caerimoniarum.
sedente Claudio circensibus ludis, cum pueri nobiles equis 5
ludicrum Troiae inirent interque eos Britannicus imperatore genitus et L. Domitius adoptione mox in inperium et cognomentum Neronis adscitus, favor plebis acrior in Domitium loco praesagii acceptus est. vulgabaturque adfuisse infantiae eius 6
dracones in modum custodum, fabulosa et externis miraculis

vested with this office in 16. 22. 1; so also 'sacerdotio praeditus' in Cic. Att. 8. 3, 2.

1. **tunc praetor.** On the 'cursus honorum' of Tacitus see Introd. i. 1, foll.

iactantia, causal abl., as in 1. 8, 2.

2. **ea cura.** Their prayer at these games is alluded to by Horace (Carm. Saec. 70), and their connection with the games is otherwise attested by coins (Eckhel vi. 102), and inscriptions. It is indeed in virtue of their position as 'magistri' (see on 6. 12, 2) of this college that the emperors preside at these games. So Augustus says in Mon. Anc. 4. 36 (as restored by Mommsen) '[Pr]o conlegio xv virorum magis[ter conl]e[gi]i colleg[a] M. Agrippa lud[os s]aecl[are]s C. Furnio C. [S]ilano cos [feci].' Also the Fasti Capitolini (C. I. L. i. p. 442) give Augustus and four others as magistri of this college when the games were held.

et magistratus, etc. That the higher magistrates of the year, consuls (see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 136) and praetors (see 1. 15, 5; 77, 2), had the duty of presiding at public games, would be too well known to the readers of Tacitus to need his mentioning it; and 'potissimum' would have been a weak word in such a statement, and 'caerimoniae' (see 1. 54, 1, etc.), inapplicable to other duties than those of a priesthood. Nipp. appears therefore right in supposing that Tacitus is explaining why his praetorship added to his prominence (as quindecimvir) on the occasion mentioned. 'The quindecimviri (as a body) had of old the charge of these games, and such of them as happened to be magistrates were selected by preference (rather than others of the body) for the public performance of religious duties.'

4. **sedente,** 'being present at.' Nipp. gives several instances of this sense from Cic., etc. His presence appears to be mentioned as making the demonstration more significant.

circensibus ludis. One of the days of the 'ludi saeculares' was given to circensian games (see Plin. N. H. 8. 42, 65, 160; Suet. Dom. 4). The 'ludi Taurii,' at which Varro (L. L. 5, 154) mentions horseraces in the Flaminian circus, are not, according to Marquardt, rightly identified with the 'saeculares.'

5. **ludicrum Troiae.** This spectacle is well known from its description in Verg. Aen. 5. 545, foll. It had certainly been held by Sulla (Plut. Cat. Min. 3, 760), and was probably of very ancient origin (see Marqu. iii. 525), but was especially taken up by the early Caesars, no doubt as associated with the claim of the Julii to Trojan descent.

Britannicus . . . L. Domitius, both here first mentioned in the extant Books: the latter indeed would seem from the words describing him not to have been previously mentioned at all. Most authorities, except Vergil (see Marqu. l. l.), represent the boys as divided into two 'turmae,' called those of the 'maiores' and 'minores' (Suet. Iul. 39), the former apparently under sixteen, the latter under eleven years old; this distinction of age perhaps taking the place of one originally answering to that of 'patres maiorum' and 'minorum gentium' (Momms. Staatsr. iii. 31). Princes of the imperial house seem to have taken part in this show at a very early age, as Nero would have been now nine, and Britannicus six years old (see on 12. 25, 3), and Gaius, the adopted son of Augustus, was seven years old on a similar occasion (Dio, 54. 25, 3). We may suppose Nero and Britannicus to have been the leaders (see Verg. l. l.) of the two 'turmae.'

9. **dracones.** Suet. (Ner. 6) tells of

adsimilata: nam ipse, haudquaquam sui detractor, unam omnino
anguem in cubiculo visam narrare solitus est.
1 **12.** Verum inclinatio populi supererat ex memoria Germanici,
cuius illa reliqua suboles virilis; et matri Agrippinae miseratio
augebatur ob saevitiam Messalinae, quae semper infesta et tunc
commotior, quo minus strueret crimina et accusatores, novo et
2 furori proximo amore distinebatur. nam in C. Silium, iuventutis
Romanae pulcherrimum, ita exarserat, ut Iuniam Silanam,
nobilem feminam, matrimonio eius exturbaret vacuoque adultero
3 poteretur. neque Silius flagitii aut periculi nescius erat: sed
certo, si abnueret, exitio et non nulla fallendi spe, simul magnis

one serpent, said to have scared away persons sent by Messalina to kill the child, but himself believed the tale to have grown out of the discovery in Nero's bed of a serpent's cast skin, which he long wore, enclosed in a golden bracelet, as a charm. It is also to be noted that the Genius of a place (see Verg. Aen. 5, 93), possibly sometimes also that of a person, was represented in form of a serpent, and that it may have been under this idea that such cultus was paid to these serpents, as appears from an altar dedicated at Rome by a freedman of Caesar and former slave of Pallas, 'Carpus Aug. l. Pallantianus sanctis draconibus d. d.' (Orell. 1797 = Wilm. 2663 = C. I. L. vi. 1. 143).

1. **adsimilata,** 'made to resemble,' a sense akin to the use with dat. in the sense of comparison, in 1. 28, 2; 15. 39, 3. As regards the vexed question of the orthography of this word, it may be noted that the 'i' form occurs in this MS. here and in 16. 17, 5, and in the MSS. of Agr. 10, 3, the 'u' form in the MSS. of six other places in Tacitus. The 'externa miracula' alluded to may probably be such as the story representing Alexander the Great as conceived of a god in the form of a serpent (Plut. Alex. 3; 665).

detractor, only here and in Vulg. It is very probable that Tacitus wrote 'detractator,' or 'detrectator,' after Liv. 34. 15, 9 ('detrectator laudum suarum'); the omission of a syllable in the middle of a word being a common error of copyists (see Ritt. Praef. xxxi.), and the verb being so used in 14. 52, 4, etc.

3. **supererat,** 'was a survival.' On the popularity of Germanicus see 1. 31, 5, etc. Nero and his mother were the only surviving members of that family.

4. **matri Agrippinae,** dativus commodi.

6. **commotior,** 'more excited': cp. 1. 33, 6, etc.

quo minus, etc., dependent on 'distinebatur,' 'was kept off from making up charges and suborning accusers (cp. the similar expression and zeugma in 12. 22, 1, and the sense of 'struere' in 4. 67, 6) by being engrossed,' etc. On this sense of 'distineri' cp. 14. 25, 2; 16. 8, 3; H. 4. 55, 4.

7. **C. Silium,** already mentioned as cos. design. (c. 5, 3). His father, a distinguished legatus of Upper Germany (1. 31, 2, etc.), had been forced to suicide in 777, A.D. 24 (4. 18, 1, foll.). The Silii had been a noble plebeian house, and were now probably raised to the patriciate (c. 25, 3), as Juvenal (10, 331) calls this Silius 'optimus hic et formosissimus idem Gentis patriciae.' From what is said of his youth, he may have been below the usual consular age; but persons of that rank are called 'iuvenes' in 6. 15, 4.

8. **Iuniam Silanam,** mentioned subsequently as the friend, and afterwards as the enemy of Agrippina; see 13. 19, 2; 22, 2; 14. 12, 8. Her parentage is doubtful; but Nipp. and Lehmann (Beil. iii.) following Borghesi, make her daughter of L. Silanus, cos. suff. in 780, A.D. 27.

9. **vacuo,** 'left without a wife': so used of a house without heirs in 6. 51, 4. Nipp. notes that it stands here with 'adultero' in apposition.

11. **certo ... exitio.** Juvenal thus expresses the alternative (10, 339), 'Ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas, Si scelus admittas, dabitur mora parvula.' 'Exitio,' 'spe,' 'praemiis,' are concise abl. abs., used with the implied

praemiis, opperiri futura et praesentibus frui pro solacio habebat.
illa non furtim, sed multo comitatu ventitare domum, egressibus 4
adhaerescere, largiri opes, honores, postremo, velut translata
iam fortuna, servi liberti paratus principis apud adulterum
visebantur.

13. At Claudius matrimonii sui ignarus et munia censoria 1
usurpans, theatralem populi lasciviam severis edictis increpuit,
quod in P. Pomponium consularem (is carmina scaenae dabat)
inque feminas inlustres probra iecerat. et lege lata saevitiam 2

idea of a participle of 'sum' (cp. Introd. i. v. 31).

fallendi. This verb is often used with the sense of λανθάνειν (4. 45, 2, etc.).

1. **opperiri**, 'to wait for' (let it take its course): cp. c. 26, 2. Med. has 'operiri,' whence Nipp. reads 'operire,' 'to hide,' or banish from thought (cp. 3. 18, 3), which certainly suits better with 'solacio habebat.' To take 'opperiri' (with Ritt.) as a historical inf. involves a somewhat awkward transition to the imperf.

2. **egressibus adhaerescere**, 'keeps close to him when he goes out': cp. 'duorum egressus coli' (3. 33, 4).

3. **honores**, especially the designation to the consulship, probably also the elevation to the patriciate (see on § 2). 'Opes' and 'honores' are often joined, as in 1. 2, 1; 4. 34, 6; 6. 8, 8.

velut translata iam fortuna, 'as though the very empire had changed hands.' 'Fortuna' is often used specially of the rank and dignity of the princeps, as in c. 30, 3; 4. 18, 2; 6. 6, 3, etc.

4. **paratus**, 'the household treasures' (plate, etc.): cp. 'fortunae paratus' (c. 30, 3), etc. Dio states (60. 31, 3) that she transferred to his house πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν τοῦ Κλαυδίου κειμηλίων (cp. 'quidquid avitum Neronibus aut Drusis' c. 35, 2).

6. **matrimonii sui**, so used of conjugal relations generally in 3. 34, 11: cp. 'inscitiae erga domum suam' (c. 25, 8). 'Ignarus' is used of ignorance of the character of a person in H. 1. 49, 6 ('amicorum libertorumque . . . ignarus'), and 'matrimonium' is used for the concrete 'coniunx' in 2. 13, 3, but appears hardly to be so used here.

munia censoria usurpans (in ironical contrast to the previous words). The most important powers of the censor had always been vested in the princeps (see Introd. i. vi. p. 71 foll.); but no actual censors had been elected since 732, B. C. 23, until the office was assumed by Claudius and Vitellius on laying down the consulship in this year. The silence of Tacitus makes it probable that this had taken place before the extant narrative begins. An inscription (Henzen 5181) styles Claudius 'censor designatus' while yet consul; and he is thought to have held the office for five years; but the evidence of inscriptions is uncertain, and the occurrence of the title in a diploma of December 805, A. D. 52 (Or. 2652), can hardly be otherwise than a reference to his having held that office; the title being absent from the great inscription on the Aqua Claudia (see below on § 2), belonging to the 1st of August (Frontin. Aqu. 13) of the same year. See note on 12. 4, 4.

7. **theatralem lasciviam**: cp. 1. 54, 3; 77, 1, etc., and many other instances of display of popular feeling on such occasions collected in Friedl. Sitteng. ii. 264, foll. For other imperial edicts to the people see 1. 8, 6; 3. 6, 1; 4. 67, 1; 5. 5, 1; 13. 17, 4; 14. 63, 1; 15. 36, 2, etc.

8. **P. Pomponium**, Pomponius Secundus, on whom see 5. 8, 4, and note.

9. **lege lata.** This and other 'leges Claudiae' (see references in Introd. p. 37, 9) are considered by Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 882) to have taken the form of plebiscites, and to be so alluded to in c. 14, 5. Legislation according to the old forms is still seen in the time of Vespasian (H. 4. 47, 2), and a 'lex lata' is mentioned of Nerva (Modestinus, Dig. 47. 21. 3, 1). The law here mentioned would seem to have been further strengthened by a decree of the senate under Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 11), which Nipp. thinks to have been the 'senatus consultum Mace-

creditorum coercuit, ne in mortem parentum pecunias filiis familiarum faenori darent. fontesque aquarum Simbruinis collibus
3 deductos urbi intulit. ac novas litterarum formas addidit vulgavitque, comperto Graecam quoque litteraturam non simul coeptam absolutamque.

1 **14.** Primi per figuras animalium Aegyptii sensus mentis effingebant—ea antiquissima monimenta memoriae humanae impressa saxis cernuntur,—et litterarum semet inventores perhibent;

donianum' of jurists (Dig. 14. 6, 1; Cod. Just. iv. 28).

1. **in mortem**, 'with a view to the death,' i. e. to be paid 'post obitum patris.' The reading is an old correction (Froben. & Lips.) for 'in morte,' and requires some participial notion (like 'spectantes') supplied from the sense: see 2. 47, 2; 12. 6, 5, and notes.

filiis familiarum, persons still 'in potestate patris' (cp. 1. 26, 5).

2. **fontesque aquarum**, etc. In undertaking this work as censor, he followed the example of his ancestor Appius Claudius Caecus, and others (Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 453). The 'Simbruini colles' contain the 'stagna,' from which the neighbouring Sublaqueum, now Subiaco (see 14. 22, 4, and note), derived its name. This great aqueduct had been begun by Gaius in 791, A.D. 38 (see Frontin. Aq. 13; Suet. Cal. 20), and consisted, when completed, of two parts, the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus, both of which streams entered the city together, one above the other, by the noble arches two of which form the present Porta Maggiore; where an inscription (Or. 54, C. I. L. vi. 1. 1256) records the completion and dedication of the work by Claudius in 805, A.D. 52, and subsequent restorations by Vespasian and Titus. The sources of the Claudia are there stated to be two springs 'Curtius' and 'Caeruleus'; the latter of which, still recognizable by its tint, is near Marano, a few miles below Subiaco. The length of this aqueduct is also there stated to be thirty-five, that of the Anio Novus sixty-two Roman miles. Pliny (N. H. 36. 15, 24, 122) speaks of this as far surpassing all previous aqueducts, and states that the cost was fifty-five and a half million HS., and that the water was brought to a level from which all the hills of Rome could be reached. Many particulars are given in Frontin. 13–15, etc. The conflict of dates is generally reconciled by supposing that it was in this year that Claudius actively took up the unfinished work of Gaius, which he completed five years later (Lehm. p. 360, etc.). But the words here ('urbi intulit') appear to point to a completion of some sort. It is possible that a reconciliation may be found in the supposition that in this year the 'Aqua Claudia' was in some way brought into Rome, and that the date given in the inscription may be that in which the 'Anio Novus' was brought into connection with it, and the whole work thus completed and dedicated.

3. **addidit vulgavitque**, 'added and brought into public use.' According to Suet. Cl. 41, he had already written a treatise on this subject before he became emperor.

4. **comperto**: cp. 1. 66, 3, etc.

litteraturam. In using this word in the sense of 'alphabet,' Tacitus appears to follow Cicero, who uses it in Part. Or. 7, 26, to express writing formed of letters ('litteratura constat ex notis litterarum, et ex eo, in quo imprimuntur illae notae'). On **quoque non** cp. 3. 54, 11, and note.

6. **Primi**, etc. Two sentences are here combined concisely; the one being that the Egyptians were the first to record their thoughts in symbols at all, the other, that this particular form was the one originally chosen by them. Tacitus appears unaware that in the hieroglyphics other symbols, besides the forms of animals, are used.

8. **et litterarum**, 'and they call themselves the inventors of writing'; i. e. they claim also to have originated the first phonetic alphabet. Their hieratic and demotic characters (see Hdt. 2. 36, 9) are both cursive forms modified from hieroglyphics, and, though very rare in monuments, are abundantly represented by papyrus rolls; the hieratic dating, according to some, from the eighteenth or nineteenth dynasty, or, according to others,

inde Phoenicas, quia mari praepollebant, intulisse Graeciae
gloriamque adeptos, tamquam repppererint quae acceperant.
quippe fama est Cadmum classe Phoenicum vectum rudibus 2
adhuc Graecorum populis artis eius auctorem fuisse. quidam 3
Cecropem Atheniensem vel Linum Thebanum et temporibus
Troianis Palamedem Argivum memorant sedecim litterarum
formas, mox alios ac praecipuum Simoniden ceteras repperisse.
at in Italia Etrusci ab Corinthio Demarato, Aborigines Arcade 4
ab Evandro didicerunt; et forma litteris Latinis quae veterrimis
Graecorum. sed nobis quoque paucae primum fuere, deinde
additae sunt. quo exemplo Claudius tres litteras adiecit, quae 5

much earlier, the demotic from the seventh, or, according to some, from the ninth century B.C. See Sayce, App. to Hdt. p. 354. Another tradition, with which Pliny agrees (N. H. 7. 56, 57, 192), makes the Assyrian the primitive alphabet. This is derived from the Accadian, which itself also arose out of hieroglyphic (Sayce, l. l. 398).

1. **praepollebant.** On the interpolated indic. here and below ('acceperant') see Introd. i. v. § 49.

3. **fama est,** etc. The tradition that Cadmus brought the art of writing into Greece from Phoenicia, is given by Hdt. (5. 58), etc.; and Pliny (l. l.) states his original alphabet to have been one of sixteen letters, and specifies four as added by Palamedes at the time of the Trojan war, and four by Simonides of Ceos, and quotes, on the authority of Aristotle, another tradition, which makes the original number eighteen, and substitutes an addition of two by Epicharmus for that of four by Palamedes; but as regards the actual letters Pliny's text is uncertain (see Mayhoff, Not. Crit.). The legend which puts Cecrops in place of Cadmus appears to be found only here; that respecting Linus is found in different forms in Diod. 3. 67, and Suid. s.v.; and the introduction of writing is ascribed in general terms to Palamedes by Stesichorus (see Fr. 31 [38] Bergk) and Euripides (Palam. Fr. ii.), and to Prometheus by Aeschylus (Prom. V. 460). The tradition of an original number of sixteen letters embodies the truth that the Greeks modified the original Phoenician alphabet by dropping the symbols to which they had no corresponding sound, and adapting other symbols to their vowel sounds; but as regards subsequent additions, the only trustworthy evidence is that afforded by the oldest inscriptions.

vectum = 'advectum': cp. 1. 70, 1, etc.

8. **Corinthio Demarato.** As this person is represented as the father of Tarquinius Priscus (Livy 1. 34, 2), the tradition would represent the introduction of the art of writing to have been of much later date in Etruria than in Latium: this would be the reverse of the general belief; which however Mommsen (Hist. B. 1. ch. 14) inclines to question, and considers the alphabet to have existed from a very early time among both peoples.

Aborigines. This name is given to the Latins in Liv. 1. 1, 5, and in other authors. Evander of Arcadia, the mythical founder of the original Pallanteum on the Palatine hill (Verg. Aen. 8, 51, foll.), is credited with the introduction of writing also by Dion. Hal. 1. 31. Pliny (l. l.) makes the Pelasgi the introducers. That the art was brought into Italy by Greeks is undoubtedly true; and Evander is to Latium, as Demaratus to Etruria, the representative of prehistoric Greek influences (see Seeley, Introd. to Livy Book i. pp. 30, 46). The Latin and Roman alphabet may probably have been derived from Cumae.

9. **forma.** Med. has 'formas'; many follow Beroald. in reading 'formae.' The identity of old Greek characters with the Latin of his day is noted by Pliny (N. H. 7. 58, 210), who instances an old inscription on a tripod table ('Delphica'), then existing in the Palatine library.

11. **additae sunt,** sc. 'litterae': cp. 'accitos,' c. 15, 1; 24, 2. 'Paucae' seems an overstatement, as the known additions are not numerous. Cicero speaks (N.

usui imperitante eo, post oblitteratae, aspiciuntur etiam nunc in aere publico † dis plebiscitis † per fora ac templa fixo.

1 **15.** Rettulit deinde ad senatum super collegio haruspicum, ne vetustissima Italiae disciplina per desidiam exolesceret; saepe adversis rei publicae temporibus accitos, quorum monitu redintegratas caerimonias et in posterum rectius habitas; primores-

D. 2. 37, 93) of the alphabet in his time as one of twenty-one letters, of which 'G,' though found in the earliest of the inscriptions of the Scipios (cir. B.C. 290), is stated by Plutarch (Q. R. 54, 277) to have been introduced by Sp. Carvilius, who may probably, at the time of the first Punic war, have taught its general use. Also 'X,' though found in the earliest extant writing, is traditionally, and from its position in the alphabet, an addition, or reintroduction, and was not in universal use (cp. 'ucsori' in I. R. N. 5173, etc.). In Cicero's time 'Y' (see Orat. 48, 160) and 'Z' (which appears to be an old letter which had become obsolete) came into use, but were restricted to Greek words, so that 'X' is still (see Suet. Aug. 88) looked upon as properly the last letter. See Mommsen, Hist. l. l.; Corssen, Aussprache, pp. 5–12; Roby, Lat. Gr. i. ch. v.

tres. These were 'Ⅎ' (the digamma itself being already in use in its proper place) to express the semiconsonantal 'V,' the 'antisigma' ('Ↄ') to express 'ps' or 'bs,' and 'Ⱶ' (the Greek sign of the 'spiritus asper') to express the 'y' sound intermediate between 'i' and 'u' (see Velius Longus, p. 2235, Putsch). Of these the first supplied a real want, and its addition is praised by Priscian (545 Putsch), who appears to regret that custom had proved too strong for it: the other two can hardly have been more than pedantic additions.

1. **in aere publico**: so used in 12. 53, 5. The first of these letters occurs in many inscriptions of the time (e.g. Or. 650, 710, 711, 714, 2275, 3133, 3812), and the third in some (e.g. NⱵMPHIVS, Henzen 6445); the second is stated by Priscian (558 P.) to have been adopted by none, and is generally believed not to have been found; but the form 'DIↃVRTO' ('Dipsurto') appears to occur in a military diploma (see Lehmann, Insc. 405). No satisfactory restoration of the following words, 'dis plebiscitis,' has been made (see Halm, Not. Crit.). Nipp. and Baiter omit both; and it is suggested by the latter that 'dis' is an abbreviation of 'decretis,' and that both words are glosses to explain 'aere publico.' If 'plebiscitis' is sound, the term can only apply to such laws or rogations (see c. 13, 2) as were passed by Claudius in virtue of his tribunician power (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 882).

3. **super collegio**, 'about the establishment of a college'; the 'collegium' or 'ordo haruspicum Augustorum,' apparently of sixty members (Insc. Or. 2291 = C. I. L. vi. 1. 2162), being found in existence shortly after this time, and probably as a result of this motion. On the whole subject of the haruspices see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. pp. 410–415; Friedl. iii. 524, foll. Though an honoured profession in Etruria, their position at Rome had been very different from that of the augurs, who were one of the great priestly colleges of men of the highest rank. The haruspex of a magistrate ranked only with his apparitors (Marquardt 410); the father of the Gracchi denounced them as 'Tusci ac barbari' (Cic. N. D. 2. 4, 11); the sneer of Cato (Cic. de Div. 2. 24, 51) would hardly have been used but of a 'peregrina superstitio'; Cicero (ad Fam. 6. 18, 1) considers it an indignity that people who had been haruspices had in his day become senators. But from their incorporation as an 'ordo' under a 'Maximus' (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2164) or other similar title, they appear to have contained persons of equestrian rank (Id. 2168, etc.).

5. **accitos**, sc. 'haruspices.' The head quarters of 'haruspicina' were in Etruria, whence those who were most eminent in the lore could be summoned on emergencies. Cicero says, rhetorically (de Har. Resp. 12, 25), 'si examen apium ludis in scaenam venisset, haruspices acciendos ex Etruria putaremus.'

6. **habitas**, 'kept up': cp. 13. 29, 1, etc.

primoresque Etruriae. Cicero mentions (de Div. 1. 41, 92) a 'senatusconsultum' prescribing that six 'principum filii' (sons of the highest Etruscan

que Etruriae sponte aut patrum Romanorum inpulsu retinuisse
scientiam et in familias propagasse; quod nunc segnius fieri
publica circa bonas artes socordiā, et quia externae super-
stitiones valescant. et laeta quidem in praesens omnia, sed 2
benignitati deum gratiam referendam, ne ritūs sacrorum inter
ambigua culti per prospera oblitterarentur. factum ex eo sena- 3
tus consultum, viderent pontifices quae retinenda firmandaque
haruspicum.

16. Eodem anno Cheruscorum gens regem Romā petivit, 1
amissis per interna bella nobilibus et uno reliquo stirpis regiae,
qui apud urbem habebatur nomine Italicus. paternum huic 2
genus e Flavo fratre Arminii, mater ex Actumero principe Chat-
torum erat; ipse formā decorus et armis equisque in patrium
nostrumque morem exercitus. igitur Caesar auctum pecuniā, 3
additis stipatoribus, hortatur gentile decus magno animo capes-

families) should be trained in each Etruscan community to the study.

2. **in familias.** Cicero speaks to his friend Caecina (ad Fam. 6. 6, 3) of the 'ratio . . . Etruscae disciplinae quam a patre . . . acceperas.'

3. **publica . . . socordia,** causal abl. On the use of 'bonae artes' for 'accomplishments' cp. 3. 70, 4; and for 'circa' ('in reference to') cp. c. 29, 1. The prohibition by Tiberius of any consultation of soothsayers in private without witnesses (Suet. Tib. 63) would imply that the use of this art was then common, but may have contributed to its desuetude.

externae superstitiones. The Egyptian and Jewish religions (cp. 2. 85, 5), as also astrology and magic (cp. 2. 27, 2), are chiefly meant. It is also possible that Christianity (see 13. 32, 3, and note) was already sufficiently prevalent to be included in such an allusion.

4. **laeta . . . in praesens,** a reminiscence of Hor. Od. 2. 16, 25.

5. **gratiam referendam, ne,** 'gratitude must be shown by preventing,' etc.: cp. the similar brachylogy in 12. 47, 7 ('visui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficeret'), and several other instances quoted here by Nipp.

inter ambigua, 'in times of peril': cp. 1. 64, 6; 6. 21, 4; 12. 38, 2.

7. **quae retinenda firmandaque,** sc. 'essent.' On the ellipse of the verb see Introd. i. v. § 39 a. The pontiffs would be directed by this decree to see 'what was to be kept up or strengthened in the institutions of the haruspices'; and the establishment of a 'collegium' (see above) would be covered by its terms. Nipp. thinks that the object must have been, not to make a selection, but to keep up the science as a whole, and reads 'quae retinendae firmandaeque haruspicinae.'

9. **Cheruscorum.** On this people see 1. 56, 7, etc. On Arminius 1. 55, 2, etc., and on his brother Flavus, who was in the Roman service, 2. 9, 2. It would appear from the context here that the son of Arminius, who had been brought up in Italy (1. 58, 9), was no longer living.

Roma, 'from Rome.' On this abl. see Introd. i. v. § 24. Med. has here 'Romae,' which Ritt. follows; but the abl. is used in this expression in 2. 1, 1; 12. 14, 2: cp. 'Roma poscebant' (6. 31, 4).

12. **Actumero**; so here in Med., which below (c. 17, 2) has 'catumero.' Strabo appears (vii. 1, 4, p. 292) to mention the same person as Οὐκρόμιρος (see note on 1. 71, 1). On the Chatti see 1. 55, 1, etc.

15. **hortatur**; so used by Tacitus with inf. only in the Annals (c. 24, 1; 6. 37, 1, etc.), and by others rarely and for the most part in poetry: cp. other such uses of the inf. in Introd. i. v. § 43.

gentile, generally taken as in c. 1. 2; but the use here of 'decus' favours the interpretation of Nipp. and Or. as, 'his family honours': cp. 'gentile domus nostrae bonum' (2. 37, 5).

sere: illum primum Romae ortum nec obsidem, sed civem ire
4 externum ad imperium. ac primo laetus Germanis adventus,
atque, eo quod nullis discordiis imbutus pari in omnes studio
ageret, celebrari, coli, modo comitatem et temperantiam, nulli
invisa, saepius vinolentiam ac libidines, grata barbaris, usurpans.
5 iamque apud proximos, iam longius clarescere, cum potentiam
eius suspectantes, qui factionibus floruerant, discedunt ad conter-
minos populos ac testificantur adimi veterem Germaniae liber-
6 tatem et Romanas opes insurgere: adeo neminem isdem in
terris ortum, qui principem locum impleat, nisi exploratoris Flavi
7 progenies super cunctos attollatur? frustra Arminium praescribi:
cuius si filius hostili in solo adultus in regnum venisset, posse
extimesci, infectum alimonio, servitio, cultu, omnibus externis:
8 at si paterna Italico mens esset, non alium infensius arma contra
patriam ac deos penates quam parentem eius exercuisse.
1 **17.** His atque talibus magnas copias coëgere; nec pauciores
2 Italicum sequebantur: non enim inrupisse ad invitos, sed accitum

1. **primum**, etc. A contrast is implied to Vonones (2. 1, 1), Phraates (6. 31, 4), and Tiridates (6. 32, 5), who were not born at Rome, nor Roman citizens. The 'civitas,' with equestrian rank, had been given to Arminius for services to Rome before his revolt (see note on 1. 55, 2), and Flavus had no doubt been similarly rewarded.

3. **atque** couples 'celebrari,' etc. to 'laetus . . . adventus (erat)'; the sentence 'eo quod,' etc. giving the reason for the continuance of the popularity arising from a favourable first impression.

imbutus, 'infected': cp. 13. 4, 1; 15. 59, 7.

5. **grata barbaris.** On the German propensity to drink see G. 22. 2.

6. **clarescere.** The use of this word in the sense of becoming famous (4. 52, 2; H. 2. 53, 1; G. 14, 3) appears to be taken by Tacitus from Lucretius (5, 833, Lachm. and Munro).

10. **qui principem locum impleat.** This phrase is repeated from 4. 38, 1; and 'impleat' is here equivalent to 'implere possit.'

exploratoris. In the time of Hyginus a picked corps of horse and foot, numbering 200, thus entitled, was attached to each camp of three legions; and 'numeri exploratorum' are often mentioned in inscriptions, e. g. Henzen 6730 (= Wilm. 1541), and many others here quoted by Nipp. They appear to have been not synonymous with 'speculatores' (H. 1. 24, 2, etc.), but, like them, a picked body of elite, in which a person like Flavus may have served. To have borne any title in the Roman army, however honourable, would be looked upon as a disgrace by Germans. Elsewhere, the word does not seem to be used by Tacitus thus definitely (see Gerber and Greef, Lex.), but to have the general meaning, so frequent in Caesar, of scouts or spies; and some would so take it here.

11. **frustra . . . praescribi,** 'in vain is the name put forward,' in vain is it boasted in his behalf, that he is the nephew of Arminius. On this use of 'praescribi' see 4. 52, 5, and note.

13. **alimonio,** an archaic word (Varro), probably here chosen, as Jacob suggests, to express the general meaning of τροφή rather than the strict sense of 'alimentum.' 'Externis' belongs to all these words, and 'cultu' is probably better taken of refinement in general (as in 4. 46, 1) than specially of dress (as in 2. 75, 3, etc.).

14. **at si,** etc. The sense is that had he been even a son of Arminius he would have been demoralised, and that, if he takes after his father, he is a traitor by inherited disposition.

15. **deos penates**: cp. 'penetrales Germaniae deos' (2. 10, 1).

memorabat, quando nobilitate ceteros anteiret: virtutem experirentur, an dignum se patruo Arminio, avo Actumero praeberet. nec patrem rubori, quod fidem adversus Romanos volentibus 3
Germanis sumptam numquam omisisset. falso libertatis voca- 4
bulum obtendi ab iis, qui privatim degeneres, in publicum exitiosi, nihil spei nisi per discordias habeant. adstrepebat huic 5
alacre vulgus; et magno *ut* inter barbaros proelio victor rex, dein secunda fortuna ad superbiam prolapsus pulsusque, ac rursus Langobardorum opibus refectus, per laeta per adversa res Cheruscas adflictabat.

18. Per idem tempus Chauci, nulla dissensione domi, et morte 1
Sanquinii alacres, dum Corbulo adventat, inferiorem Germaniam incursavere duce Gannasco, qui natione Canninefas, auxiliare

1. **memorabat.** Most edd. follow the suggestion of Walther in reading thus (with G.) for the Med. 'memorabant'; the arguments being those of Italicus himself, and the approval of his supporters being mentioned below (§ 5); where 'huic,' which refers to a single speaker, would have to be altered to 'hinc,' if 'memorabant' were read.

3. **rubori,** sc. 'esse'; 'he was not ashamed of his father': cp. 14. 55, 7.

volentibus, when they accepted Roman rule, before the rising against Varus. This acquiescence appears to be overstated.

5. **obtendi,** 'is made a pretext of': cp. 1. 26, 2, and note.

degeneres, probably here best taken in a moral sense, as in c. 19, 4, etc. The opposition of 'privatim' ('in a private capacity' or 'personally') to 'publice' and other such words, is common in Cic., Liv., etc.: cp. 1. 55, 4, 14. 48, 7, and note on 4. 36, 2. For the use of the expression 'in publicum' see 2. 48, 1; 12. 8, 3, and notes.

6. **adstrepebat . . . vulgus,** repeated from 1. 18, 1.

7. **ut inter barbaros,** qualifying 'magno'; i. e. not what Romans would call a great battle. Halm follows Lips. in inserting 'ut': most other edd. consider that the words will bear the same meaning without the insertion.

9. **Langobardorum.** On this people see 2. 45, 1, and note.

per laeta per adversa, i. e. he harassed his own people alike, whether he was victorious or defeated. These sentences are intended to sum up the whole of his reign, and no further mention is made of him. A Suevian prince of the same name is mentioned in H. 3. 21, 3.

11. **Per idem tempus.** It is probable that here, as in c. 10, etc., the events of more than one year are brought together. On the Chauci see 1. 38, 1; on their previous rising at the beginning of the rule of Claudius see Suet. Cl. 24.

nulla dissensione domi, abl. abs.: cp. 'nullis novis causis' (1. 16, 1), etc.

12. **Sanquinii.** On Sanquinius Maximus see 6. 4, 4. Tacitus had evidently mentioned in the lost portion that he had died in command of the province of Lower Germany, and that Corbulo was appointed to succeed him.

Corbulo. Cn. Domitius Corbulo, the famous general so prominent in these Books, was probably son of the person mentioned in 3. 31, 4 (where see note), and was half-brother, on the side of his mother Vistilia, to Suillius and Caesonia (see Plin. N. H. 7. 5, 4, 39). He had been consul in 792, A. D. 39, and is shown by coins to have been proconsul of Asia probably in 804/5 or 805/6, A. D. 51/2 or 52/3. (Waddington, Fastes des Prov. As. v. 698.) In 807, A. D. 54, he was appointed to the command in the East, which he held till he was recalled and forced to suicide in 820, A. D. 67. A bust, preserved in the Louvre, and thought to represent him, was found in a temple at Gabii, dedicated in 893, A. D. 140, to the memory of his daughter Domitia Longina, wife of Domitian (see Dio, 66. 3, 4; Suet. Dom. 3, etc.), and is engraved in Visconti, Icon. Rom. pl. 9.

13. **Canninefas:** on this people see 4. 73, 2, and note.

auxiliare stipendium meritus. The

stipendium meritus, post transfuga, levibus navigiis praedabundus
Gallorum maxime oram vastabat, non ignarus dites et inbelles
2 esse. at Corbulo provinciam ingressus magna cum cura et mox
gloria, cui principium illa militia fuit, triremes alveo Rheni,
ceteras navium, ut quaeque habiles, per aestuaria et fossas
adegit; luntribusque hostium depressis et exturbato Gannasco,
ubi praesentia satis composita sunt, legiones operum et laboris
ignavas, populationibus laetantes, veterem ad morem reduxit, ne
3 quis agmine decederet nec pugnam nisi iussus iniret. stationes,
4 vigiliae, diurna nocturnaque munia in armis agitabantur. ferunt-
que militem, quia vallum non accinctus, atque alium, quia
5 pugione tantum accinctus foderet, morte punitos. quae nimia et
incertum an falso iacta originem tamen e severitate ducis traxere;
intentumque et magnis delictis inexorabilem scias, cui tantum
asperitatis etiam adversus levia credebatur.

1 **19.** Ceterum is terror milites hostesque in diversum adfecit:
2 nos virtutem auximus, barbari ferociam infregere. et natio

corrupt Med. text 'auxiliare ex diu meritis' ('ex' by a later hand) has given rise to many emendations (see Halm and Baiter, not. crit.). The Bipontine reading above, adopted by Bach and Halm, is supported by the description of Tacfarinas (2. 52, 2), which Tacitus seems here to be nearly repeating; but other suggestions are nearer to the MS. text. Most edd. follow Puteol. in reading (nearly after some MSS.) 'auxiliaris et diu meritus'; Rup. and Jacob follow Mercer, who adopts from a Vatican MS. 'auxiliare aes diu meritus.'

2. **dites et inbelles**: cp. the character of the Aedui in 3. 46, 4.

4. **cui**, best taken with 'gloria.'

triremes. On the Roman fleet on the Rhine see 1. 45, 3, and note.

5. **ut quaeque habiles**, 'according to their various capabilities,' i.e. according as their light draught adapted them for shallow water. On the 'aestuaria' cp. 2. 8, 3; on the 'fossae' (canals), 2. 8, 1.

6. **adegit**, 'got together': cp. 2. 7, 1, and note.

7. **praesentia**, 'affairs on the spot': so 'quia praesentia satis consederant' (1. 30, 5).

operum . . . . ignavas. This genitive, found here alone with 'ignavus,' is analogous to those with 'segnis' (14. 33, 4), 'impiger' (3. 48, 2), etc.: see Introd. i. v. § 33, e, γ.

8. **ne quis**, etc., explanatory of 'veterem morem': in the next clause, 'nec' has the force of 'et ne,' as in 15. 43, 4.

9. **stationes, vigiliae**: see 1. 28, 5, and note.

11. **vallum . . . foderet**, 'was digging earth for the rampart.' Nipp. compares the use of 'vallum caedere' (Liv. 25. 36, 5; 33. 5, 5) of cutting stakes for the palisade.

non accinctus, 'without side arms.' Josephus states (B. I. 3. 5, 5) that the dagger (here the 'pugio'), only a span long, was worn on the right, the sword on the left side: cp. 'milites gladio cincti fossam aperiunt' (Veg. 3. 8).

13. **iacta**, 'rumoured': cp. 'quae iacerentur' (3. 8, 3), etc. Most edd. follow this correction of Rhen. for Med. 'acta'; other suggestions are 'iactata,' or 'aucta' (see Walther).

14. **intentum**, 'strict': so 'intentus aut licenter agit' (H. 2. 68, 2); 'gravis intentus. severus' (Agr. 9. 3); also 'intenta militia,' 'intentior disciplina' (12. 38, 2; 42, 2).

16. **is terror.** The context shows that this must be taken of the terror inspired by Corbulo in both capacities; into his own soldiers, by his rigorous discipline, and into the enemy, by his prompt action against Gannascus.

17. **virtutem auximus.** Nipp. notes that such an expression would properly

Frisiorum, post rebellionem clade L. Apronii coeptam infensa aut male fida, datis obsidibus consedit apud agros a Corbulone descriptos: idem senatum, magistratus, leges inposuit. ac ne 3
iussa exuerent, praesidium immunivit, missis qui maiores Chaucos ad deditionem pellicerent, simul Gannascum dolo adgrederentur. nec inritae aut degeneres insidiae fuere adversus transfugam et 4
violatorem fidei. sed caede eius motae Chaucorum mentes, et 5
Corbulo semina rebellionis praebebat, ut laeta apud plerosque, ita apud quosdam sinistra fama. cur hostem conciret? adversa 6
in rem publicam casura: sin prospere egisset, formidolosum paci virum insignem et ignavo principi praegravem. igitur Claudius 7
adeo novam in Germanias vim prohibuit, ut referri praesidia cis Rhenum iuberet.

20. Iam castra in hostili solo molienti Corbuloni eae literae 1
redduntur.. ille re subitâ, quamquam multa simul offunderentur,

be used of increasing the courage of another; but cp. 'auget vires' (4. 24, 1); 'auxit saevitiam' (Suet. Tib. 62), and other similar uses. 'Infringere' is also mostly used of action on another.

1. **Frisiorum.** On this people see 1. 60, 3; on their defeat of Apronius, 4. 72, 1, foll.

2. **apud** = 'in': cp. Introd. i. v. § 57.

3. **senatum.** This reading of Puteol. is generally followed, except by Rup. and Walth., who unsuccessfully endeavour to defend the Med. 'senatus.'

4. **exuerent.** On the metaphorical uses of this verb and 'induere' see note on 1. 69, 2.

immunivit = 'ibidem munivit.' The verb is ἅπ. εἰρ., and evidently a Graecism from φρούρια ἐντειχίζειν (Xen. Cyr. 3. 1, 27). Nipp. also compares ἀποζῆν (Thuc. 1. 2, 2), 'incenante' (Suet. Tib. 39). Dr. adds 'inamarescit' (Hor. Sat. 2. 7, 107).

maiores Chaucos. These were separated from the 'minores' by the Weser, and lived between the lower part of that river and the Elbe (Ptol. 2. 11, 11).

6. **degeneres,** 'unworthy,' contrary to Roman honour: cp. 'prece haud degeneri' (12. 19, 1), etc. The 'fides' is that of the military oath (cp. c. 18, 1). The sentiment here is in unfavourable contrast with that expressed by the senate of Tiberius in the case of Arminius (see 2. 88, 1, and note).

8. **semina,** used in similar metaphor in 3. 41, 1; 4. 27, 1. The meaning here is that he so acted as to provoke rebellion.

laeta . . . sinistra fama, best taken as abl. abs. The epithet 'lacta' obliges us to take 'fama' to mean 'the news of his doings' (cp. 'laeti . . . nuntii' 1. 5, 6); a meaning which it can also well bear with 'sinistra' (cp. 'sinistra ex urbe fama' H. 1. 51, 8), though that of 'reputation' would otherwise seem more appropriate. Med. has 'insinistra,' whence Ritt. thinks that 'in urbe sinistra' should be read. The following sentences give the reasons which led men to think the news ominous, and cannot be supposed to be those addressed to Claudius; though the influence of the counsel of such persons on him is described in the following words ('igitur Claudius,' etc.).

9. **adversa,** etc. If there were losses, they would fall on the state, not on the general.

11. **ignavo principi praegravem.** Nipp. notes that these words are coupled to 'insignem,' and that 'formidolosum' (sc. 'fore') is the predicate. The prince would be jealous of him, and this would drive him into rebellion.

12. **adeo . . . ut,** 'went so far in forbidding an advance, as even to order a withdrawal to this side of the Rhine,' i.e. a retreat from even the territory which had already submitted (see Introd. p. 33). On the use here of the plural 'Germaniae' see 1. 57, 2, and note.

15. **re subita,** 'when the news took

metus ex imperatore, contemptio ex barbaris, ludibrium apud
socios, nihil aliud prolocutus quam 'beatos quondam duces Ro-
2 manos,' signum receptui dedit. ut tamen miles otium exueret,
inter Mosam Rhenumque trium et viginti milium spatio fossam
3 perduxit, quā incerta Oceani vitarentur. insigne tamen triumphi
indulsit Caesar, quamvis bellum negavisset.
4 Nec multo post Curtius Rufus eundem honorem adipiscitur,
qui in agro Mattiaco recluserat specus quaerendis venis argenti;
unde tenuis fructus nec in longum fuit: at legionibus cum damno

him by surprise.' Nipp. notes the expression in 14. 5, 5, etc.

offunderentur, 'were crowding into his mind'; so used of a sudden and terror-striking sight in 1. 68, 5.

1. **metus ex**: see 1. 29, 3, and note.

2. **quondam**, a correction of Lips. from the words as given in Dio, 60. 30, 5 ('ὦ μακάριοι οἱ πάλαι ποτὲ στρατηγήσαντες), for Med. 'quosdam.'

4. **inter Mosam Rhenumque.** These rivers are distinguished in 2. 6, 5. The canal here mentioned is thought to be the Vliet (see the discussion in Rup.), leaving the old Rhine at Leyden and passing by Delft to the Maas. For similar instances of works executed by soldiers see 13. 53, 3, and many instances collected in Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 568, foll. Their employment in mining (§ 4) would seem to be an extreme instance.

5. **qua incerta Oceani vitarentur.** Med. has 'vetarentur,' which Lips. and others have retained, taking the word to be used rhetorically for 'arcerentur,' and supposing the object of the canal to be that described by Dio (60. 30, 6) ἵνα μὴ οἱ ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ πλημμυρίδι ἀναρρέοντες πελαγίζωσιν, i.e. to provide an additional channel to take off the overflow of water at the spring tides. But it is unlikely that so poetical an expression would be used in such a place, and modern edd. have generally followed Vertran. in reading 'vitarentur.' Some (as Ritter, 1838), with this reading, still take 'incerta Oceani' as above; but if Tacitus had meant to say what Dio says, he would surely have been more explicit; and the expression here is identical with that used of the perils of the sea in general in 3. 54, 6 ('incerta maris et tempestatum'). We should therefore take his meaning to be that the canal was designed to enable ships to go from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Maas without facing the open sea, which must have had an evil name from the disasters of Germanicus (1. 70; 2. 23–24). Dio must in this case have followed other authorities, who assigned a different and, as it appears, a less probable object for the work.

insigne: so Halm for Med. 'insigni.' The sing. is found in this phrase in 4. 23, 1; 12. 5, 2: 'insignia' is much oftener used, and is read by most edd. here. Corbulo has no fresh military command till the time of Nero (13. 8, 1). On the use of 'quamvis' with the subjunct. of fact see Introd. i. v. § 53.

7. **Curtius Rufus**, shown by the passage to have been legatus of Upper Germany, probably as successor to C. Vibius Rufinus, who is shown, by an inscription found at Mainz in 1879, to have held that province in 796, A.D. 43 (see Jos. Klein, in Rhein. Mus. 1880, pp. 154–156). That he was father of Q. Curtius Rufus, the historian, is very probable. Had he been (as some have thought) the historian himself, Nipp. seems rightly to suggest that Tacitus would have said so.

8. **Mattiaco**, the district round Wiesbaden: see note on 1. 56, 6. The tribe would appear to have submitted to Rome after the time of Tiberius, and was still faithful in the time of Tacitus (G. 29, 3), though they had joined in the rising of Civilis (H. 4. 37, 4). Their name is still traceable in the third century (Inscr. Or. 4983; Henzen, 5243: cp. Ammian. 29. 4, 3).

quaerendis venis, dat. with the force of a final clause (Introd. i. v. § 22 b).

9. **damno.** Nipp. notes that the work was probably unhealthy, that any injury to their clothing fell upon themselves (1. 17, 6), and that there was no booty to compensate.

labor, effodere rivos, quaeque in aperto gravia, humum infra
moliri. quis subactus miles, et quia plures per provincias similia 5
tolerabantur, componit occultas literas nomine exercituum, pre-
cantium imperatorem ut, quibus permissurus esset exercitus,
triumphalia ante tribueret.

21. De origine Curtii Rufi, quem gladiatore genitum quidam 1
prodidere, neque falsa prompserim et vera exsequi pudet. post- 2
quam adolevit, sectator quaestoris cui Africa obtigerat, dum in
oppido Adrumeto vacuis per medium diei porticibus secretus
agitat, oblata ei species muliebris ultra modum humanum et
audita est vox 'tu es, Rufe, qui in hanc provinciam pro consule
venies.' tali omine in spem sublatus degressusque in urbem 3
largitione amicorum, simul acri ingenio quaesturam et mox
nobiles inter candidatos praeturam principis suffragio adsequitur,
cum hisce verbis Tiberius dedecus natalium eius velavisset:

1. **effodere rivos**, generally taken to mean digging streams to drain the mines. Some (as Rup. and Walth.) retain the Med. 'et fodere,' taking 'et' in the sense of 'both,' and supposing this clause to refer to the canal of Corbulo; a reference which is also possible, if 'effodere' be read.

quae in aperto gravia, 'what would be hard work above ground.'

2. **subactus**, 'broken down.'

3. **nomine exercituum**. This single army wrote as on behalf of all. So Suet. (Cl. 24) calls it 'epistola communi legionum nomine.'

5. **triumphalia ante tribueret**; so that generals who had no opportunities of war, might not be tempted to earn the honour by works of this kind. Suet. (l. l.), who mentions the fact of this letter to illustrate the prodigality with which 'triumphalia' were awarded by this prince, misses the irony of the request by assigning as its object 'ne (legati) causam belli quoquo modo quaererent.' Augustus and (as we should gather from Tacitus) Tiberius gave this distinction only to generals, and only in cases where under the Republic a triumph or ovation would probably have been awarded (see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 592). For the prodigality of Claudius and Nero in this respect see also 12. 3, 2; 13. 53, 1, and notes.

7. **exsequi**, 'to state in detail': cp. 3. 65, 1, and note. Tacitus apparently thinks this belief as to the parentage of Curtius borne out by his early history, and forbears to enter into it. For other such instances of persons of low origin rising to high senatorial rank under the empire see 3. 66, 4; Friedl. Sitteng. i. 210.

8. **sectator**, apparently rather a lower term than 'comes,' and coupled with it in Cic. pro Rab. Post. 8, 21 ('Gabinii comes vel sectator'): cp. 'sectatores vel potius satellites' (a still lower word) 16. 22, 3. Pliny, who tells the same story (Ep. 7. 27, 2) as an evidence of the reality of apparitions, makes Curtius one of the 'cohors' of the proconsul ('obtinenti Africam comes haeserat'), and lays the scene in evening ('inclinato die') instead of midday, the most solitary hour in an African climate.

9. **medium diei**: so in 12. 69, 1; 14. 2, 1; Liv. 27. 48, 17, etc. Cp. 'sero diei' (2. 21, 4), and note.

10. **species muliebris**. Pliny makes her describe herself as the Genius of the country ('perterrito Africam se, futurorum praenuntiam, dixit').

12. **degressus**, 'departing from the country': see 2. 69, 4; 4. 74, 4, and notes. These passages show that there is no need to read here 'digressus' (with the old edd.) or 'regressus' (with Haase). In the parallel passage in Agr. 6, 1, where Halm reads 'digressus,' the MSS. vary.

14. **principis suffragio**, i.e. by his 'commendatio': see Introd. i. vi. p. 79.

15. **natalium**, 'ancestry': so in H. 1. 49, 7; 2. 76, 6, etc.; Plin. Ep. and Juv.

4 'Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus.' longā post haec
senectā, et adversus superiores tristi adulatione, adrogans mino-
ribus, inter pares difficilis, consulare imperium, triumphi insignia
ac postremo Africam obtinuit; atque ibi defunctus fatale prae-
sagium implevit.
1 **22.** Interea Romae, nullis palam neque cognitis mox causis,
Cn. Nonius eques Romanus ferro accinctus reperitur in coetu
2 salutantum principem. nam postquam tormentis dilaniabatur,
de se non *infitiatus* conscios non edidit, incertum an occultans.
3 Isdem consulibus P. Dolabella censuit spectaculum gladia-
torum per omnes annos celebrandum pecuniā eorum, qui quae-

1. **ex se natus.** Cicero (Phil. 6. 6, 17) speaks thus of himself as 'his own ancestor,' i.e. a 'novus homo' ('quem vos a se ortum hominibus nobilissimis . . . praetulistis'): here it seems to be best taken, with Burnouf, as conveying a compliment; 'the son of his achievements.'

longa senecta. This abl. answers to 'adulatione,' and both are best taken, with Nipp., as brachylogical ablatives of quality (Introd. i. v. § 29), to which nominatives are afterwards coupled for variety; as also the accus. with 'adversus' (in the sense of 'towards,' as in c. 17, 3, etc.) is varied to 'minoribus' (a chiefly poetical use of the dat., but of which Nipp. gives several instances from Tacitus and Livy). For the sense of 'minores' ('inferiors') cp. 15. 20, 1; H. 4. 48, 3; G. 36, 3; 39, 3.

2. **tristi**, best taken to mean that his servility was disguised under an affectation of surliness, like the affected independence of Valerius Messala in 1. 8, 5. Others, less well, take it in a sense like that of 'saevis adulationibus' (4. 20, 4).

3. **difficilis**, 'stiff,' i.e. standing on his dignity. The word is often thus used of character in Horace, etc. with some such meaning; and Tacitus, though he does not elsewhere so use it, has 'facilis' (3. 8, 4; Agr. 40, 4) and 'facilitas' (6. 15, 3; Agr. 9, 4), for the opposite quality.

consulare imperium = 'consulatum.' The date of his consulship and that of his proconsulate of Africa seem unknown.

4. **fatale praesagium.** Pliny (l. l.) makes the prediction expressly foretell his death there, and adds that as he landed as proconsul he again saw the apparition, and, being in ill health, gave up hope of life and soon died.

6. **palam**, so used adjectively in 14. 32, 1; 15. 7, 3, etc.: cp. Introd. i. v. § 66.

7. **Cn. Nonius.** It is not clear whether his is one of those attempts mentioned with more detail in Suet. Cl. 13; 35; Oth. 1.

in coetu salutantum. On the morning receptions of the princeps see Friedl. Sitteng. i. p. 135, foll. The strictness with which Claudius caused all male and even female visitors to be searched, is further noticed by Suet. (Cl. 35) and Dio (60. 3, 3). Such precautions continued till the accession of Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 12; Dio, l. l.), and appear to have originated in an occasional practice of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 35).

8. **nam**, explaining 'neque cognitis mox.'

9. **non infitiatus**, Med. has 'noni' with a lacuna of some thirteen letters, which most have followed Iac. Gron. in thus filling. Ritt. supposes the words to have been 'cūctāt cfess;' ('cunctanter confessus'), taking the sentence to be a reminiscence of Liv. 24. 5, 10 ('de se haud cunctanter fassus conscios celabat').

10. **Isdem consulibus**: see c. 11. 1.

P. Dolabella, mentioned as a leading, but servile senator in the time of Tiberius: see 3. 47, 4, and note. His 'sententia,' probably expressed 'per egressionem' (cp. note on c. 5, 3), must have been taken up by the princeps; whence the enactment is spoken of as among the 'acta Claudii' in 13. 5, 2, and is ascribed to him in Suet. Cl. 24.

11. **qui quaesturam adipiscerentur.** It appears from 13. 5, 1, that the 'quaestores designati' are meant. Suetonius (Claud. 24) speaks of this obligation as imposed on the 'collegium quaestorum,' adding that it took the place of a former charge on them of the 'stratura viarum.'

sturam adipiscerentur. apud maiores virtutis id praemium fuerat, 4
cunctisque civium, si bonis artibus fiderent, licitum petere magis-
tratus; ac ne aetas quidem distinguebatur, quin prima iuventa 5
consulatum et dictaturas inirent. sed quaestores (regibus etiam
tum imperantibus) instituti sunt, quod lex curiata ostendit ab L. 6
Bruto repetita. mansitque consulibus potestas deligendi, donec 7
eum quoque honorem populus mandaret. creatique primum
Valerius Potitus et Aemilius Mamercus sexagensimo tertio anno

1. **id.** The context shows that a reference in sense is intended, not only to the quaestorship, but to magistracies in general.

2. **cunctis civium,** a strong instance of the use of a quasi-partitive genit. with a word not strictly capable of taking such: cp. Introd. i. v. § 32 c; also 14. 60, 1; Ov. Met. 4. 630; Plin. N. H. 3. 1, 3, 7; and the genit. with 'omnis' in Liv. 10. 31, 5; 31. 45, 7. The assertion that magistracies were originally open to all citizens is represented by Livy (4. 3, 4) as put forward by plebeians on their own account, and would no doubt be true of the original community; distinctions within the civic body having come in with admission of new citizens: see Mommsen, Staatsr. i. 485.

3. **ne aetas quidem distinguebatur.** The 'aetas legitima' for magistrates was first fixed by the 'lex Villia,' passed by a tribune in 574, B. C. 180 (Liv. 40. 44, 1; see also Mommsen, Staatsr. i. 529). In earlier times Valerius Corvus had been consul at the age of twenty-three (Liv. 7. 26, 12); and several other instances of youthful consuls are given in Cic. Phil. 5. 17, 47. On the prescribed age for the quaestorship under the empire see 3. 29, 1, and note.

4. **sed quaestores,** etc. The tradition of the origin of quaestors varies much. Ulpian (Dig. 1, 13) cites Julius Gracchanus, the contemporary and friend of C. Gracchus, as stating 'Romulum et Numam Pompilium binos quaestores habuisse, quos ipsi non sua voce sed populi suffragio crearent,' and adds that a more prevalent tradition ascribes their institution to Tullus Hostilius. This view no doubt assumes the identity of 'quaestores parricidii' with the 'duumviri perduellionis' of Liv. 1. 26, 5. Plutarch states (Poplic. 12. 103) that Valerius Poplicola, in the first year of the Republic, established the treasury, and gave the people the right of electing two quaestors of it. Livy, in the speech of Canuleius (4. 4, 3) appears from the order of mention to date the origin of the office between that of the tribunate and decemvirate, and probably at the time when he first mentions it, that of the trial of Sp. Cassius in 269, B. C. 435 (2. 41, 11; cp. Dion. Hal. 8. 77). A reconciliation may be found in the statement of Zonaras (7. 13, p. 336), presumably from Dio Cassius, that the old 'quaestores parricidii' acquired, at the beginning of the Republic, additional functions as 'quaestores aerarii,' and came in time to possess and to be designated by those functions only. For a full discussion see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 523, foll.; Seeley, Hist. Exam. Livy, B. 1, pp. 90–92.

5. **lex curiata.** On this act, by which the 'imperium' was conferred on the elected magistrates, see Mommsen, Staatsr. i. p. 609, foll. That of L. Brutus, to which Tacitus appears to refer as still extant in his day, would apparently be that by which the election of the first consuls was ratified and their powers defined; and it is implied in the following sentence ('mansitque . . . deligendi') that this old 'lex' recited that the kings had appointed quaestors, and empowered the consuls to do so. Hence it would appear that Gracchanus (whom Plutarch in this point followed) was misled by party spirit in making them to have been always chosen by the people.

6. **repetita,** either 'renewed' (cp. 4. 26, 4), or 'carried back over the past' (cp. 3. 33, 1), i. e. with precedents cited.

8. **sexagensimo tertio,** i. e. in 307, B. C. 447. This date rests on Tacitus alone, and appears to show that the quaestorship, which had been in abeyance under the decemvirate (Dion. Hal. 10, 56) was transferred from consular nomination to popular election on its reinstitution. Mommsen suggests (Staatsr. ii. p. 529, 1) that the change may have been due to one of the 'leges Valeriae Horatiae.' This is confirmed by the fact that

8 post Tarquinios exactos, ut rem militarem comitarentur. dein gliscentibus negotiis duo additi, qui Romae curarent: mox duplicatus numerus, stipendiariā iam Italiā et accedentibus pro-
9 vinciarum vectigalibus: post lege Sullae viginti creati supplendo
10 senatui, cui iudicia tradiderat. et quamquam equites iudicia reciperavissent, quaestura tamen ex dignitate candidatorum aut facilitate tribuentium gratuito concedebatur, donec sententiā Dolabellae velut venundaretur.

the 'comitia tributa,' to which these laws gave extended powers, was always the assembly by which quaestors were elected (Momms. p. 525).

1. **ut rem militarem comitarentur,** to accompany the consuls to the war, and take charge of the military chest ('res militaris' being apparently an analogous term to 'res familiaris'). Livy, who places this doubling of the quaestors in 333, B.C. 421 (4. 43, 4), seems undoubtedly right in giving an opposite account to that of Tacitus of the comparative antiquity of the urban and military quaestorships; nor is any reason apparent why Tacitus should have given an account of the original functions of the quaestors, where he is speaking of the change from consular nomination to popular election, unless he is to be supposed to mean that this was also the date when their military duties began, and that as these came to engross more of their time, two others were added to ensure due performance of the original urban duties. Or perhaps, as Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. p. 562, 2) suggests, we should read thus, 'post . . . exactos: ut rem militarem comitarentur dein, gliscentibus negotiis, duo additi is qui Romae curarent.' Livy adds that from this time the office was open to both orders, and records in 345, B.C. 409 (4. 54, 3), the actual election of plebeian quaestors.

2. **mox duplicatus numerus.** Mommsen shows (ii. 570, 4) from comparison of Liv. Epit. 15, with Lydus de magist. 1, 27, that this increase dates from 487, B.C. 267, when the subjugation of Italy was completed; also that the four new ones, the κλασσικοί (οἱονεὶ ναυάρχαι) of Lydus, are the same to whom 'provinciae' in Italy were assigned down to the time of Claudius (see 4. 27, 2, and note); also (p. 572) that the words 'et accedentibus provinciis' may be an inaccurate reference to the probable fact that one of these four became afterwards the second Sicilian quaestor resident at Lilybaeum (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 92). It is very doubtful (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. p. 729) whether the Italian socii could ever have been rightly called 'stipendiarii,' in the sense in which provincial communities were so.

4. **lege Sullae,** in 673, B.C. 81. Mommsen suggests (Hist. Rom. iii. p. 360, note), that the accession of provinces had probably caused some addition to the number of quaestors before that date. Sulla first made the office a stepping-stone to the senate, which body he had also considerably enlarged, and which the increased number of quaestors was to keep up. Julius Caesar made forty quaestors (Dio, 43. 47, 2); but the silence of Tacitus would show that this enlargement was not permanent. The number twenty appears also to agree with that of the posts assigned to quaestors (Momms. ii. 533).

5. **cui iudicia tradiderat.** On the 'leges iudiciariae' see 12. 60, 4, and note. 'Cui,' as Nipp. points out, does not here denote the senate as a body, but its members.

quamquam equites, etc. The point of the sentence seems to be that although the loss of the exclusive judicial authority of its members made it less necessary to keep up the numbers of the senate, and to secure a sufficiency of candidates for its stepping-stone, the quaestorship; still people did not care to make that office less easily attainable.

6. **ex dignitate,** etc., 'on the ground of worthiness in the candidates or by the complaisance (cp. 2. 65, 3, etc.), of the electors.' Nipp. notes that the force of 'ex' does not extend to 'facilitate.'

8. **velut venundaretur.** The obligation to give a gladiatorial show was tantamount to selling the quaestorship, as it made it impossible for poor men to be candidates. On the subsequent repeal of this decree see 13. 5, 1, and note.

23. A. Vitellio L. Vipstano consulibus cum de supplendo 1
senatu agitaretur primoresque Galliae, quae Comata appellatur,
foedera et civitatem Romanam pridem adsecuti, ius adipiscen-
dorum in urbe honorum expeterent, multus ea super re variusque
rumor. et studiis diversis apud principem certabatur, adseveran- 2
tium non adeo aegram Italiam, ut senatum suppeditare urbi suae
nequiret. suffecisse olim indigenas consanguineis populis, nec 3

1. **A. Vitellio L. Vipstano.** The first of these is the subsequent emperor, son of the consul of the previous year. The only subsequent mention of him in the Annals is in 14. 49, 1. On the profligacy of his early life see Suet. Vit. 3. He appears on the list of the Arvales from 810, A.D. 57 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2039–2051). The other name, here read 'uipsand,' and in c. 25. 7 'uipsanius,' is that of L. Vipstanus Poplicola, thought by Nipp. to have been father or uncle of the consul of 812, A.D. 59 (14. 1, 1), and of another C. Vipstanus Poplicola, named in an inscr. of 816, A.D. 63 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2002).

de supplendo senatu. The number of senators was not absolutely fixed at this time, and was ordinarily kept up by the annual admissions through the quaestorship; but a formal 'lectio senatus' (cp. 12. 4, 4) was occasionally held by the early emperors, and would be part of the censorial office now held by Claudius (cp. 'hanc partem censurae meae' Orat. Claud. ii. 7). The purpose of the ordinary revision by the princeps (see Introd. i. vi. p. 71) was to expunge, not to add names. See Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 423.

2. **quae Comata appellatur.** In Cicero's time all Transalpine Gaul was so styled (from keeping up the old fashion of long hair) in contradistinction to 'Gallia togata,' the Romanised Cisalpine province: cp. 'Galliam . . . togatam remitto, comatam postulo' (M. Antonius ap. Cic. Phil. 8. 9, 27). Subsequently (cp. Plin. N. H. 4. 17, 31, 105) the provinces of Gallia Belgica, Lugdunensis, and Aquitania have this title to distinguish them from the old 'Narbonensis provincia . . . braccata antea dicta' (Id. 3. 4, 5, 31), whose citizens had long since had the 'ius honorum' (see c. 24, 4; 12. 23, 1, etc.).

3. **foedera et civitatem.** These persons of course participated in the privileges granted by Rome to their communities (see H. 4. 67, 1, and the references in Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 126, 1; 348, 4), which had the higher provincial rank of 'civitates foederatae' (on which see Marquardt, i. 347). The 'civitas' granted to the chief men individually (see 3. 40, 2, and note, Strab. 4. 1, 12, 186; Dio, 54. 25, 1), and thereby to their descendants, or to communities (Suet. Aug. 47), was evidently in Gaul similar to the old 'civitas sine suffragio,' which a fortiori was without the 'ius honorum.' They ask for the latter only (to enable them to become magistrates and thereby senators); the 'ius suffragii,' always insignificant to a foreigner, being now wholly valueless since the comitia had ceased to act (1. 15, 1). There were already senators from the colony of Lugdunum (Or. Cl. ii. 29).

4. **super** = 'de': cp. 2. 28, 5; 6. 15, 4; 21, 1, etc. This use is found in Plaut., etc., and Sall., a few times in the letters of Cic., not in Caes., but often in Liv., etc.

5. **rumor,** 'talk': cp. 'rumor secundus' (3. 29, 5), 'adversus' (14. 11, 4).

et studiis, etc., i. e. not only did people talk among themselves, but the debate of partisans (cp. 3. 63, 2) came even before the prince in his private council (see c. 24, 1). Only one side ('adseverantium') is given: Tacitus may have meant the other to be gathered from the speech of Claudius, or may have meant that the 'studia' of the senate were wholly on one side, had they not been overruled by him. It is also possible to take 'diversis' (with Church and Brodribb) to mean 'hostile' (to the request): cp. Dial. 1. 4; 34, 4, etc.

7. **consanguineis populis,** probably best taken, with Nipp., as dative: 'the rule of native-born Romans (i. e. of a senate exclusively of those belonging to the "ager Romanus") had once sufficed for (had been acquiesced in by) kindred peoples' (who had a fairer claim than strangers to a share of power). Others take 'suffecisse' to mean 'had supplied a senate to kindred peoples'; others make 'consanguineis populis' abl. abs. (see Ruperti's note). The time referred to would be that when Latins, Sabines, etc., had not yet full equality with Romans.

paenitere veteris rei publicae. quin adhuc memorari exempla
quae priscis moribus ad virtutem et gloriam Romana indoles
4 prodiderit. an parum quod Veneti et Insubres curiam inru-
5 perint, nisi coetu alienigenarum velut captivitas inferatur? quem
ultra honorem residuis nobilium, aut si quis pauper e Latio
6 senator foret? oppleturos omnia divites illos, quorum avi proavi-
que hostilium nationum duces exercitus nostros ferro vique
7 ceciderint, divum Iulium apud Alesiam obsederint. recentia haec:
quid si memoria eorum oreretur, qui *sub* Capitolio et arce Romana
manibus eorundem prostrati sint? fruerentur sane vocabulo civi-
tatis: insignia patrum, decora magistratuum ne vulgarent.

2. **ad virtutem**, etc., sc. 'spectantia': cp. 'oratio ad perstringendos animos' (Med. in H. 1. 85, 1); examples in respect of valour and renown set by the genuine Roman character (that of the 'indigenae' mentioned above).

3. **an parum quod**, 'is it not enough that.' The Veneti and Insubres (people of the districts surrounding Padua and Milan) are taken as instances of the Transpadana, which received the citizenship from Julius Caesar in 705, B. C. 49 (Dio, 41. 36, 3): see on c. 24, 3.

4. **coetu**: most modern edd. follow Ritt. in thus correcting the Med. 'coetus.'

captivitas, 'the condition of a captured city' (cp. 13. 25, 2), governed by an alien race (on the supposition that the new senators would swamp the old). Orelli (who reads 'coetus') takes 'captitivas' as abstr. for concrete ('an alien crowd, a mob of prisoners, is let loose on us').

quem ultra honorem, 'what chance of winning honours would be left to the remaining nobility, or to any poor senator from Latium' (with all these competitors)? 'Nobiles' would naturally be sons of parents resident in Rome, and are therefore distinguished from senators who were 'novi homines' from Latin towns (see note on 4. 3, 4). 'Honores' is here used of the higher magistracies gained by those who were already senators, as in 4. 2, 4; 6. 2, 4: 'residuus' is used of persons by Just., etc. The correction of 'foret' to 'fore' is needless, as such a verb can be easily supplied (Introd. i. v. § 39 c); the tense required being indicated by 'ultra.'

6. **divites**. On the wealth of the Gauls cp. c. 18, 1; 3. 46, 4.

8. **Alesiam**, the town of the Mandubii, where Vercingetorix made his last stand in 702, B. C. 52 (Caes. B. G. 7. 68, foll.). The site is identified with Alise Sainte Reine in the department of Côte d'Or, west of Dijon. 'Obsederint' is so far true, that Caesar was for a time besieged as well as besieger.

9. **oreretur**. This reading, adopted by Halm and others from Bach, is nearer to the Med. 'moreretur' than other suggestions ('moveretur,' 'iniretur,' 'renovaretur,' etc.), the repetition of the 'm' being easily accounted for.

qui sub Capitolio, etc. The corrupt Med. text, 'qui Capitolio et ara Romana manibus eorundem per se satis,' has given rise to many emendations. Halm's reading, as here given, inserts 'sub' with Dräger, alters 'ara' to 'arce,' with Acidalius, and the last words to 'prostrati (for which Pfitzn. reads "prensati") sint,' with Ritt. (who, instead of 'sub,' inserts 'conspicante' before 'Capitolio'). Halm also thinks that 'obsessa' may have been lost after 'Romana'; but the application of 'eorundem' to Gauls, immediately after 'eorum' (Romans), is questionable. Many other conjectures are given in Walther and Baiter, to which may be added that of Nipp., who, after 'arce Romana,' reads 'manibias deorum deripere conati sint,' and of Madvig (Adv. ii. 550), who suggests 'manibus deorum depulsi sint' (in both of which versions 'eorum' stands for the Gauls). Madvig has also (Adv. iii. 229) suggested a still more violent change. The text cannot be restored with certainty; but the allusion is plainly to the capture of Rome by the Senones in 364, B. C. 390 (Liv. 5, 37, foll.).

10. **fruerentur**: cp. 'frueretur praemiis et inpunitate' (H. 4. 7, 4).

vocabulo, 'the title' (without the higher privileges): cp. 'eadem magistratuum vocabula' (1. 3, 7).

11. **ne vulgarent**: cp. 'honor . . . vul-

24. His atque talibus haud permotus princeps et statim contra 1
disseruit et vocato senatu ita exorsus est: 'maiores mei, quorum
antiquissimus Clausus origine Sabina simul in civitatem Romanam
et in familias patriciorum adscitus est, hortantur uti paribus con-
siliis *in* re publica capessenda, transferendo huc quod usquam
egregium fuerit. neque enim ignoro Iulios Alba, Coruncanios 2
Camerio, Porcios Tusculo, et ne vetera scrutemur, Etruria Lu-
caniaque et omni Italia in senatum accitos, postremo ipsam ad
Alpes promotam, ut non modo singuli viritim, sed terrae, gentes
in nomen nostrum coalescerent. tunc solida domi quies et ad- 3
versus externa floruimus, cum Transpadani in civitatem recepti,

gatur' (4. 37, 5). Jacob compares the sentiment of Cicero (pro Font. 8, 17), 'cum infimo cive Romano quisquam amplissimus Galliae comparandus est,' and that of Juv. 3, 84. The pasquinades on the privileges given to Gauls by Julius Caesar (Suet. Iul. 80) may be also noted.

1. **statim**, 'there and then,' when the subject was privately discussed.

2. **ita exorsus est.** The speech here given, as well as the fragments of the actual speech (see Appendix to this Book), show reminiscences of the speech given to Canuleius by Livy (4. 3–5), whose connection with the historical studies of Claudius is recorded (Suet. Cl. 41).

3. **Clausus**: see 4. 9, 3, and note.

4. **hortantur**, etc. Here, as Nipp. notes, it is the example, not of what they did, but of what was done for them, that calls for imitation. On the inf. with 'hortor' cp. c. 16, 3. The Med. text 'rem publica capessenda' (with a small erasure before 'rem') is corrected as above by Halm and Weissenb.; Ritt. prefers 'ad rempublicam capessendam'; the old edd. follow G. in reading 'hortantur, uti . . . rempublicam capessam.' For the expression cp. 16. 26, 8, etc.

6. **Iulios Alba.** He would appear to follow Dion. Hal. (3. 29, 409), who made this family one of those transferred to Rome on the destruction of Alba. In Livy (1. 30, 2) the Tullii are substituted for the Iulii, and a Iulius Proculus had already been mentioned as a Roman senator in the time of Romulus (1. 16, 5), who himself, as one of the Alban royal race, was held to be descended from Iulus (see 4. 9, 3; Verg. Aen. 1, 267, foll.).

7. **Camerio.** Camerium or Cameria, one of the Latin cities, was destroyed at so early a date that its site is doubtful (see Mr. Bunbury in Dict. of Geog.). According to Cicero (pro Planc. 8, 20), Ti. Coruncanius, the famous jurist (cos. 474, B.C. 280), was from Tusculum, which he states to have been also the birth-place of Cato the Censor, and the parent of more consular families than all the other 'municipia' together. Other families of the Porcian gens, the Laecae and Licini, become known at about the same date as the Catones.

Etruria Lucaniaque. On this abl. see Introd. i. v. § 24.

8. **accitos**, sc. 'quosdam': cp. the similar ellipse in c. 14, 4; 12. 11, 1, etc. Nipp. reads 'ascitos' thinking the sense of that word (cp. § 1; c. 25, 1) more appropriate here than that of 'summoned' (c. 15, 1). The allusion is to the general admission of the Italians (including the Cispadani) after the Social war.

ipsam, sc. 'Italiam.' The extension of Italy to the Alps was the necessary consequence of the gift of citizenship to the Transpadani (c. 23, 4); but the province of Cisalpine Gaul was not formally abolished till 713, B.C. 41 (Dio, 48. 12, 5), and the frontier of Italy was not formally fixed till the time of Augustus (see Introd. i. vii. p. 92).

9. **viritim**: cp. 3. 43, 4, and note.

10. **tunc . . . quies.** As the period immediately following the admission of the Transpadani was one of violent disturbance, Dr. thinks that the clause referring to them must be a gloss; but we may suppose that the rest under Augustus is referred to, and that the settlement which had been completed up to that date is spoken of as a whole; the words 'cum . . . recepti' merely meaning 'when all Italy had become Roman.'

cum specie deductarum per orbem terrae legionum additis pro-
4 vincialium validissimis fesso imperio subventum est. num
paenitet Balbos ex Hispania nec minus insignes viros e Gallia
Narbonensi transivisse? manent posteri eorum nec amore in
5 hanc patriam nobis concedunt. quid aliud exitio Lacedaemoniis
et Atheniensibus fuit, quamquam armis pollerent, nisi quod
6 victos pro alienigenis arcebant? at conditor nostri Romulus
tantum sapientiā valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hostes,
7 dein cives habuerit. advenae in nos regnaverunt: libertinorum

1. **cum specie**, etc. The use of 'deductarum' shows that the provincial military colonies are meant, which, established under colour ('specie') of providing for the veterans of the legions, must also have given opportunities for conferring the citizenship on the elite of the provincials, associated with them. Pfitzner less well takes the expression of the distribution of the legions over the empire.

2. **fesso imperio subventum est.** These colonies helped to give rest, by being themselves a guarantee for peace and order in the most important positions, by satisfying the provincial desire for citizenship (see above), and giving the subjects an interest in the empire, and by rearing a civic population whence the legions could be recruited without drawing on Italy (see Introd. i. vii. p. 108; Marquardt, ii. 537).

3. **Balbos.** L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades, had obtained citizenship through Pompeius (Cic. pro Balb. 8, 19), but afterwards attached himself to Caesar: his consulship in 714, B.C. 40 (Dio, 48. 32, 2), was the first ever attained by a foreigner (Plin. N. H. 7. 43, 44, 136). On his nephew, the first foreigner who ever triumphed (Id. 5. 5, 36), see 3. 72, 2, and note.

nec minus, etc. In the actual speech (ii. 9) Claudius says that the colony of Vienna (Vienne) had long before that time sent senators to Rome. Its citizens whom he there specifies are of his own time, and cannot be those here referred to as represented by their posterity; but there had been Gaulish senators from the time of Julius Caesar (see on c. 23, 7). On these and Spanish, and other provincial senators, see Friedl. Sitteng. i. pp. 199, foll.

5. **Lacedaemoniis et Atheniensibus.** The former kept down the Messenians by force as a conquered people, and lost all hold on them from the time of Epaminondas: Athens had reduced nearly all the original confederate cities to a dependent and tributary position before the Peloponnesian war, and was constantly weakened in that struggle by their revolts: neither had adopted the Roman policy of incorporation.

7. **pro**, used as in 4. 38, 2.

conditor nostri. Here the genit. of the personal pronoun seems emphatic, but it is often used by Tacitus without such reason (see Introd. i. v. 33 a; Nipp. on 12. 37, 4).

8. **plerosque** = 'permultos' (see 3. 1, 2, and note). The allusion is to the tradition of his having taken in the Antemnates and Crustumini (Liv. 1. 11), and having shared his power with Tatius and the Sabines (Id. 1. 13).

9. **advenae.** In the actual speech (i. 8, foll.) Numa, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius are instanced, and their origin is traced at some length. 'Regnare in' is noted as a novel phrase, but analogous to 'dominari in' (Cic. de Sen. 11, 38; Ov. Met. 1, 77; Liv. 3. 53, 7).

libertinorum filiis. Livy mentions (9. 46, 1) Cn. Flavius, of such origin, as curule aedile, and adds (Id. § 10) that Appius Claudius Caecus had admitted such to the senate in 304, B.C. 450, but that subsequent censors had not ratified his choice. Suetonius notes (Cl. 24) that Claudius, in quoting this precedent on this or another occasion, had overlooked the fact that in those days 'libertinus' denoted the son of a 'libertus,' instead of being a synonym for that term. It appears, however, that no other writer observes this distinction in speaking of that time, and that certainly the son of an actual freedman had been tribune in 654, B.C. 100 (App. B.C. 1. 33), and that such had been admitted to the senate by Julius Caesar (Dio, 43. 47, 3): also that, by the time

filiis magistratus mandare non, ut plerique falluntur, repens, sed
priori populo factitatum est. at cum Senonibus pugnavimus: 8
scilicet Vulsci et Aequi numquam adversam nobis aciem in-
struxere. capti a Gallis sumus: sed et Tuscis obsides dedimus 9
et Samnitium iugum subiimus. ac tamen, si cuncta bella re-
censeas, nullum breviore spatio quam adversus Gallos confec-
tum: continua inde ac fida pax. iam moribus artibus adfinitatibus 10
nostris mixti aurum et opes suas inferant potius quam separati
habeant. omnia, patres conscripti, quae nunc vetustissima cre- 11
duntur, nova fuere: plebeii magistratus post patricios, Latini
post plebeios, ceterarum Italiae gentium post Latinos. in-
veterascet hoc quoque, et quod hodie exemplis tuemur, inter
exempla erit.'

25. Orationem principis secuto patrum consulto primi Aedui 1
senatorum in urbe ius adepti sunt. datum id foederi antiquo, 2

of Nero, senatorial families of servile origin were very numerous (13. 27, 2; Plin. Ep. 3. 14, 1). See Friedl. i. p. 212; Momms. Staatsr. i. 488.

1. **repens** = 'recens': see 6. 7, 4, and note.

2. **priori populo**, apparently used, like 'vetus populus' in 1. 1, 4 (where see note), of the Republic.

Senonibus: see c. 23, 7.

3. **Vulsci**, the corrected form of Med., which has in the first hand 'uulsi.' Baiter (in Orelli) shows that this form appears in the Fasti Capitolini, and in the best MSS. of Livy, Vergil, etc. On the resistance and subjection of this people and the Aequi, which takes so large a space in the first decade of Livy, see Momms. Hist. Rom. Book ii. ch. 5.

4. **Tuscis . . . Samnitium**, alluding to the submission of Rome to Porsena (see H. 3. 72, 1), disguised by Livy (who nevertheless mentions hostages in 2. 13, 4), and to the disaster of the Caudine Forks in 433, B.C. 321 (Liv. 9. 1–6).

6. **nullum breviore spatio**, etc. The submission of 'Gallia Comata' (which is alone alluded to) contrasts certainly with the long resistance of Spain and the failure to subdue Germany; but some of the Eastern conquests were more quickly made. In the actual speech, no such comparison is made, but a contrast is drawn between the ten years' war with Caesar and the subsequent hundred years of peace (round numbers are used); and the help given to his father Drusus against the Germans by the tranquillity of Gaul is noticed. In neither version of the speech is any account taken of the rising of 774, A.D. 21 (3. 40–46).

8. **inferant**, 'let them bring in amongst us' (here in Rome, as senators).

9. **omnia**, etc. This thought is worked out at length in Col. i. of the existing speech, and appears to be suggested by Liv. 4. 4, 1, foll.

10. **plebeii**, so best read (with Nipp.) for the Med. 'plebei,' which Halm and others retain. The context shows that the allusion is not to the special magistrates of the plebs, but to the opening of the patrician magistracies to that order. Roman magistrates from the towns of 'Latium vetus,' such as Tusculum, have been already noticed (§ 2). As an instance of one from other parts of Italy may be mentioned Ventidius, who, a captive in his infancy in the Social war, became consul and triumphed in 716, A.D. 38 (Dio, 43. 51, 4).

14. **secuto**. On the accus. after abl. abs., see Introd. i. v. 31 d.

Aedui. On this people see 3. 40, 1. The concession of privilege was no doubt general; the meaning here being that the first senators actually chosen from Gallia Comata belonged to this tribe. The choice would be the act of Claudius as censor.

15. **foederi antiquo**. The date of this treaty is unknown, but they are called 'socii' as early as 633, B.C. 121 (Liv. Epit. 61).

et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant.

3 Isdem diebus in numerum patriciorum adscivit Caesar vetustissimum quemque e senatu aut quibus clari parentes fuerant, paucis iam reliquis familiarum, quas Romulus maiorum et L.

1. **fraternitatis nomen.** Caesar speaks of them (B. G. 1. 33, 2) as 'fratres consanguineosque saepenumero ab senatu appellatos,' and Cicero (ad Att. 1. 19, 2) calls them 'fratres nostri.' Similar titles were given by the senate to individuals (see 4. 26, 4, and note); and an inscription (Grut. 499, 13) shows that the German Batavi were styled 'amici et fratres Romani Imperii.' For other such instances of 'hospitium publicum' see Marquardt, Privatl. 196.

3. **in numerum patriciorum adscivit.** The original patriciate must of course be assumed to be coeval with the foundation of Rome. Subsequent early additions to it, however ascribed to individual kings or others, took no doubt the form of co-optation by the existing patrician curiae (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 29, foll.), admitting not individuals but families, which by such admission became patrician 'gentes;' and with the desuetude of the 'comitia curiata' the legitimate mode of action was extinct. Julius Caesar and Augustus acted by special law (see below); Claudius (see § 4), and after him Vespasian and Titus (see Vit. Marc. Aur. 1), claim this power as a censorial function, analogous to that of nominating senators; later emperors create patricians in virtue of their general power. See Momms. ii. p. 1100. These later grants are bestowed primarily on individuals; and among those so ennobled at this time were L. Salvius Otho, father of the emperor (Suet. Oth. 1), P. Plautius Pulcher, brother of the emperor's former wife Plautia Urgulanilla (Insc. Or. 723, Wilm. 1137), and M. Helvius Geminus (C. I. L. iii. 1. 6074). It is probable that C. Silius was another (see note on c. 12, 2).

vetustissimum, the senators of longest standing: cp. 'vetus senator' (Liv. 5. 12, 11).

4. **clari.** This word and its cognates 'claritudo' and 'claritas,' are used to denote distinction and eminence, rather than mere 'nobilitas': cp. the opposition 'claris maioribus quam vetustis' (4. 61, 1); also 12. 22, 2; 64, 4; and other passages collected by Nipp. on 2. 33, 5.

5. **paucis iam reliquis.** On the decay of old families, and on the few still remaining, cp. Friedl. i. pp. 210, 214. The distinction of 'gentes' and 'familiae' had become at this time much obliterated; so that the latter term is often, as here, used for the former (cp. 6. 51, 1; H. 2. 48, 5, etc.); and plebeian 'familiae' are often called 'gentes' (see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 130; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 10, 2).

quas Romulus, etc. According to Livy (1. 8, 7), the 100 original senators of Romulus were the founders of the original patriciate ('patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati'). Dion. Hal. (2. 8) makes him directly create a patrician order. Besides these, the houses supposed to have come in with the Sabines under Tatius, or on the destruction of Alba (see on c. 24, 2) were still 'maiorum gentium.' Those styled 'minorum gentium' are represented by all extant authorities except Tacitus as the families sprung from the 100 senators added by Tarquinius Priscus ('centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati' Liv. 1. 35, 6). Cicero adds (de Rep. 2. 20, 35) 'et antiquos patres "maiorum gentium" appellavit, quos primos sententiam rogabat,' and also mentions (ad Fam. 9. 21, 2) that the Papirii were patricians 'minorum gentium.' Tacitus appears to have confused the tradition of Tarquin with that of Brutus, who is said (Liv. 2. 1, 10) to have made up the senate, weakened by the last king, to 300, by adding 'conscripti' from the 'primores equestris gradus.' Dion. Hal. (5. 13) represents this change as a creation of new patricians, from whom the new senators were chosen: the true view, however, appears to be that the 'conscripti' remained plebeians, and that their enrolment, at whatever time it took place, was the first admission of that order to the senate (Momms. Staatsr. iii. 839, 2). The addition of the Claudii is generally made to take place under the early Republic (Liv. 2. 16, 5), but another tradition makes them come in with Tatius (Verg. Aen. 7, 708; Suet. Tib. 1). Various stories of elevation of individuals or houses to this rank in early times were

Brutus minorum gentium appellaverant, exhaustis etiam quas
dictator Caesar lege Cassia et princeps Augustus lege Saenia
sublegere; laetaque haec in rem publicam munia multo gaudio 4
censoris inibantur. famosos probris quonam modo senatu de- 5
pelleret anxius, mitem et recens repertam quam ex severitate
prisca rationem adhibuit, monendo, secum quisque de se con-
sultaret peteretque ius exuendi ordinis: facilem eius rei veniam.
et motos senatu excusatosque simul propositurum, ut iudicium 6
censorum ac pudor sponte cedentium permixta ignominiam
mollirent. ob ea Vipstanus consul rettulit patrem senatus ap- 7
pellandum esse Claudium: quippe promiscum patris patriae
cognomentum; nova in rem publicam merita non usitatis voca-

evidently heraldic fictions of later date (see Suet. Aug. 2; Vit. 1; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 41, 2). On the whole subject of the patriciate see Momms. iii. 3-53.

1. **quas dictator Caesar**, etc. The 'lex Cassia' is nowhere else mentioned, but must have been an enabling law under which Caesar in 709, B.C. 45, πολλοὺς ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τούς τε ὑπατευκότας ἢ καὶ ἀρχήν τινα ἄρξαντας ἐγκατέλεξεν (Dio, 43. 47, 3). Mommsen inclines (Staatsr. iii. 33) to trace a connection in this act of Caesar's with his powers as pontifex maximus in relation to the curiae. Among the patricians then added were the Octavii (Suet. Aug. 1); and Dio (46. 22, 3) makes Calenus say that Cicero was thus ennobled; but the absence of any mention of it by Cicero himself is against this supposition.

2. **Augustus lege Saenia.** Augustus says (Mon. Anc. 2. 1), 'patriciorum numerum auxi consul quintum (725, B.C. 29) iussu populi et senatus.' The senatus consultum is mentioned by Dio (52. 42, 5); the enabling 'lex Saenia' (referred to in 'iussu populi') must have been passed, as is shown by Mommsen (ad loc. Mon. Anc.) in November or December of the previous year, when L. Saenius was cos. suff., and was probably connected with the census then about to be taken (Staatsr. ii. 1101). Mommsen also shows that Dio (49. 43, 6) must be in error in stating that a previous addition to the patriciate was made in 721, B.C. 33.

3. **laeta in rem publicam.** The accus. with 'in' has here nearly the force of a simple dat. (see Introd. i. v. 60 b), and 'in rem publicam' seems here used for 'in publicum' (cp. 12. 8, 3, and note).

Beyond the desire to pay a compliment to the person thus ennobled, the only practical object of such a measure would be to enlarge the area of candidature for the few offices, such as those of the 'flamines maiores' (see 4. 16, 2) still restricted to patricians.

munia . . . inibantur, 'this function was taken up by the censor with extreme delight.'

5. **recens repertam.** In 725, B.C. 29, Augustus had induced fifty senators to resign their rank voluntarily, and had put pressure on one hnndred and forty others to make them follow that example (Dio, 52. 42, 2; cp. Suet. Aug. 35). For other instances of the exercise of this power see 2. 48, 3; 12. 52, 4, and notes. Claudius no doubt enrolled other senators in their places, among whom were M. Calvus Priscus and M. Salonius (Insc. Or. 722; Henzen 6005).

quam, with ellipse of 'magis' (see Introd. i. v. § 64, 1).

7. **exuendi**, so read, after Lips. for 'exeundi': cp. 3. 17, 8; H. 2. 86, 6, and many similar metaphorical uses of the verb noted on 1. 69, 2. Senatorial rank could not be resigned without such permission: cp. 1. 75, 5; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 881.

8. **propositurum**, 'he would publish.'

9. **permixta**: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., Jacob, after Ritt. for the Med. 'permixti,' which could only be defended by supposing a personification quite foreign to the passage. The use of a neuter adj. with a masc. or fem. substantive is common (see on 1. 46, 1).

11. **promiscum**, 'given to others' (see on 1. 72, 2) and thus not truly distinctive.

bulis honoranda: sed ipse cohibuit consulem ut nimium ad-
8 sentantem. condiditque lustrum, quo censa sunt civium quin-
quagiens noviens centena octoginta quattuor milia septuaginta
duo. isque illi finis inscitiae erga domum suam fuit: haud
multo post flagitia uxoris noscere ac punire adactus, ut deinde
ardesceret in nuptias incestas.
1 **26.** Iam Messalina facilitate adulteriorum in fastidium versa
ad incognitas libidines profluebat, cum abrumpi dissimulationem
etiam Silius, sive fatali vaecordia an imminentium periculorum
2 remedium ipsa pericula ratus, urguebat: quippe non eo ventum,

1. **cohibuit.** Mommsen notes (Staatsr. ii. 895, 3) that the title thus refused by Claudius was afterwards borne by Commodus, Balbinus, and Pupienus, as shown by their coins.

2. **condidit lustrum.** This expression is used properly of the closing ceremony of 'lustratio' by 'suovetaurilia' (Liv. 1. 44, 2).

quinquagiens, etc. = 5,984,072. Halm and other recent edd. so read in words the figures given in Med. LVIIII. LXXXIIII. LXXII.). The other MSS. (see Walther) vary considerably, and Jerome and Syncellus, varying from these and from each other, give nearly a million more (see Orelli's note). It is suggested (Lehmann, p. 292) that these may represent later additions. Augustus (Mon. Anc. ii. 2-8) gives the numbers on two census held by him in 726, 746, B.C. 28, 8, as 4,063,000, and 4,233,000. These figures, when addition is made for women and children, would represent a total civic population throughout the empire of four or five times the number given.

4. **finis inscitiae**: cp. c. 13, 1; also 'dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus' Juv. 10, 342. His actual knowledge is not related till c. 30. The rest is intermediate.

erga, in relation to: cp. Introd. i. v. § 59.

5. **adactus**, with infin. as in 4. 29, 3 (where see note). The omission of 'est' is harsh, as the subject is changed; Nipp. thinks it must be inserted.

6. **incestas**, with his niece Agrippina.

7. **iam . . . cum.** These are evidently to be taken together. The continued blindness of Claudius (c. 25, 8) has made mere adultery pall upon her: she is pining for a new excitement and ready to plunge into it, when Silius unexpectedly fires her by urging a bold stroke for empire, to be accompanied by marriage. She is opposed to the first part (§ 5), but catches eagerly at the second, the 'nomen matrimonii,' for its very novelty (§ 6).

adulteriorum: so nearly all edd. since Ern., after the ed. pr., for Med. 'adulterorum'; the personal sense of 'facilitas' (6. 15, 3) being wholly inapplicable here.

8. **profluebat**, used here alone in the sense of 'prolabebatur.'

9. **sive . . . an**, here alone (acc. to Dr.) used for 'sive . . . sive.' Nipp. thinks another clause with 'sive' has dropped out, after which 'an' might stand in the third clause, as perhaps in 14. 59, 1 (where see note); Ov. F. 3, 773-779. 'An' stands in a second clause, without 'sive,' in 16. 23, 3, etc. Tacitus perhaps here intends to indicate a preference for the second explanation.

10. **urguebat**, here alone with acc. and inf.: for other verbs so used, cp. c. 10, 8; Introd. i. v. § 44.

quippe, introducing his arguments.

non eo ventum, etc., 'they were not driven to the necessity of waiting for the old age (the natural death) of the prince.' They had accomplices ('conscios') and could take a bolder course. For that sense of 'eo ventum ut,' cp. 15. 27, 1, and the full expression 'eo necessitatis . . . ventum est' (H. 1. 16, 1); for the meaning of 'opperiri,' cp. 2. 69, 4, etc.; also 'senectus eius expectabatur' (16. 9, 2). Others, as Dr. and Jacob, with whom J. H. Müller (Beitr. iv. 3) mainly agrees, take the words to mean, 'they had not pushed matters so far, in order now to take up a waiting attitude; i.e. they had gone too far to make that safe; but this meaning appears less suitable to the words.

ut senectam principis opperirentur. insontibus innoxia consilia,
flagitiis manifestis subsidium ab audacia petendum. adesse con-
scios paria metuentes. se caelibem, orbum, nuptiis et adoptando 3
Britannico paratum. mansuram eandem Messalinae potentiam, 4
addita securitate, si praevenirent Claudium, ut insidiis incautum,
ita irae properum. segniter eae voces acceptae, non amore in 5
maritum, sed ne Silius summa adeptus sperneret adulteram
scelusque inter ancipitia probatum veris mox pretiis aestimaret.
nomen tamen matrimonii concupivit ob magnitudinem infamiae, 6
cuius apud prodigos novissima voluptas est. nec ultra exspectato 7
quam dum sacrificii gratia Claudius Ostiam proficisceretur, cuncta
nuptiarum sollemnia celebrat.

27. Haud sum ignarus fabulosum visum iri tantum ullis 1
mortalium securitatis fuisse in civitate omnium gnara et nihil

1. **consilia**, rightly taken by Nipp. in contrast to 'audacia,' as 'insontibus' to 'manifestis flagitiis': 'to the innocent, deliberate plans might be harmless.' The conciseness of expression makes the connection obscure, but evidently a second reason against delay is added, that the bolder course was to them the only safe one.

3. **paria metuentes**, i.e. equally desperate, and therefore equally ready for a bold course, or likely to turn against them if they delayed.

caelibem. He had divorced his wife (c. 12, 2).

5. **incautum**, 'unguarded'; used with similar dat. in 4. 1, 3; and (acc. to some) in 1. 68, 5 (where see note).

6. **irae properum.** Here, and in 4. 59, 5; 14. 7, 2, the case is doubtful, but in 12. 66, 2 it is plainly genit., and is best so taken here (see Introd. i. v. § 63 e γ). 'Properus' has this construction only in the Annals.

amore, causal abl.

7. **ne**, 'from fear lest': cp. the similar brachylogy in H. 2. 23, 2 ('diffisus paucitati cohortium, ne longius obsidium parum tolerent'), and other passages given by Nipp. on c. 15, 2.

8. **inter ancipitia**, 'in the midst of peril': the same expression is used in H. 3. 40, 4; G. 14, 3.

9. **nomen**, i.e. a nominal marriage, preceded by no divorce.

10. **cuius**, etc., 'a pleasure which, with the abandoned, outlasts all others,' has still some piquancy, when all others have palled. Seneca (Ep. 122, 18) expresses a somewhat similar sentiment, 'nolunt solita peccare, quibus peccandi praemium infamia est.' 'Prodigus' seems nowhere else thus used in the general sense of ἄσωτος; hence Dr. reads 'profligatos,' and Nipp. inclines to read 'perditos': Pfitzn. would supply 'infamiae' again with 'prodigos.'

nec ultra exspectato, repeated 12. 7, 3: on the abl. abs. see Introd. i. v. § 31 a.

11. **sacrificii gratia.** Dio states (60. 31, 4) that he went there πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν σίτου. A reconciliation is suggested by Lips., who notes the mention in Ammian. 19. 10, 4 of a sacrifice offered in time of scarcity by the annonae praefectus in the temple of Castor and Pollux at Ostia, to propitiate them, as deities of fair weather (Hor. Od. 1. 12, 27), to grant a safe passage to the corn ships. He thinks that Claudius may have gone there to offer a similar sacrifice as pontifex maximus. Claudius had carried out great works at Ostia to improve the harbour (Suet. Cl. 20), and may also have founded the temple and instituted the sacrifice.

14. **securitatis**, 'recklessness': cp. c. 3, 2.

nihil reticente. The freedom with which even dangerous subjects were talked about is attested by Seneca (de Tranq. 12, 7) 'teterrimum vitium, auscultatio, et publicorum secretorumque inquisitio, et multarum rerum scientia, quae nec tuto narrantur, nec tuto audiuntur.'

reticente, nedum consulem designatum cum uxore principis,
praedicta die, adhibitis qui obsignarent, velut suscipiendorum
liberorum causā convenisse, atque illam audisse auspicum verba,
subisse, sacrificasse apud deos; discubitum inter convivas, oscula
2 complexus, noctem denique actam licentiā coniugali. sed nihil
compositum miraculi causa, verum audita scriptaque senioribus
tradam.

1 **28.** Igitur domus principis inhorruerat, maximeque quos penes
potentia et, si res verterentur, formido, non iam secretis con-
loquiis, sed aperte fremere, dum histrio cubiculum principis
insultaverit, dedecus quidem inlatum, sed excidium procul afuisse:

1. **nedum,** 'much more': cp. 13. 20, 5; 38, 3. This use in an affirmative clause appears to be found first in Livy (9. 18, 4). The instances seem too various to be all explained as occurring in sentences negative in thought.

consulem designatum: cp. c. 5, 3.

2. **qui obsignarent,** 'those who were to sign the marriage contract' (as witnesses). The whole description may be compared with that in 15. 37, 9; Juv. 10, 329, foll., and the general account of the marriage ceremonies in Friedl. Sitteng. i. 416; Marquardt, Privatl. i. 47, foll.

velut suscipiendorum liberorum causa, i. e. as for a legitimate marriage; the insertion of words to that effect being an essential part of the marriage contract, and this form being used to express regular marriages (cp. Suet. Jul. 52; Hor. Epp. 1. 2, 44; Aug. de Civ. Dei, 14, 18, etc.). On the use of 'velut,' with the force of ὡς, see Introd. i. v. § 67.

3. **auspicum verba**: cp. 15. 37, 9; Juv. 10, 336, and Mayor ad loc. According to Cic. de Div. 1. 16, 28, the old custom of doing nothing of importance 'nisi auspicato' survived as an empty form in marriage ('nuptiarum auspices . . . re omissa nomen tantum tenent'). The part appears to have been nominally sustained by friends present (Marquardt, Privatl. i. 48, 1), who would seem to have had to repeat some formula.

4. **subisse.** It is possible to suppose that this was a recognised term for some part of the marriage ceremony, such as that of entering the husband's door, taking the yoke, putting on the veil. Most edd. treat it as corrupt, and alter to 'nupsisse' (Lips.), 'subscripsisse' (Ritt.), or add 'flammeum' (Urlichs and Nipp. from 15. 37, 9), or 'vota' (Dr.). Jacob follows Walther in taking it with 'auspicum verba,' and bracketing 'audisse' as a gloss.

discubitum, sc. 'ab ipsis,' 'they took their places': cp. Juv. 2, 119 'Signatae tabulae, dictum "feliciter," ingens Caena sedet, gremio iacuit nova nupta mariti.'

oscula complexus, sc. 'fuisse': similar omissions in vivid description are found in 13. 44, 6, etc.

5. **sed nihil,** etc.: see the similar protest in 4. 11, 5.

6. **senioribus,** dat. of agent: cp. Introd. i. v. § 18.

7. **tradam,** i. e. 'I always have related and will relate': cp. the similar future in 13. 20, 4; H. 3. 51, 4; Agr. 10, 1. On the other version of this story, given in Suet. Cl. 29, and accepted by some critics, see Introd. p. 42.

8. **inhorruerat,** 'had shuddered,' used with dat. in H. 3. 84, 6.

quos, etc., the freedmen. It is stated by Dio (60. 31, 2) that they turned against Messalina when she destroyed Polybius.

9. **si res verterentur,** 'if a revolution ensued'; if the bold design of Silius (c. 26, 2) succeeded: cp. 'verso civitatis statu' (1. 4, 1); 'versa . . . civitas' (12. 7, 5).

10. **histrio,** Mnester: see on c. 4, 2; 36, 1.

11. **insultaverit.** This reading of most recent edd. after ed. Bip., is supported by 4. 59, 5 (where see note). J. F. Gron. had attempted to approach nearer to the Med. 'exultabero' by reading 'exultaverit,' and taking that verb as an equivalent of ἐξορχεῖσθαι, which, besides its use of the pantomimist's art, is used also in the sense of insulting or disgracing. But no

nunc iuvenem nobilem dignitate formae vi mentis ac propinquo
consulatu maiorem ad spem adcingi; nec enim occultum, quid
post tale matrimonium superesset. subibat sine dubio metus 2
reputantes hebetem Claudium et uxori devinctum multasque
mortes iussu Messalinae patratas: rursus ipsa facilitas imperatoris 3
fiduciam dabat, si atrocitate criminis praevaluissent, posse opprimi
damnatam ante quam ream; sed in eo discrimen verti, si defensio
audiretur, utque clausae aures etiam confitenti forent.

29. Ac primo Callistus, iam mihi circa necem *Gai* Caesaris 1

trace of any such meaning appears to be found in the Latin verb; nor does any attempt to explain this reading (see Walth., Ritt. 1838, Frost) appear successful. Ritt. now (1864) reads 'in cubiculum . . . exultaverit,' apparently in the sense of 'has made a spring into.' Several other emendations have been suggested, but have not found favour.

excidium, sc. 'principis': cp. 'excidio ipsius' (12. 45, 2).

1. **dignitate formae.** This emendation of Lips. for the Med. 'dignitate, forma,' is supported by 12. 51, 5 (cp. Suet. Cl. 30). Nipp. would take the ablatives as dependent on 'adcingi'; but it seems better to take them (with Jacob) as brachylogical ablatives of quality; the real instrumental abl. with the verb being supplied from 'tale matrimonium.' On 'propinquo consulatu,' see c. 5, 3, and note.

2. **adcingi**, refl., 'was arming himself,' bracing his energies: cp. 4. 66, 1; 15, 51, 5, etc.

4. **hebetem**; so used of dullness of intellect in 14. 11, 3, etc.

5. **facilitas**, 'pliability'; so used again of Claudius in 12. 61, 4, and of Galba (H. 1. 2, 5), and others.

6. **atrocitate**, 'through the enormity of the charge': on such abl. of objective cause, see Introd. i. v. § 30.

7. **ream**, 'placed on trial.'

sed in eo, etc., 'the crisis turned on the chance whether she would get a hearing, and on the necessity of closing his ears even against a confession.' For a similar expression with some difference of meaning, cp. 'salus Galliarum in discrimine verteretur' (H. 4. 85, 5). 'Si' and 'utque' are expository of 'in eo'; such a coordination being, according to Dr., unprecedented even in Tacitus, and apparently due to the desire of brevity: the sense of 'si' is somewhat similar to that in 1. 48, 1 (where see note); and 'utque' (as Nipp. notes) appears to be abbreviated for 'et quod efficiendum esset, ut.'

9. **ac primo**, etc. The connection between this chapter and the last is obscure, and is the subject of a dissertation in J. H. Müller, Beitr. iv. 4, foll. It seems best to take 'primo' and 'dein' as referring to two stages of the plan of action following on the general discussion of the situation given above. They could see plainly that if she was to be accused at all, her condemnation must be secured by a sudden stroke. The peril of this course led them to consider first whether they could not gain their practical object (of separating her from Silius) without actual accusation, by merely threatening to divulge her intercourse with him, keeping in reserve their knowledge of the ulterior designs. On further thought, Pallas and Callistus see the danger of her turning upon them and prevailing with Claudius against them, and resolve to do nothing. Narcissus persists, but agrees in rejecting the present plan, and falls back on the original and bolder course.

Callistus. Scribonius Largus, who dedicated to him his treatise on medicine, gives him his full title, C. Iulius Claudius Callistus, showing that he took names from both his patrons. His contemptible beginnings are alluded to by Seneca (Ep. 47, 9); his great influence under Gaius and his unscrupulous self-enrichment are mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 19. 1, 10); the thirty splendid onyx columns of his dining-chamber are described by Pliny (N. H. 36. 7, 12, 60). That he was privy to the assassination of Gaius is affirmed by Josephus (l. l.) and Dio (59. 29, 1); but Tacitus had probably shown his share in the plot more fully. His department under Claudius appears to have been 'a libellis.'

mihi narratus = 'de quo narravi.'

narratus, et Appianae caedis molitor Narcissus flagrantissimaque
eo in tempore gratia Pallas agitavere, num Messalinam secretis
2 minis depellerent amore Silii, cuncta alia dissimulantes. dein
metu, ne ad perniciem ultro traherentur, desistunt, Pallas per
ignaviam, Callistus prioris quoque regiae peritus et potentiam
cautis quam acribus consiliis tutius haberi: perstitit Narcissus,
set solum id immutans, ne quo sermone praesciam criminis et
3 accusatoris faceret: ipse ad occasiones intentus, longa apud
Ostiam Caesaris mora, duas paelices, quarum is corpori maxime
insueverat, largitione ac promissis et uxore deiecta plus potentiae
ostentando perpulit delationem subire.

1 **30.** Exim Calpurnia (id paelici nomen), ubi datum secretum,
genibus Caesaris provoluta nupsisse Messalinam Silio exclamat;

Nipp. compares 'Agricola . . . narratus' (Agr. 46, 4); also Vell. 2. 29, 2; Plin. ma., etc. On the use of 'circa' ('concerning') see Introd. i. v. § 58.

1. **Appianae**, that of Ap. Junius Silanus (on whom see 4. 68, 1, and note). Tacitus alludes to what had no doubt been mentioned in its proper place (795, A. D. 42), that he had become the stepfather of Messalina (see on c. 37, 4), and had refused to yield to her desire, and was put to death by a plot arranged between her and Narcissus, who made up a dream about him to frighten Claudius (Dio, 60. 14, 3; Suet. Cl. 37). Nipp. notes that the rarity of the praenomen Appius makes 'Appianae' a sufficient designation.

Narcissus, called Ti. Claudius Narcissus in Insc. Or. 720. He had the department of secretary ('ab epistulis' Suet. Cl. 28), and is often mentioned. On his death, see 13. 1, 4.

flagrantissima . . . gratia, abl. of quality. The word is so used metaphorically with 'amicitia' (13. 45, 4) and 'libertas' (14. 39, 3), etc. On the expression 'eo in tempore' see Introd. i. v. § 26; also 13. 47, 2; 15. 7, 2.

2. **Pallas**, a freedman of Antonia, who employed him to disclose the plot of Seianus to Tiberius (Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 6); also brother of Felix (12. 54, 1). He had the department of treasurer or 'a rationibus' (Suet. Cl. 28), and is constantly mentioned. On his death see 14. 65, 1.

agitavere. The use of this verb with 'num' (H. 1. 19, 5) and other interrogative particles (13. 41, 1; H. 3. 1, 2) seems especially Tacitean.

secretis, addressed to her privately.

3. **alia dissimulantes**, 'concealing their knowledge of all else,' i. e. of the conspiracy (c. 26, 2).

4. **ultro**, i. e. lest they should not only fail but bring themselves to ruin (cp. 3. 36, 1).

5. **prioris . . . regiae**, the court of Gaius (see above), rhetorically called 'regia' (cp. 1. 4, 4; 4. 3, 3).

peritus, used by zeugma with 'haberi' in the sense of 'expertus.' Ritt. needlessly inserts 'certus' after 'haberi.'

6. **perstitit**, in contrast to 'desistunt' above, meaning that he persisted in the resolve to take action of some sort.

7. **set solum.** Nipp. follows Halm in so reading for Med. 'ut solum.' Other texts omit 'ut' or alter to 'ac' or 'at.' Walth. would retain the Med. text and explain it to mean 'ita perstitit ut . . . mutaret.'

8. **intentus**, so with 'ad' (4. 67, 5; 14. 24, 6, etc.) and 'in' (6. 19, 4; H. 4. 18, 1, etc.).

longa . . . mora, abl. abs.

9. **paelices.** Such persons were usually freedwomen, as Acte (13. 12, 1), Caenis (Suet. Vesp. 3), etc.: see Friedl. i. 106, foll.

10. **insueverat**, with dat. as in c. 3, 2.

11. **perpulit . . . subire**: so all edd. after Puteol., for Med. 'perculit.' On the construction cp. 6. 33, 1, and note.

12. **secretum**, 'private interview': cp. 3. 8, 4, etc.

13. **genibus . . . provoluta**: so in 12. 18, 3; 14. 61, 3; also Justin, 11. 9, 14 ('provoluta genibus Alexandri'). Similar expressions are 'pedibus advolutus' (1.

simul Cleopatram, quae id opperiens adstabat, an comperisset 2
interrogat, atque (illā adnuente) cieri Narcissum postulat. is 3
veniam in praeteritum petens, quod ei Vettios, Plautios dissimula-
visset, nec nunc adulteriā obiecturum ait, nedum domum servitia
et ceteros fortunae paratus reposceret. frueretur immo his, set 4
redderet uxorem rumperetque tabulas nuptiales. 'an discidium' 5
inquit 'tuum nosti? nam matrimonium Silii vidit populus et
senatus et miles; ac ni propere agis, tenet urbem maritus.'

23, 2) 'advolvi genua' (1. 13, 7): the more usual expression is 'provolvi ad' (14. 2, 4, etc.).

2. **interrogat . . . postulat.** If, with Ritt., we were to take Claudius to be the subject of these verbs, it would be needful to follow him in inserting the name: but in that case some such verb as 'imperat' would have stood in place of 'postulat.' Calpurnia appeals in corroboration to Cleopatra, and then demands that Narcissus should be called, fully to confirm her statement.

3. **quod ei Vettios, Plautios dissimulavisset,** 'for having concealed from him his knowledge of the adulteries of a Vettius, a Plautius.' The text is that of Nipp. for the corrupt Med., 'quod ei cis ueticis Plautio dimulauisset.' The plurals are rhetorical, as in 1. 10, 3, etc., and the names (on which see c. 31, 6: 37, 5) had apparently been already made familiar by Tacitus to his readers. It is very probable that 'cis' is the corruption of another name, but it is hardly well to read, with Brotier and Halm, 'Titios,' as a reference to Titius Proculus; that person being apparently (see c. 35, 6) neither previously known, nor one of her adulterers. Others have attempted to retain 'cis' by reading 'cis Vettios, Plautios' (Ritt.), or 'cis Vectios, cis Plautios' (J. F. Gron.), with the meaning 'while she did not go beyond these'; but 'cis' would rather exclude than include such persons; and we could hardly suppose such a phrase as 'dissimulare cis aliquem.'

4. **nec nunc.** On 'nec' with the force of 'ne . . . quidem,' see 2. 34, 7, and note: 'nunc' is used where, in obl. oratio, 'tunc' would be more regular (see Nipp. on 14. 35, 1).

nedum domum: so Halm for Med. 'ne domum,' which is retained by most edd., who take 'ne' as = 'nedum,' as in Cic. Fam. 9. 26, 2 'nihil istorum ne iuvenem quidem movit, ne nunc senem' (cp. Sall. Cat. 11, 8; Liv. 3. 52, 9). Ritt. would read 'nedum' alone, thinking that the expression in Dio, 60. 31, 3 (οἰκίαν αὐτῷ βασιλικὴν ἐχαρίσατο) is to be understood, not of giving him a house, but of making his house a palace by her gifts. The subject of 'obiecturum' is of course Narcissus, but that of 'reposceret' would more fitly be Claudius, and the whole passage is spoken in bitter irony. 'I will say nothing of the acts of adultery, still less must you think of reclaiming her gifts to him; let him only condescend to restore your wife to you and cancel the marriage.' It might be possible, with similar irony, to take the reading 'ne . . . reposceret' (with Pfitzn.) in the ordinary sense:—'I will say nothing of the adultery, lest such a charge should carry you to the length of reclaiming her gifts.'

5. **immo,** in anastrophe, as in 12. 6, 4; 15. 21, 4: so first in Liv. (35. 49, 3), and in Quint., etc.

set: so Halm and others after Acid. for the Med. 'et'; which would give a sufficient sense, but the omission of 's' is highly probable.

6. **rumperet tabulas.** The same expression is used of cancelling a marriage contract in Juv. 9, 75, etc.

an discidium, etc., 'do you know that she has divorced you?' i. e. 'do you know it and acquiesce in it?' The transition, to heighten the rhetorical effect, from indirect to direct speech, is thus introduced with 'inquit' in 16. 22, 2; and without it in 2. 77, 5; 3. 46, 3; 4. 40, 5; H. 3. 2, 8, and in several places in Livy.

7. **nam,** etc., i. e., 'it would seem so, for all the city has seen the marriage, and assumes your acquiescence, and the only question now is whether the husband of your wife is also master of Rome.'

8. **populus et senatus et miles.** In this formula, as in 1. 7, 3, 'populus' is used for 'plebs,' which is substituted for it in 14. 11, 1: see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1255, 2.

1 **31.** Tum potissimum *quemque* amicorum vocat, primumque rei
frumentariae praefectum Turranium, post Lusium Getam prae-
2 torianis inpositum percontatur. quis fatentibus certatim ceteri
circumstrepunt; iret in castra, firmaret praetorias cohortes, secu-
3 ritati ante quam vindictae consuleret. satis constat eo pavore
offusum Claudium, ut identidem interrogaret, an ipse imperii po-
4 tens, an Silius privatus esset. at Messalina non alias solutior luxu,
adulto autumno simulacrum vindemiae per domum celebrabat.
5 urgueri prela, fluere lacus; et feminae pellibus accinctae adsulta-
bant ut sacrificantes vel insanientes Bacchae; ipsa crine fluxo

1. **potissimum quemque.** Halm, Nipp., and others insert the latter word after MS. Agr. Others, as Or. and Ritt., read 'potissimos' (after Mercer), following 13. 18, 1; 14. 65, 1. Walth. endeavours to defend the Med. text, by taking 'potissimum' as a neuter, and refers to 15. 61, 4, which is not really apposite. The retinue of Claudius at Ostia is seen to have included two eminent senators (c. 33, 3), two equestrian praefecti, and the freedman Narcissus: cp. the 'comitatus' of Tiberius (4. 58, 1).

2. **C. Turranium.** He was already holding the office of 'annonae praefectus' (on the functions of which see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1041) thirty-four years previously (see 1. 7, 3, and note). Faenius Rufus afterwards held it for some years (13. 22, 1; 14. 51, 5).

Lusium Getam. On his character, see c. 33, 1; on his subsequent removal from office, 12. 42, 1. The other praefect, Rufrius Crispinus (c. 1, 3), was no doubt in Rome.

4. **castra,** the praetorian camp (see 4. 2, 1).

6. **offusum,** 'was overpowered.' The word does not seem to be elsewhere so used of persons; but the sense resembles that in Cic. Fin. 3. 14, 45 ('offunditur luce solis lumen lucernae'), and Val. Max. 2. 7, 6 ('oculos clarissima in luce tenebris offusos'). In c. 20, 1, etc., the figure is different.

an ipse, etc., 'am I emperor? is Silius a subject?' 'Privatus' is thus used in contrast with 'princeps' in H. 1. 21, 1; 49, 8, etc., more usually in contrast with 'magistratus,' as in 4. 19, 2, etc.

7. **solutior luxu,** 'more abandoned in wantonness': cp. 'pax . . . soluta' (1. 50, 7).

8. **adulto** = ἀκμάζοντος: cp. 2. 23, 1, and note. The time would thus appear to be about the middle of October, in which month an old rustic kalendar (Or. ii. p. 381; C. I. L. i. p. 359) notes 'Vindemiae sacrum Libero.' The usual period of the vintage is marked by the opening sacrifice on the 19th of August (Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 333), and by the 'vindemialis feria' from Aug. 22 to Oct. 15 (Cod. 3. tit. 12), which latter day was also specially kept (C. I. L. i. p. 404, note; Henzen 6112). Ritter (1838) seems wrong in supposing that the month of November is here meant.

simulacrum. This apparently only means that it was not a real vintage, but a representation, though apparently with real presses and wine.

per domum, 'in procession through the house' (that of Silius).

9. **urgueri prela, fluere lacus,** 'the presses are at work, the vats overflow with must.' The grapes, after being first trodden, were further squeezed in the press or 'torcular,' and the juice was received in what Cato (R. R. 25) speaks of as 'lacus vinarii picati.' 'Fluere' is thus used in Sil. 7, 190 ('fluxit mulctra mero').

pellibus accinctae, 'clad in the fawnskin' (νεβρίς): cp. Verg. Aen. 7, 396 ('Pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas').

adsultabant, apparently here alone used in the sense of 'iuxta saltabant. Nipp. thinks the word may also mean this in H. 4. 22, 3 ('adsultante per campos equite').

10. **fluxo** = 'fluitante.' Dr. notes that this word is nowhere else used of the hair; but the use may be compared with the bold figure 'fluxa arma' (H. 2. 99, 2), also 'fluxos . . . astrinxit amictus' (Luc. 2, 362), 'fluxa habena' (Liv. 38. 29, 6), etc.

thyrsum quatiens, iuxtaque Silius hedera vinctus, gerere co-
thurnos, iacere caput, strepente circum procaci choro. ferunt 6
Vettium Valentem lascivia in praealtam arborem conisum, interro-
gantibus quid aspiceret, respondisse tempestatem ab Ostia atrocem,
sive coeperat ea species, seu forte lapsa vox in praesagium vertit.

32. Non rumor interea, sed undique nuntii incedunt, qui 1
gnara Claudio cuncta et venire promptum ultioni adferrent.
igitur Messalina Lucullianos in hortos, Silius dissimulando metu 2
ad munia fori digrediuntur. ceteris passim dilabentibus adfuere 3
centuriones, inditaque sunt vincla, ut quis reperiebatur in publico
aut per latebras. Messalina tamen, quamquam res adversae 4
consilium eximerent, ire obviam et aspici a marito, quod saepe
subsidium habuerat, haud segniter intendit, misitque ut Britannicus

1. **hedera vinctus**, etc. It would appear that he assumed the character of Bacchus: cp. the description of M. Antonius (Vell. 2. 82, 4), 'cum redimitus hederis coronaque velatus aurea et thyrsum tenens cothurnisque succinctus curru velut Liber pater vectus esset Alexandreae.'

3. **Vettium Valentem**: cp. c. 30, 3; Pliny (N. H. 29. 1, 4, 8) mentions him among famous physicians ('Vettius Valens adulterio Messalinae Claudii Caesaris nobilitatus, pariterque eloquentiae adsectator'), and adds that his influence enabled him to be the founder of a school or sect. Another of the name was a distinguished soldier about this time, and afterwards (Henzen 6767; Wilm. 1617); two others occur two successive generations later (Wilm. 2117).

lascivia, 'in his gaiety' (abl. of manner): cp. 'lascivia epularum' (4. 48, 3).

conisum: so 'equitatus . . . in summum iugum . . . conititur' (Caes. B. C. 1. 46, 3).

5. **sive coeperat**, etc. Nipp. thinks it so remarkable that the obvious alternative suggestion (that Vettius meant ironically to predict what was coming) is ignored, that he suggests the probable loss, after 'lapsa,' of such words as 'vel consilio missa'; but 'in praesagium vertit' would hardly be said of an intentional prediction. It is certainly probable that 'tempestatem' is metaphorical; as the significance of 'coeperat' is hardly obvious, unless the 'species' described as beginning to show itself can be supposed to be the first rumour of danger indicated below. The conjectures of Lips. ('ceperat,' sc. 'animum') and Madvig ('ceperat eam speciem') seem needless.

6. **rumor**, sc. 'incedit' (cp. 1. 5, 2), supplied from 'incedunt.'

7. **gnara** = 'nota': on this Tacitean use cp. 1. 5, 4, and note.

promptum, with dat. cp. 1. 2, 1, and note: on the ellipse of 'eum,' see Introd. i. v. § 8.

8. **Lucullianos** (see c. 1, 1): so all edd., after Ber. for the Med. 'fucilianos.'

dissimulando metu (repeated 15. 69, 2), best taken as dat. (cp. Introd. i. v. § 32 b), but by some as abl. (see 14. 4, 8, and note). Here Med. has 'metū' (the stroke being, according to Baiter, in a later hand), whence 'metum' is read here by Orelli, and in both places by Ritt.

9. **ceteris . . . dilabentibus**, best taken as abl. abs. Nipp. notes that it is implied that Silius also was arrested; Messalina alone being excepted by the context.

12. **consilium eximerent**: cp. 'constantiam exemerat' (1. 32, 1). She had no time to deliberate, but, as it were, instinctively took this course (Nipp.).

13. **intendit**, 'makes up her mind': this verb is so used with inf. in 2. 12, 5; 22, 5: so 'oravit . . . adire' below (cp. 6. 2, 3, and note), and many other such uses (Introd. i. v. § 43).

misitque, 'and sent orders.' This correction of Halm has been generally followed, and is supported by H. 4. 21, 1 ('mittitque legatos . . . ut . . . acciperent'). Med. has 'missique' (the second 's' being written above by a later hand), the common text 'iussitque' (from G. 'iussique'). It is to be supposed that her children

5 et Octavia in complexum patris pergerent. et Vibidiam, virginum Vestalium vetustissimam, oravit pontificis maximi aures adire,
6 clementiam expetere. atque interim, tribus omnino comitantibus —id repente solitudinis erat—spatium urbis pedibus emensa, vehiculo, quo purgamenta hortorum excipiuntur, Ostiensem viam intrat, nullā cuiusquam misericordia, quia flagitiorum deformitas praevalebat.

1 **33.** Trepidabatur nihilo minus a Caesare: quippe Getae praetorii praefecto haud satis fidebant, ad honesta seu prava
2 iuxta levi. ergo Narcissus, adsumptis quibus idem metus, non aliam spem incolumitatis Caesaris adfirmat, quam si ius militum uno illo die in aliquem libertorum transferret, seque
3 offert suscepturum. ac ne, dum in urbem revehitur, ad paenitentiam a L. Vitellio et Largo Caecina mutaretur, in eodem gestamine sedem poscit adsumiturque.

were not with her, but probably in the Palatium.

2. **vetustissimam**: as such, she would be 'virgo Vestalis maxima' (see 2. 86, 1, and note). Nipp. cites an inscription at Athens (C. I. Att. iii. 1. 875) referring evidently to her as *ἱ]ερὰν παρθένον . . . ίου Οὐίρρωνος [θυγατέρα]*, and another (id. 603) to her father *Σ]έξτον Οὐιβίδιον Οὐίρρωνα*. Dittenberger thinks (Eph. Epig. i. 108) that she was daughter of the person mentioned in 2. 38, 3 (where the Med. text has 'Varronem'), and that, if so, she must have become a Vestal before his expulsion from the senate, i. e. at least thirty-four years before the present date.

oravit, with inf.: cp. 6. 2, 3, and note.

pontificis maximi; cp. 3. 58, 4, etc. She could most fitly demand audience of the princeps in this capacity. The sacredness of the person of the Vestals caused them to be often employed as intercessors: cp. Cic. pro Font. 21 [17], 46; Suet. Iul. 1; H. 3. 81, 3. On the personification of 'aures,' cp. 1. 31, 5, and note.

4. **id . . . solitudinis**, noted by Dr. as a very rare use for 'tanta solitudo.'

spatium urbis, 'the whole breadth of the city,' from the gardens on the Pincian to the 'via Ostiensis,' which leaves the present walls by the Porta S. Paolo, close to the pyramid of Cestius.

7. **praevalebat**, 'had more weight in their minds': cp. 1. 58, 7.

8. **a Caesare**. The use of the pl. 'fidebant' (altered in older edd. to 'fidebat') leads Nipp. to consider that 'ad Caesarem' must be read; but it seems possible (with Dr.) to take the words to mean 'on the side of Caesar' (cp. 'ab Romanis' 4. 25, 3), and to suppose his advisers to be included in the expression.

10. **iuxta levi**, 'alike unstable.' 'Levis' is thus opposed to 'destrictus' in 4. 36, 5, and 'ad' has often the force of 'in respect to': cp. 'stabile ad poenitentiam' (1. 43, 5); also 1. 40, 3; 6. 7, 3; 14. 23, 1, etc. On the force of 'iuxta,' see Introd. i. v. § 61; 12. 10, 1; 17, 2; 49, 1, etc.

11. **incolumitatis**, 'of life': cp. the use of 'incolumis' in 3. 30, 6; 14. 1, 1, etc.

ius militum, 'the control of the soldiers': cp. 'iura libertorum' (H. 2. 92, 5).

13. **revehitur**; so Halm and others for the Med. 'refertur uehitur.' Baiter reads the former word only, most others the latter only; the other word being in each case regarded as a gloss.

14. **et Largo Caecina**. Med. has 'P' instead of 'et'; which was taken as a praenomen ('et' being by some inserted before it), but which most recent edd., after Nipp., take to be the corruption of an abbreviation of 'et.' The only person of the name known to us is C. Largus Caecina (see the Acta Arv. C. I. L. vi. 1, 2028–2035, A.D. 38–54), who was consul with Claudius in 795, A.D. 42, remaining the whole year in office (Dio, 60. 10, 1), and was known to the elder Pliny in his youth (N. H. 17. 1, 5). Tacitus had no doubt already mentioned him.

15. **gestamine**. This word has else-

34. Crebra post haec fama fuit, inter diversas principis voces, 1
cum modo incusaret flagitia uxoris, aliquando ad memoriam
coniugii et infantiam liberorum revolveretur, non aliud prolocutum
Vitellium quam 'o facinus! o scelus!' instabat quidem Narcissus 2
aperiret ambages et veri copiam faceret: sed non ideo pervicit,
quin suspensa et quo ducerentur inclinatura responderet exem-
ploque eius Largus Caecina uteretur. et iam erat in aspectu 3
Messalina clamitabatque audiret Octaviae et Britannici matrem,
cum obstrepere accusator, Silium et nuptias referens; simul
codicillos libidinum indices tradidit, quis visus Caesaris aver-
teret. nec multo post urbem ingredienti offerebantur com- 4
munes liberi, nisi Narcissus amoveri eos iussisset. Vibidiam de- 5
pellere nequivit, quin multa cum invidia flagitaret, ne indefensa
coniunx exitio daretur. igitur auditurum principem et fore
diluendi criminis facultatem respondit: iret interim virgo et
sacra capesseret.

where in Tacitus the defining genitive 'lecticae' (2. 2, 5) or 'sellae' (14. 4, 6; 15. 57, 3). Here it must mean a carriage of some kind, capable of holding four persons. 'Gestari' (as in Sen. Ep. 122, 15; Mart. 1. 12, 8: Juv. 7, 179) and 'gestatio' (as in Suet. Cl. 33) are used of taking a drive in a carriage, as of any other mode of conveyance.

adsumiturque: so recent edd. generally, after Walth., for the Med. 'adsumitque'; which would be used properly of Claudius (cp. 'vehiculum ascendit, adsumit uxorem' Plin. Ep. 3. 1, 5), and is here apparently an error of abbreviation. Older editions read sumitque' (sc. 'sedem'), after inferior MSS.

2. **modo ... aliquando**, a coordination not unfrequent in Tacitus (1. 70, 4; 81, 2; 6. 31, 5; 16. 10, 5; H. 2. 74, 4), and apparently peculiar to him.

3. **infantiam**, taken in pregnant sense for 'the thought of their infancy': cp. Introd. i. v. § 84. Nipp. notes that a term so taken is usually joined to and explained by another in ordinary sense (as here 'memoriam'): cp. 4. 3, 3, and note; also 'orsus a questu periculisque' (H. 4. 32, 3), and many other instances here given by him.

4. **instabat ... aperiret**, etc., 'was pressing him to explain his riddle and give a chance of seeing his real meaning. This correction of Halm (after Madvig, Adv. ii. 551) for the Med. 'aperire' ... 'facere' seems necessitated by the change of subject in 'aperiret': the passage in Cic. Verr. 2. 3, 59, 136 ('instat ... poscere recuperatores'), is not parallel. 'Aperire ambages' is thus used in H. 2. 78, 7; 'aperire sententias' ('to speak out their opinions') in H. 2. 53, 1. For 'copiam facere,' cp. 2. 7, 2; 4. 74, 3, etc.

5. **non ideo**: cp. 1. 12, 6, and note.

pervicit quin. Dr. notes this expression (cp. 15. 57, 2) as new, citing as the nearest parallel 'nec ... valuit quin' (Liv. 4. 44, 2).

6. **suspensa**, etc., 'hesitating expressions (cp. 1. 11, 4) and such as would lend themselves to any interpretation.' His words above might be understood of Messalina's guilt or of that of her accusers. For this sense of 'ducere' cp. 6. 5, 2, and note.

9. **cum obstrepere**, so most edd. after Acid. for Med. 'obstreperet': the inf. hist. is often so used (see Introd. i. v. § 46 b).

11. **communes liberi**: cp. 'communem filium' (1. 40, 3). Here the word would distinguish Octavia and Britannicus from their half-sister Antonia (12. 2, 1).

12. **Vibidiam**; see c. 32, 5.

13. **multa cum invidia**, 'with many reproachful expressions': cp. 3. 67, 4, and note.

1 **35.** Mirum inter haec silentium Claudii, Vitellius ignaro
propior: omnia liberto oboediebant. patefieri domum adulteri
2 atque illuc deduci imperatorem iubet. ac primum in vestibulo
effigiem patris Silii consulto senatus abolitam demonstrat, tum
quidquid avitum Neronibus et Drusis in pretium probri cessisse.
3 incensumque et ad minas erumpentem castris infert, parata
contione militum; apud quos praemonente Narcisso pauca verba
4 fecit: nam etsi iustum dolorem pudor impediebat. continuus
dehinc cohortium clamor nomina reorum et poenas flagitantium;
admotusque Silius tribunali non defensionem, non moras temp-
5 tavit, precatus ut mors adceleraretur. eadem constantia et
6 inlustres equites Romani cupidi maturae necis fuerunt. Titium
Proculum, custodem a Silio Messalinae datum et indicium

1. **ignaro propior**, 'resembled one unconscious': cp. 4. 22, 1; 14. 3, 6; 15. 64, 1.

2. **domum**, see c. 30, 3.

4. **patris Silii.** The mention of his trial and death (4. 18–20) records no decree respecting his statues; and the prohibition of any possession of the statue of a condemned ancestor in a house (see c. 38, 4; 16. 7, 3, and notes) is somewhat beyond the usual practice; though their use was forbidden at funerals (see 2. 32, 2; 3. 76, 5, and note).

5. **quidquid avitum.** This correction for Med. 'habitum' is supported by the occurrence of a similar error in 13. 34, 3; 56, 1. On the heirlooms of the imperial house, given by Messalina to Silius, see note on c. 12, 5. 'Neronibus et Drusis' are coupled in 1. 28, 6, and denote the families of the Claudii Nerones and Livii Drusi, united in the descendants of Claudius Nero and Livia (see 5. 1, 1, and notes).

in pretium probri cessisse, 'had gone to swell the reward of infamy': cp. 'in pretium belli cessurae' (H. 1. 11, 4), and similar expressions in H. 1. 70, 4; 5. 9, 2; also 'cedere in imperium,' 'in praedam' (Liv. 1. 52, 1; 6. 14, 12), and the somewhat similar use by Tacitus with a personal accus. (1. 1, 3, and note).

7. **praemonente**, aoristic present: cp. 12. 48, 1, also 'respondens' (H. 2. 4, 3), 'revertentem' (Agr. 9, 1), and other instances given in Introd. i. v. § 54 a. The parallel expression in 12. 69, 1 ('monente praefecto') suggests that here, as there, the monition is addressed to the soldiers, over whom Narcissus for a time assumes the position of praefect (c. 33, 2). The context shows that Claudius was glad to be spared some of the recital.

8. **etsi iustum**, taken closely with 'dolorem.' 'His indignation, however justified, could hardly express itself for shame.' The sentence thus explains 'pauca.'

10. **tribunali.** Such an erection was part of the 'principia' in a camp: cp. 1. 18, 3.

12. **cupidi . . . fuerunt**: so Halm and Dr., after Haase; the older edd. read 'cupidos . . . fecit,' after G; Orelli, Ritter, and Jacob follow Nipp. in giving the words of the Med. text ('cupido naturae necis fuit') and bracketing them as a gloss. The probability that the names of these knights were added leads Ritt. to add 'Cotta ac . . . Fabius' (from Sen. Lud. 13, 4): Nipp. would take 'eadem constantia' (sc. 'fuere') as abl. of quality, and supposes that the knights are those whose names follow, and that 'et,' repeated in Med. before 'Titium,' is used to specify (as in 2. 50, 1; 3. 38, 1); but certainly Titius Proculus could not have been said to have shown the same 'constantia' as Silius.

13. **custodem**, etc. It was not uncommon for the husband to take this means for ensuring the fidelity of his wife, or for her to do the like by him. Cp. 'Custodes das, Polla, viro, non accipis ipsa' (Mart. 10. 69, 1); 'Quos igitur tibi custodes, quae limina ponam?' (Prop. 2. 6, 37); 'quis custodiet ipsos Custodes' (Juv. 6, 347: cp. 235); also Ov. Am. 2. 3, 1; A. A. 3, 612, etc. The assignment of such a guardian in this case was part of the irony of the marriage.

offerentem, Vettium Valentem confessum et Pompeium Urbicum
ac Saufeium Trogum ex consciis tradi ad supplicium iubet.
Decrius quoque Calpurnianus vigilum praefectus, Sulpicius Rufus 7
ludi procurator, Iuncus Vergilianus senator eadem poena adfecti.
36. Solus Mnester cunctationem attulit, dilaniata veste clami- 1
tans aspiceret verberum notas, reminisceretur vocis, qua se
obnoxium iussis Messalinae dedisset: aliis largitione aut spei 2
magnitudine, sibi ex necessitate culpam; nec cuiquam ante
pereundum fuisse, si Silius rerum poteretur. commotum his et 3
pronum ad misericordiam Caesarem perpulere liberti, ne tot
inlustribus viris interfectis histrioni consuleretur: sponte an
coactus tam magna peccavisset, nihil referre. ne Trauli quidem 4

1. **indicium offerentem.** Instances are given under Tiberius (6. 3, 5; 7, 5) of those who saved their own lives by informing against others.

2. **Saufeium Trogum.** Nipp. thinks this may be the person whose name is written in Sen. Lud. 13, 4, as M. Helvius Trogus. The others here mentioned are unknown except from c. 30, 3.

tradi, 'to be delivered to the executioner'; so 'supplicio traditum' (Suet. Vit. 14); 'carnifici tradidit' (Id. Cal. 32); 'traditus est undecimviris' (Nep. Phoc. 4, 2). 'Claudius' is supplied from the sense as subject of 'iubet.'

3. **vigilum praefectus.** This was an important equestrian office. On the 'vigiles' see Introd. i. vii. p. 91.

4. **ludi procurator,** 'superintendent of a school of gladiators.' A permanent imperial institution of this kind, known to have existed as early as the time of Gaius (Plin. N. H. 11. 37, 54, 144), and probably the 'ludus matutinus' in the second region ('Coelimontana'), served for the regular training of the large corps of gladiators required for the shows given by the emperor. Its procurators were of equestrian rank, and are mentioned in inscriptions (e. g. Henzen 6520, Wilm. 1273). Another, entitled 'ludus magnus,' is also known, but was probably instituted (as were also two others, 'ludus Dacicus' and 'Gallicus') after the building of the Flavian amphitheatre, near which it was situated. See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1070, foll.; Friedl. Sitteng. ii. p. 335; Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen, p. 179. It is suggested by Prof. Holbrooke that these officers were intended to bring the gladiators and 'vigiles' to support the revolution.

Iuncus Vergilianus, apparently the same person who is mentioned among the list of victims by Seneca (Lud. 13, 4) under the name of 'Iunius praetorius.' As 'Iuncus' is known as a Roman name from the Pisan cenotaph (Wilm. 883, 2, 59), we cannot decide in which author the name is correctly given. 'Senator' is here added to distinguish him from the knights. The list in Seneca omits the names of Titius Proculus, Pompeius Urbicus, Decrius, and Sulpicius Rufus, and adds those of Cotta and Fabius.

5. **Mnester**: see c. 4, 2.

dilaniata. The word is properly used of persons (cp. c. 22, 2); but Ovid has 'vincula dilaniat' (M. 10, 387), and 'dilaniata comas' (Am. 3. 9, 52).

6. **verberum,** the stripes received for resisting Messalina's will.

reminisceretur vocis, etc. Dio states (60. 22, 5) that Messalina, after having in vain tempted him by rewards and threats, procured a general injunction from Claudius, that he was 'to obey her in all things.' 'Obnoxius' is used in the sense of 'under dominion of' or 'liable to' in 3. 34, 5; 58, 4, etc.

7. **largitione . . . magnitudine,** causal ablatives.

9. **rerum poteretur**: so 'rerum adeptus est,' of Galba's accession (3. 55, 1).

10. **ne . . . histrioni consuleretur.** For the use of 'consulere' in the sense of 'parcere' see 3. 16, 5, and note. That he was beheaded, is gathered from the expression of Seneca (Lud. 13, 4), 'Mnester pantomimus, quem Claudius decoris causa minorem (sc. capite) fecerat.'

12. **Trauli Montani,** the Sex. Traulus of Sen. (l. l.).

Montani equitis Romani defensio recepta est. is modesta inventa,
sed corpore insigni, accitus ultro noctemque intra unam a
Messalina proturbatus erat, paribus lasciviis ad cupidinem et
5 fastidia. Suillio Caesonino et Plautio Laterano mors remittitur,
huic ob patrui egregium meritum: Caesoninus vitiis protectus est,
tamquam in illo foedissimo coetu passus muliebria.

1 **37.** Interim Messalina Lucullianis in hortis prolatare vitam,
componere preces, nonnulla spe et aliquando irā: tantum inter
extrema superbiae gerebat. ac ni caedem eius Narcissus pro-
2 peravisset, verterat pernicies in accusatorem. nam Claudius
domum regressus et tempestivis epulis delenitus, ubi vino incaluit,
iri iubet nuntiarique miserae (hoc enim verbo usum ferunt)
3 dicendam ad causam postero die adesset. quod ubi auditum et
languescere ira, redire amor ac, si cunctarentur, propinqua nox
et uxorii cubiculi memoria timebantur, prorumpit Narcissus
denuntiatque centurionibus et tribuno, qui aderat, exsequi

2. **ultro**, i. e. by her, without any overtures on his part.

3. **paribus lasciviis**, abl. abs., 'her disgust being no less capricious than her desire.'

4. **Suillio Caesonino**, one of the sons of P. Suillius (c. 2, 2). His cognomen appears to be taken from Caesonia, the wife of Gaius, who was his father's half-sister (see on c. 18, 1; 4. 31, 5).

Plautio Laterano. He was expelled from the senate (13. 11, 2), and was subsequently involved in the conspiracy of Piso and put to death (15. 49, 2; 60, 1). The uncle here alluded to is A. Plautius Silvanus, the commander of the great invasion of Britain (see 13. 32, 3; Agr. 34, 1; Introd. pp. 132, foll.).

6. **tamquam** = ὡς: see Introd. i. v. § 67.

7. **Lucullianis in hortis**: cp. c. 32, 2. She had gone back there after her interview with Claudius (c. 34, 3).

8. **componere preces**, 'draws up a petition' (= 'litteras supplices'). Similar concise expressions are 'componere res' (1. 1, 5), 'res gestas' (4. 34, 3), 'vitam' (Dial. 14, 4), etc.

tantum . . . superbiae gerebat. Most recent edd. rightly follow Bezzenb. in thus correcting the Med. 'tantum . . . superbia egebat'; such wrong division of words and loss of a syllable being common errors in this and other MSS. The older edd. read 'tanta . . . superbia agebat' (after G).

9. **properavisset.** For the transitive use of this verb cp. 1. 56, 2, and note, and several instances given by Nipp. on 13. 17, 3.

10. **verterat**, indic. for subjunct. (Introd. i. v. § 50 c); intrans., as in c. 31, 6, etc.

11. **tempestivis**, 'early,' 'before the proper hour': so in H. 2. 68, 2, and in several passages of Cic. and other authors, given by Lips. in his Excursus to 14. 2. In early times to dine 'de die' (before sunset) had been a mark of luxury (see Catull. 47, 5; Hor. Od. 1. 1, 20, etc.); but at this time the 'hora nona' had become the customary time (Mart. 4. 8, 6); and, to epicures, a feast at even an earlier hour (cp. 14, 2, 1, and note) was 'in good time.'

12. **nuntiari**, 'that she should be ordered by message'; so in 2. 65, 1: cp. 'scribere' ('to command by letter') 12. 29, 2, etc.

13. **ubi auditum**, etc. The construction of the temporal clauses is varied from perfect to historical infin. (cp. Introd. i. v. § 46 c), and again to imperf.

16. **denuntiat**, 'commands': so used with infin. (acc. to Dr.) only here and in Apuleius; but a similar inf. is used with 'nuntio,' in this sense, in 16. 11, 1. The officers would be those of the cohort on duty at the Palatium (see 12, 69, 1).

caedem; ita imperatorem iubere. custos et exactor e libertis 4
Euodus datur. isque raptim in hortos praegressus repperit
fusam humi, adsidente matre Lepida, quae florenti filiae haud
concors supremis eius necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat
suadebatque ne percussorem opperiretur: transisse vitam neque
aliud quam morti decus quaerendum. sed animo per libidines 5
corrupto nihil honestum inerat; lacrimaeque et questus inriti
ducebantur, cum impetu venientium pulsae fores adstititque
tribunus per silentium, at libertus increpans multis et servilibus
probris.

38. Tunc primum fortunam suam introspexit ferrumque 1
accepit, quod frustra iugulo aut pectori per trepidationem admo-
vens ictu tribuni transigitur. corpus matri concessum. nuntia- 2
tumque Claudio epulanti perisse Messalinam, non distincto suā
an aliena manu. nec ille quaesivit, poposcitque poculum et solitā
convivio celebravit. ne secutis quidem diebus odii gaudii, irae 3
tristitiae, ullius denique humani adfectūs signa dedit, non cum

1. **custos et exactor**, sc. 'supplicii.' He was to prevent her escape and see the sentence executed. In 3. 14, 7 the terms are contrasted, 'custos saluti an mortis exactor.'

e libertis, sc. 'Caesaris' (as in 13. 21, 2; 14. 39, 1). Euodus is thought to be the same as the freedman of Tiberius of that name mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 18. 6, 8). The form of the name in inscriptions (see Friedl. Sitteng. i. 77, 7) is 'Euhodus.'

2. **praegressus**, 'going on before them.' In the Med. 'p̄gressus' the stroke is thought to be by a later hand: G, and several edd. read 'progressus'; but 'raptim' favours the Med. text. The whole passage would show that he obtained admittance privately, and took note of the state of affairs (which is described by the imperfects), but did not come forward openly till the whole body burst in. Prof. Holbrooke takes the word to mean only that he marched in front, and that they all entered together.

3. **matre Lepida**, Domitia Lepida, daughter of L. Domitius and the elder Antonia (see Introd. i. ix. p. 140). On her character, and her death at the instigation of Agrippina, see 12. 64, 4, foll.

haud concors. Her second husband, Appius Silanus (Dio, 60. 14, 3) had suffered death through Messalina (c. 29, 1, and note).

4. **supremis necessitatibus**, 'her last extremity': so used in H. 1. 3, 1.

ad miserationem evicta; so 'evicta (v. l. 'victa') in lacrimas' (1. 57, 5), 'in gaudium' (H. 2. 64, 5).

8. **ducebantur**, 'were being prolonged,' used strictly with 'questus' (cp. 'ducere . . . voces' Verg. Aen. 4, 463) and by zeugma with 'lacrimae.'

9. **per silentium**, 'in silence': on this use of 'per' see Introd. i. v. § 62.

11. **introspexit**, 'looked her fate in the face' (fully realised it): so used of observing narrowly in 3. 60, 6; H. 2. 20, 2, etc.

12. **accepit**, 'took into her hand.'

iugulo aut pectori, 'now to her throat, now to her breast.' Similar uses of 'aut' are noted on 1. 55, 2.

13. **transigitur**: so used in 2. 68, 3; 14. 9, 4; 37, 6; Phaedr. 3. 10, 27; Luc., etc.

14. **non distincto**, 'without distinction drawn'; a solitary instance (acc. to Dr.) of the employment of this participle in the use of the abl. abs. noted in Introd. i. v. § 31 a.

15. **nec ille quaesivit.** His indifference in a less striking case is noted in c. 2, 5; see also Introd. p. 48.

4 laetantes accusatores aspiceret, non cum filios maerentes. iuvitque
oblivionem eius senatus censendo nomen et effigies privatis ac
5 publicis locis demovendas. decreta Narcisso quaestoria insignia,
levissimum fastidio eius, cum supra Pallantem et Callistum
ageret, † honesta quidem, sed ex quis deterrima orerentur
[tristitiis multis].

1. **filios**, 'his son and daughter': for similar uses of the masculine to denote persons of both sexes see Introd. i. v. § 83; also 'soceros' in Verg. Aen. 2, 457; 'regum' (of a king and a princess) in Sen. Med. 56.

2. **censendo**, etc. For similar decrees see 3. 17, 8; 6. 2, 1, etc., and notes on c. 35, 2; 3. 18, 1; and other references given in Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1190: for an instance of the erasure of Messalina's name see Or. 709 (= Wilm. 898; C. I. L. vi. 1. 918); for inscriptions in which it is retained see Henzen 5401, 5402. No medals struck at Rome bearing her effigy exist; but a good specimen from Nicaea in Bithynia is engraved in Cohen, i. p. 268, and assists to identify other extant effigies, which have been, with more or less doubt, assigned to her, such as the large gem in the British Museum, and the statue, sardonyx, and cameo engraved in Visconti, Ic. Rom. pl. 28. A list, and full discussion of all of them is given in Bernoulli's work 'Die Bildnisse der Römischen Kaiser und ihrer Angehörigen' (Berlin, 1886), i. 356–364. On her probable age see Introd. p. 42, 4.

3. **quaestoria insignia**: cp. 16. 33, 4, and note on c. 4, 5. The extension of such senatorial distinctions even to freedmen (cp. 12. 53, 2), who not only were not senators, but (until the time of Caracalla) were incapable of becoming such, appears to originate with Claudius: see Momms. Staatsr. i. p. 464.

4. **levissimum**, etc., 'a most insignificant reward to his disdain, when he bore himself even above Pallas and Callistus' (was first in the emperor's favour). Orelli and Walther retain the Med. 'fastidii' ('this honour was the least ground of his arrogance'); most of the older edd. read 'fastigii' (after several inferior MSS.). Cp. the language of Juvenal (14, 329) 'divitiae Narcissi, Indulsit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cuius Paruit imperiis, uxorem occidere iussus.' To one who stood so high, an empty honour placing him on a level with the lowest rank of senators, would seem very little.

5. **honesta quidem**, etc. Most edd. treat these words as more or less corrupt. It is very probable that Tacitus concluded the Book with some general remark, similar perhaps to that in 1. 81, 4; but the words here stand in no relation to the immediate context, 'honesta' being only capable of a general reference to the deserved punishment of Messalina and her accomplices (and hardly an appropriate term even for this), and 'deterrima' to the following marriage destined to rise out of it. Also the harsh abl. abs. (for which some inferior MSS. and old edd. read 'flagitiis multis' or 'flagitiis inultis') is a weak conclusion, hardly strengthened, though simplified in point of construction, by reading (with Jacob) 'tristitiis simul multis.' The words bracketed, as above, by Halm, are omitted by Nipp.; and the whole sentence is bracketed by Ritt. and Dr. as the note of a reader, introduced into the text by a copyist. Others treat the words as fragmentary, and either suppose a new sentence to have begun with 'tristitiis multis' (as Baiter), or mark a lacuna before and after 'honesta quidem' (as Pfitzner).

APPENDIX I.

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE ACTUAL SPEECH OF CLAUDIUS, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE VERSION GIVEN BY TACITUS (11. 24).

The bronze table or tables[1] containing this document were dug up at Lyons (Lugdunum) in 1524[2], and are preserved in the Museum of that city. The inscription appears to have been first printed by Lipsius in his Excursus to the Annals, afterwards in Gruter's collection of inscriptions (502), and often subsequently. The text here given is that of Boissieu (Inscr. Antiques de Lyon, p. 136).

It is evident that we have here fragments of the actual speech of Claudius; the whole of which, together with the decree of the senate which followed it, was no doubt engraved and set up at Lugdunum, and probably at other places in the provinces to which it related[3].

The speech is divided into paragraphs as here given, and in almost all cases, the end of a word, except where it coincides with the end of a line, is indicated by a point, and in many, though not in all cases, accents are placed upon long vowels. A few errors of the engraver in the divisions of words, and in the words themselves, are pointed out in the notes[4].

A comparison of these fragments with the speech as given by Tacitus throws much light on the question how far he considered himself at

[1] Boissieu treats it as certain that the two columns were originally united at the side; but the edge of the first column, on the side towards the second, is now in several places mutilated (see the italics in the text). Both are perfect at the bottom and defective at the top. Some of the letters now noted as wanting appear to have become defaced since the date of the early printed versions.

[2] The above date is that of Boissieu; Lips. gives it as 1529, Brotier as 1528.

[3] The practice of thus engraving important speeches of the princeps, is mentioned in Plin. Pan. 75.

[4] See notes on Col. i. 6; 21; Col. ii. 30; 37; 39. We should also expect a new paragraph in ii. 30, where none is indicated.

liberty to ignore such documents, or to deal with them as he thought desirable.

On the whole, the substance of the existing portions may be said to have been given, and the fact that they are represented by but a few sentences would go to prove that the whole speech (as indeed the fragments themselves suggest) was long and discursive, and could only be brought into a space proportionate to the narrative of the Annals by much omission and abridgment.

The sentences 'advenae in nos regnaverunt,' and 'Omnia, patres conscripti, quae nunc vetustissima creduntur, nova fuere: plebeii magistratus post patricios' (§ 11), seem intended to answer to nearly the whole of the first column; the continuation, 'Latini post plebeios, ceterarum Italiae gentium post Latinos,' appears to render the sense of the opening words of the second. The sentences answering to the remainder of this column are 'num paenitet Balbos ex Hispania[1] nec minus insignes viros e Gallia Narbonensi transivisse? manent posteri eorum nec amore in hanc patriam nobis concedunt' (§ 4), and 'ac tamen, si cuncta bella recenseas, nullum breviore spatio quam adversus Gallos confectum: continua inde et fida pax' (§ 9).

The fact that the order of these sentences does not in any way correspond to that of those in the original speech would show that Tacitus, in that process of adaptation to his narrative which he describes by the word 'invertere,'[2] considered himself fully at liberty to re-arrange as well as to condense, and to give the arguments in what seems to him to be their most appropriate form and order.

The style and expression is thus his own, and the tedious antiquarian pedantry of Claudius is just sufficiently suggested to make the speech characteristic without being wearisome.

Our means of judgment are necessarily much limited by our inability to compare the speeches as a whole; and it is also unfortunate for Tacitus that the only instance in which we are thus able to bring him to book, is one in which such obligations to fidelity as he may have desired to recognise must have been sorely tried by the literary and rhetorical defects of his original.

[1] The allusion to the Spanish origin of the Balbi does not appear in the actual speech, but may have been transferred by Tacitus from some other part of it.

[2] Cp. 15. 63, 7, where he gives a reason for declining to relate the last words of Seneca.

Col. I.

mae rerum *nostr* . . . . . *sii* . . . . |

Equidem primam omnium illam cogitationem hominum, qua*m* | maxime primam occursuram mihi provideo, deprecor, ne | quasi novam istam rem introduci exhorrescatis, sed illa | potius cogitetis, quam multa in hac civitate novata sint, e*t* | quidem statim ab origine urbis nostrae in quod formas | statusque respublica nostra diducta sit. |

Quondam reges hanc tenuere urbem, nec tamen domesticis succe*ss*-| soribus eam tradere contigit. Supervenere alieni et quidem ex*ter* | ni, ut Numa Romulo successerit ex Sabinis veniens, vicinus *qui* | dem, sed tunc externus, ut Anco Marcio Priscus Tarquinius. *Is* | propter temeratum sanguinem, quod patre Demaratho *Co* | rinthio natus erat et Tarquiniensi matre generosa, sed inop*i* | , ut quae tali marito necesse habuerit succumbere, cum domi re | pelleretur a gerendis honoribus, postquam Romam migravit, | regnum adeptus est. Huic quoque et filio nepotive eius (nam et | hoc inter auctores discrepat) insertus Servius Tullius, si nostros | sequimur, captivâ natus Ocresiā; si Tuscos, Caeli quondam

3. **maxime primam.** This unusual expression appears to be chosen, as Nipp. notes, to emphasize 'primam' without repeating 'omnium.'

6. **quod**, for 'quot.'

7. **diducta sit**, i.e. how many separate phases and constitutions it has taken.

8. **Quondam reges**, etc. The opening sentence of the Annals is very similar ('urbem Romam principio reges habuere'), and the subsequent changes are in that chapter briefly recapitulated.

domesticis, 'persons of their own family,' as opposed to those of other families ('alieni'), or of other peoples ('externi').

9. **Supervenere**, 'there ensued,' as the kingly office from time to time was vacated.

11. '**Is**,' inserted by Orelli, as probably lost in the mutilations of the right hand edge of this column.

12. **temeratum**, 'polluted' by the admixture of a non-citizen element.

Demaratho, probably an error of the engraver for 'Demarato': see 11. 14, 4; Liv. 1. 34, 2.

13. **sed inopi.** This, as Nipp. notes, is apparently a supposition suggested by the following words.

14. **succumbere**, so used in this sense with dative in Varr. R. R. 2. 10, 9, etc.

domi, at Tarquinii. In the account given of his migration in Liv. 1. 34, 5, otherwise substantially the same, his wife Tanaquil is made to take an important part in guiding his movements.

16. **nam et hoc**, etc. The general view, as given by Livy, makes Tarquinius Superbus the son of Tarquinius Priscus. The idea that he was the grandson, started by the annalist L. Piso and approved by Dion. Hal. (4. 7), is suggested by the chronological difficulty arising from the interposition of the forty years' reign of Servius Tullius.

17. **insertus**, sc. 'est,' 'was interposed between them.' This is to be taken, with Nipp., as a finite verb, and 'natus' as in apposition. A fresh sentence begins with 'si Tuscos,' etc.

si nostros, etc. For the accounts of the origin of Servius Tullius see Seeley, Hist. Exam. of Liv. B. 1. p. 47.

18. **Ocresia.** The name is so written in Ov. F. 6. 627, and Pl. N. H. 36. 27, 70, 204, in other accounts 'Ocrisia' or 'Oclisia.' She is represented as becoming a slave by the capture of the Latin city Corniculum. The father of her child is either made to be her former husband,

Vi | vennae sodalis fidelissimus omnisque eius casus comes, post | quam varia fortuna exactus cum omnibus reliquis Caelian*i* | exercitus Etruria excessit, montem Caelium occupavit et a duce suo | Caelio ita appellitatus, mutatoque nomine (nam Tusce Mastarna | ei nomen erat) ita appellatus est, ut dixi, et regnum summa cum rei | p. utilitate optinuit. Deinde postquam Tarquini Superbi mores *in* | visi civitati nostrae esse coeperunt, qua ipsius qua filiorum *eius*, | nempe pertaesum est mentes regni, et ad consules, annuos mag*is* | tratus, administratio rei p. translata est. |

Quid nunc commemorem dictaturae hoc ipso consulari *impe* | rium valentius repertum apud maiores nostros quo in *as* | perioribus bellis aut in civili motu difficiliore uterentu*r*? | aut in auxilium plebis creatos tribunos plebei? Quid a con*su* | libus ad decemviros translatum imperium, solutoque po*st*ea | decemvirali regno ad consules rusus reditum? Quid in *plu* | ris distributum consulare imperium, tribunosque m*ilitum* | consulari imperio appellatos, qui seni et saepe octoni crearen | tur? Quid communicatos postremo cum plebe honores non imperii | solum, sed sacerdotiorum quoque? Iam si narrem bella, a quibus | coeperint maiores nostri, et quo processerimus, vereor, ne nimio | insolentior esse videar, et quaesisse iactationem gloriae pro | lati imperi ultra Oceanum. Sed illoc potius revertar. Civitat*em* |

COL. II.

. . . . isi sane | novo . . . Divus Aug. . . . . . no i

Tullius, prince of that city, or a client of Tarquinius, or the Lar of the house, or Vulcanus. See Ov. and Plin. (l. l.); Dion. Hal. 4. 1, and other authorities cited in D. of Biog.

si Tuscos, etc.: see 4. 65, 1, and note. The name is there given as Caeles Vibenna, and the person so named is represented as himself the settler on the Caelian mount.

20. **reliquis** = 'reliquiis.'

22. **appellitatus**, apparently an error of the engraver for 'appellitavit.' The verb is used by Tacitus (l. l.) in his version of this story, and by later writers.

Mastarna. This name must have been taken by Claudius from some Tuscan version otherwise unknown to us.

33. **rusus**, an archaic form of 'rursus,' used in Lucr. 5, 749; as also 'rusum' for 'rursum' in Id. 3, 1001; 4, 333. Such archaisms were an affectation of Claudius (see Introd. p. 37).

in pluris: for this distributive force of 'in' see note on 1. 55, 2.

35. **seni et saepe octoni.** During the last thirty-eight years of the existence of military tribunes with consular power, their number is regularly six. Eight names are given only in one year (Liv. 5. 1, 2), when it is supposed that the two censors may have been reckoned in.

40. **ultra Oceanum**, by the conquest of Britain. This boast is constantly paraded in the epigrams of the period: see Introd. p. 130.

illoc, old form of 'illuc,' like 'hoc,' 'istoc.'

Civitatem. This passage probably went on to speak of the progressive extension of the 'civitas' and of the area from which senators were chosen. The substance of this portion is given by Tacitus at some length (11. 24, 2–4).

2. **Divus Augustus.** This passage probably described the practice of Augus-

set patruus Ti. | Caesar omnem florem ubique coloniarum et municipiorum, bo | norum scilicet virorum et locupletium, in hac curia esse voluit. | Quid ergo? Non Italicus senator provinciali potior est? Iam | vobis cum hanc partem censurae meae adprobare coepero, quid | de ea re sentiam, rebus ostendam. Sed ne provinciales quidem, | si modo ornare curiam poterint, reiciendos puto. |

Ornatissima ecce colonia valentissimaque Viennensium quam | longo iam tempore senatores huic curiae confert? Ex qua colo | nia inter paucos equestris ordinis ornamentum, L. Vestinum, fa | miliarissime diligo et hodieque in rebus meis detineo; cuius libe | ri fruantur quaeso primo sacerdotiorum gradu, post modo cum | annis promoturi dignitatis suae incrementa. Ut dirum nomen la | tronis taceam, et odi illud palaestricum prodigium, quod ante in do | mum consulatum intulit, quam colonia

tus in his 'lectio senatus' (see Momms. on Mon. Anc. p. 35). No mention of it appears in the speech given by Tacitus.

3. **coloniarum ac municipiorum**, used of the towns of Italy (see 1. 79, 1, and note): cp. 'Italicus senator' below.

6. **cum hanc partem**, etc., 'when I shall have begun to commend to you (cp. 1. 44, 8; 16. 18, 4; Agr. 5, 1, etc.) this part of my censorship.' The addition 'rebus ostendam' goes to show that he is not here referring to any argument to come afterwards in his speech, but to the justification which his actual 'lectio senatus,' when it took place, would carry with it. The 'lectio' (alluded to in 12. 4, 4) would naturally come after this question was decided.

7. **rebus**. He will show by facts that he does consider Italians to have a prior claim to provincial citizens, by choosing a senate in which they will preponderate.

8. **poterint**, an unusual form for 'poterunt.'

9. **Viennensium**. Vienne, in Dauphiné, the chief or only city of the Allobroges (Ptol. 2. 10, 4), forming part of Gallia Narbonensis. On its opulence, its rivalry with the neighbouring Lugdunum, and its narrow escape from being destroyed by the Vitellian forces, see H. 1. 65–66. On the date of its full establishment as a colony see below (on l. 15). The senators of long standing here alluded to must have belonged to such families as had received the 'civitas' individually, as must have been the case with that of Valerius Asiaticus (see l. 15).

11. **inter paucos . . . ornamentum**, 'one of the few greatest ornaments': cp. 11. 10, 5; 16. 18, 4.

L. Vestinum, probably the same who is mentioned in H. 4. 53, 1, as still a knight in 823, A.D. 70, but of great eminence. The consul of 15. 48, 1, etc. is probably his son.

12. **et hodieque** = 'et hodie quoque.'

in rebus meis, in the duties of a procurator: see 4. 6, 5, and note; 12. 60, 1, etc.

13. **fruantur**, etc. This request amounts to a 'commendatio' (Introd. i. vi. p. 79) of these persons to the senate, with whom the election formally lay: see 3. 19, 1, and note. Priestly offices are often given to young men of rank, before the beginning of their career of magistracies (3. 29, 3, etc.).

14. **Ut . . . taceam**, etc. (referred back to 'confert'; the intervening sentences being parenthetical), 'not to mention,' etc. The allusion is to Valerius Asiaticus, on whom see 11. 1–3; and the epithet 'palaestricum' refers to his habits of life (cp. 'quibus insueverat exercitationibus' 11. 3, 2).

15. **ante . . . quam**, etc. The date of Asiaticus' first consulship is unknown, but he was a consular at the death of Gaius (see note on 11. 1, 1). The original foundation of the colony (probably with Latin rights) is generally referred to Augustus (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 114), on the strength of coins of his date (Eckh. i. 71) found at Lyons with the letters C. I. V. (taken to be 'Colonia Iulia Viennensis'). The gift of full privileges is supposed by Mommsen (see Hirschfeld in C. I. L. xii. p. 218) to have been conferred by Gaius during his stay in Gaul, but might have been due to Claudius, and seems more in accordance with his spirit.

sua solidum civitatis Roma | nae benificium consecuta est. Idem de fratre eius possum dicere, | miserabili quidem indignissimoque hoc casu, ut vobis utilis | senator esse non possit. |

Tempus est iam, Ti. Caesar Germanice, detegere te patribus conscriptis | quo tendat oratio tua: iam enim ad extremos fines Galliae Nar | bonensis venisti. |

Tot ecce insignes iuvenes, quot intueor, non magis sunt paenitendi | senatores, quam paenitet Persicum, nobilissimum virum, ami | cum meum, inter imagines maiorum suorum Allobrogici no | men legere. Quod si haec ita esse consentitis, quid ultra desidera | tis, quam ut vobis digito demonstrem solum ipsum ultra fines | provinciae Narbonensis iam vobis senatores mittere, quando | ex Luguduno habere nos nostri ordinis viros non paenitet? | Timide quidem, p. c. egressus adsuetos familiares que vobis pro | vinciarum terminos sum, sed destricte iam comatae Galliae | causa agenda est. In qua si quis hoc intuetur, quod bello per de | cem annos exercuerunt Divom Iulium, idem opponat centum | annorum immobilem fidem obsequiumque multis trepidis re | bus nostris plusquam expertum. Illi patri meo Druso Germaniam | subigenti tutam quiete sua securamque a tergo pacem praes | titerunt, et quidem cum adcensus novo tum opere et in ad sue | to Gallis ad bellum avocatus

16. **sua** refers to the subject, not of this, but of the leading clause.

17. **de fratre.** Nothing is known of this brother. We gather from this passage that it had been thought necessary for security to expel him from the senate.

20. **Ti. Caesar Germanice.** The grotesqueness of this apostrophe to himself illustrates the criticism which Suet. (in speaking of his historical works) pronounces on his style (Cl. 41), 'composuit inepte magis quam ineleganter.' Cp. the judgment of Tacitus on his speaking (13. 3, 6). The title of 'Germanicus' was inherited by Claudius and his brother from their father Drusus (Introd. i. ix. p. 148).

23. **quot intueor.** Probably, as Nipp. suggests, some young Gallic nobles had been sent as deputies to request the privilege now being discussed, and were allowed to be present.

paenitendi senatores: cp. the words given by Tacitus (11. 24, 4), 'num paenitet Balbos ex Hispania, nec minus insignes viros e Gallia Narbonensi transivisse.'

24. **Persicum.** Paullus Fabius Persicus, on whom see 6. 28, 1, and note. The allusion to his ancestry is absurd, as Q. Fabius (cos. 633, B.C. 121) was called 'Allobrogicus' not from his descent, but as the conqueror of that people.

29. **Luguduno.** Both this form and 'Lugdunum,' occur repeatedly in inscriptions (see Wilm. Index, p. 440), but the former is the older and more correct form, and is explained by Jacob to mean 'Longos dunum' ('Ravens' mount'). Claudius himself was born there (Suet. Cl. 2), and no doubt many of its nobles were Roman citizens. It had become a colony in 711, B.C. 43 (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 115).

30. **p. c.**, 'patres conscripti.'

familiares que, thus engraved 'divisim,' apparently by error: cp. 'in ad sueto' (l. 37), 'quam vis' (l. 39).

31. **destricte.** This word appears here to have the meaning of 'expressly.'

32. **per decem annos.** Compare this passage as put by Tacitus (11. 24, 9).

35. **Germaniam subigenti,** in 742–745, B.C. 12–9.

37. **adcensus,** an error of the engraver, probably for 'ab census' or 'ab censu.' On the census of Gaul see 1. 31, 2, and note.

esset. Quod opus quam ar | duum sit nobis nunc cum maxime, quam vis nihil ultra quam | ut publice notae sint facultates nostrae, exquiratur, nimis | magno experimento cognoscimus. |

38. **quod opus**, that of holding a census under any circumstances.

39. **nobis**, 'to us Romans'; though it might be supposed that practice had made it easy to us.

nunc cum maxime, at this moment (see 3. 59, 4, and note).

quam vis, etc., i. e. although the census which Claudius was then holding (cp. 11. 25, 8) was not, like the Gallic, a basis of taxation, but a mere statistical survey.

41. **cognoscimus**: Claudius speaks here only of himself.

BOOK XII.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

Ch. 1-4. Intrigues respecting the selection of a wife for Claudius.

1, 2. Agrippina, Lollia Paulina, Aelia Paetina recommended on various grounds. 3, 4. Agrippina preferred: she employs Vitellius to induce Claudius to annul the betrothal of Octavia to L. Silanus.

A. U. C. 802, A. D. 49. C. Pompeius, Q. Veranius, coss.

Ch. 5-9. Marriage of Claudius to Agrippina, and events connected with it.

5, 6. Vitellius induces the senate to legalise the marriage. 7. Marriage and political influence of Agrippina. 8. Suicide of Silanus, and exile of Calvina. Seneca recalled from exile, made praetor, and instructor of young L. Domitius. 9. Octavia betrothed to Domitius.

Ch. 10-21. Affairs in the East.

10, 11. Meherdates son of Vonones sent from Rome on request of Parthian nobles, and conducted to the Euphrates by L. Cassius, legatus of Syria. 12, 13. Dilatory action of Meherdates in Armenia and Mesopotamia: local worship of Hercules. 14. Meherdates defeated through the treachery of Izates and Acbarus: subsequent death of Gotarzes: short reign of Vonones, who is succeeded as king of Parthia by Vologeses. 15-17. Mithridates tries to recover the Bosporan kingdom, and is resisted by Cotys, aided by a Roman force, and Eunones king of the Aorsi, who besiege and take Uspe, and force Zorsines king of the Siraci to submit. 18-21. Mithridates takes refuge with Eunones, is delivered to Claudius, and brought to Rome.

Ch. 22-24. Other events of the year.

22. Agrippina procures the banishment and death of Lollia Paulina, and exile of Calpurnia. 23, 24. Privilege granted to senators belonging to Gallia Narbonensis: Ituraea and Judaea, vacant by the death of Sohaemus and Agrippa, added to Syria. Revival of the 'Salutis augurium.' Claudius extends the pomerium of Rome: its ancient limits described.

A. U. C. 803, A. D. 50. C. Antistius Vetus, M. Suillius Nerullinus, coss.

Ch. 25, 26. Claudius persuaded by Pallas to adopt Domitius, who becomes Nero Caesar. Agrippina receives the title of 'Augusta': neglected condition of Britannicus.

Ch. 27-30. Affairs in Germany.

27, 28. The capital of the Ubii made a colony and named after Agrippina. The Chatti, who had made predatory attacks on Upper Germany, forced to submission by P. Pomponius. 29, 30. Vannius, formerly made king of the Suevi by Drusus, driven out by his subjects, takes refuge in Roman territory: his nephews Vangio and Sido divide his dominion between them.

Ch. 31-40. Affairs in Britain.

31. P. Ostorius, the new legate, checks attacks on the friendly tribes, and quells

a rebellion of the Iceni. 32. The Decangi ravaged, the Brigantes repressed; a colony founded at Camulodunum. 33. The Silures resist under Caratacus, who transfers the seat of war to the Ordovices. 34, 35. Caratacus defeated in a great battle: his wife and daughter prisoners: his brothers submit. 36, 37. Caratacus given up to the Romans by Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes: his arrival at Rome and reception there. 38, 39. Unsuccessful subsequent warfare against the Silures: death of Ostorius. 40. A. Didius, sent as legatus, drives back the Silures: a Roman legion assists Cartimandua against her former husband Venutius, who had attacked her and renounced the Roman alliance.

A. U. C. 804, A. D. 51. Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus V, Ser. Cornelius Orfitus, coss.

Ch. 41–43. Affairs at Rome.

41. Nero assumes the toga virilis: various honours decreed to him: contrast between his position and that of Britannicus, whose attendants are replaced by creatures of Agrippina. 42. Afranius Burrus made praefect of the praetorians through Agrippina, who also protects Vitellius from an accusation. 43. Prodigies recorded: famine in Rome, and popular discontent shown towards Claudius.

Ch. 44–51. Affairs in the East.

44. Pharasmanes, king of the Hiberi, incites his son Radamistus to plot against Mithridates king of Armenia. 45–47. War between the two kingdoms: Radamistus, aided by a Roman praefect, takes Mithridates prisoner by treachery and puts him and his sons to death. 48. Quadratus, legatus of Syria, dissuaded by his advisers from taking a vigorous course. 49. Paelignus, procurator of Cappadocia, bribed by Radamistus to support him in seizing Armenia. 50, 51. Vologeses sets up his brother Tiridates as king of Armenia, and invades the country. Radamistus at length forced to fly: his wife Zenobia saved from death and taken captive.

A. U. C. 805, A. D. 52. Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix, L. Salvius Otho Titianus, coss.

Ch. 52. Furius Camillus Scribonianus exiled: astrologers expelled from Italy. 53. Honours decreed to Pallas. 54. His brother Felix procurator of Judaea and Samaria. 55. Rebellion of the Clitae in Cilicia put down by king Antiochus. 56, 57. Ceremony of opening the tunnel made to drain lake Fucinus: Agrippina blames Narcissus for the failure of the work.

A. U. C. 806, A. D. 53. D. Iunius Silanus, Q. Haterius Antoninus, coss.

Ch. 58. Marriage of Nero to Octavia: his speeches for Ilium and Bononia: freedom given back to Rhodes. 59. Suicide of Statilius Taurus under a false charge got up by Agrippina. 60. Judicial authority of procurators established: contrast with previous enactments. 61. Immunity given to the people of Cos. 62, 63. Remission of tribute granted to the Byzantines.

A. U. C. 807, A. D. 54. M. Asinius Marcellus, M'Acilius Aviola, coss.

Ch. 64–69. Agrippina resolves to kill Claudius.

64. Prodigies announced: Agrippina, conscious of her danger, causes the death of Domitia Lepida. 65. Narcissus boldly takes up the cause of Britannicus. 66, 67. He is obliged by illness to leave Rome: Agrippina profits by his absence to poison Claudius by the help of Locusta and Xenophon. 68, 69. Oct. 13. The death of Claudius kept secret till all arrangements were made: Nero saluted as imperator by the soldiers and confirmed by the senate: funeral and deification of Claudius.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XII.

1 **1.** CAEDE Messalinae convulsa principis domus, orto apud libertos certamine, quis deligeret uxorem Claudio, caelibis vitae
2 intoleranti et coniugum imperiis obnoxio. nec minore ambitu feminae exarserant: suam quaeque nobilitatem formam opes
3 contendere ac digna tanto matrimonio ostentare. sed maxime ambigebatur inter Lolliam Paulinam M. Lollii consularis et Iuliam Agrippinam Germanico genitam: huic Pallas, illi Callistus

1. **convulsa**, 'was upset': cp. c. 65, 3; 4. 40, 4, and note. Here it is explained by the division among the freedmen, who had hitherto held together.

apud. Nipp. notes the use of this prep. here with the force of 'inter,' and compares H. 5. 5, 2 ('apud ipsos fides obstinata'). So we have 'dissensio,' 'seditio apud aliquos' (3. 39, 2; H. 2. 68, 1).

3. **intoleranti.** This correction of the Med. 'intonanti' is due to Muret. and Pichena. The word is used with genit. in 1. 31, 4; etc.; also in Liv. 9. 18, 1; 10. 28, 4. Suet. states (Cl. 26) that Claudius, on the death of Messalina, solemnly announced that he would never marry again, but immediately began to seek another wife. He had contracted three marriages, besides two betrothals in early life: see Suet. l. l., Introd. i. ix. pp. 141, 149.

obnoxio: cp. 11. 36, 1, and note.

5. **contendere**, 'brings into comparison' (with those of others). This sense is found in 4. 32, 1; 13. 3, 3; also in Cic., etc. The Med. text 'contenderet . . . ostentaret' might be retained with the insertion of 'cum' (as by Weissenborn) or 'quin' (as by Ritter).

6. **Lolliam Paulinam.** Pliny, who describes as an eye-witness (N. H. 9. 35, 58, 116) the extraordinary magnificence of her jewels, states that she was granddaughter of the well-known M. Lollius (on whom see 3. 48, 3, and note): Suet. states that she had married C. Memmius, a consular in command of a military province, whose name is generally taken to be an error for that of P. Memmius Regulus (on whom see 5. 11, 1, and note), and that she had been taken from him by Gaius, who soon dismissed her (Suet. Cal. 25; Dio, 59. 12, 1). On her subsequent history see c. 22.

M. Lollii consularis, sc. 'filiam.' Tacitus, who elsewhere uses analogous ellipses (see Introd. i. v. § 80), appears here alone to use this particular one; of which, however, there are several instances in other authors (see Nipp. here) and in inscriptions. The younger Lollius, who may be the person addressed in Hor. Ep. 1. 2 and 18, or his brother (see Ep. 1. 18, 63), is not known to have ever been consul; for which reason, added to that of

fautores aderant; at Aelia Paetina e familia Tuberonum Narcisso
fovebatur. ipse huc modo, modo illuc, ut quemque suadentium 4
audierat, promptus, discordantes in consilium vocat ac promere
sententiam et adicere rationes iubet.

2. Narcissus vetus matrimonium, filiam communem (nam 1
Antonia ex Paetina erat), nihil in penatibus eius novum disserebat,
si sueta coniunx rediret, haudquaquam novercalibus odiis visura
Britannicum, Octaviam, proxima suis pignora. Callistus inpro- 2
batam longo discidio, ac si rursum adsumeretur, eo ipso superbam;
longeque rectius Lolliam induci, quando nullos liberos genuisset,
vacuam aemulatione et privignis parentis loco futuram. at Pallas 3
id maxime in Agrippina laudare, quod Germanici nepotem secum
traheret, dignum prorsus imperatoria fortuna: stirpem nobilem

the harshness of the ellipse, Ritt. inserts 'neptem' after 'consularis,' and Madvig (Adv. iii. 230) thinks that 'genitam' should govern both clauses and that 'M. Lollio, filio' had dropped out before 'M. Lollii.'

1. **Aelia Paetina**, whom he had already married (Suet. Cl. 26), and divorced after the birth of Antonia (c. 2, 1). Her father was a consular (Suet. l. l.), perhaps a son of the jurist Q. Aelius Tubero.

Narcisso. On this dative see Introd. i. v. § 18.

2. **modo, modo**, repeated in similar position in Sall. Jug. 45, 2. This arrangement of antithetical words (Chiasmus) is noted as not common in Tacitus: cp. 'hostibus terror, fiducia militi' (1. 63, 4); 'socors domi, bellis infaustus' (c. 10, 2), and other instances in Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 235.

3. **promptus**, 'inclined': cp. 4. 60, 5, and note.

5. **filiam communem**: cp. 'communes liberi' (11. 34, 4). Halm follows Muret. in thus correcting the Med. 'familiam,' and notes the apparent similar error in 16. 26, 4. Most others retain the Med. text, which might be defended by supposing that 'familiam' is used rhetorically of a single child, or that Antonia may herself have had children. On her marriages and subsequent history see Introd. i. ix. p. 150.

6. **nihil . . . novum.** It seems best to take this, with Nipp., not as an ellipse of 'esse' or 'fore,' but as a simple accus. after 'disserebat,' answering to 'vetus matrimonium,' etc. The construction would be like that of 'nihil occultum' in 3. 9, 3 (where see note).

7. **visura**, 'likely to look upon': cp. 'quid ut noverca me intueris' (Hor. Epod. 5, 9). M. Seneca (who appears to be the first to use the adjective) has 'novercalibus oculis aliquem intueri' (Contr. 4. 6).

8. **pignora.** The use of this word specially of children or relatives, as pledges of love (cp. 15. 57, 3; 16. 26, 4; G. 7, 4; Agr. 38, 1), appears to be adopted from Livy (2. 1, 5) and Augustan poets (e. g. Prop. 4 (5), 11, 72; Ov. Met. 11, 543).

inprobatam, 'was disqualified.' The word is not found elsewhere in Tacitus, unless it be inserted (with Andresen) in Dial. 14, 4.

9. **discidio**: cp. 11. 30, 5, etc.

10. **quando**, etc., giving the reason for the following words ('vacuam,' etc.): for the use of 'privignis' see note on 11. 38, 3.

12. **Germanici nepotem**, young L. Domitius (Nero): cp. 11. 11, 5.

13. **dignum**, etc., 'fully worthy of imperial position' (cp. 11. 13, 5). As it would hardly be politic to speak of him as a possible successor, we must suppose it to be meant that he was worthy to be introduced, by his mother's marriage, into the emperor's house. For a different punctuation and interpretation of the clause see next note.

stirpem nobilem, etc., 'let him unite to himself a noble race, the posterity of the Iulii and the Claudii.' 'Et . . . posteros' may be taken as explanatory of 'stirpem nobilem,' and can be satisfactorily

et familiae *Iuliae* Claudiaeque posteros coniungeret, ne femina expertae fecunditatis, integra iuventa, claritudinem Caesarum aliam in domum ferret.

1 **3.** Praevaluere haec adiuta Agrippina inlecebris: ad eum per speciem necessitudinis crebro ventitando pellicit patruum, ut praelata ceteris et nondum uxor potentia uxoria iam uteretur.
2 nam ubi sui matrimonii certa fuit, struere maiora nuptiasque Domitii, quem ex Cn. Ahenobarbo genuerat, et Octaviae Caesaris filiae moliri; quod sine scelere perpetrari non poterat, quia L. Silano desponderat Octaviam Caesar iuvenemque et alia clarum

understood as referring to the lineage of Agrippina and her son. She was of the Julian house by lineal descent (on her mother's side) and by adoption (on her father's), and was also of the Claudian house (by her father's lineal descent), and therefore should not be allowed (see the following sentence) to marry elsewhere, especially as she might yet have more children. The text of Halm and Orelli, as above given, departs from the Med. only by adopting Freinsheim's insertion of 'Iuliae' and alteration of 'quae' to 'que,' and appears to give the best sense with the least change. In the Med. text as it stands, 'stirpem nobilem,' etc., could only refer to Nero, who could not be said by himself to 'unite the Claudian house' (though the marriage of his mother to Claudius would do so by bringing together two branches of it), and whose prospective marriage with Octavia would not be naturally implied in the words, and would hardly have been mentioned at this stage (see c. 3, 2). To adopt (with Nipp.) the remainder of Freinsheim's alteration, by reading 'coniungere' and placing a colon after 'traheret,' gives the words 'dignum imperatoria fortuna' a less appropriate meaning by applying them to a plan or project instead of a person; nor in either of these interpretations is the sequence of 'ne' (or 'et ne') easy to trace, though possibly capable of comparison with that in 1. 47, 2, etc. To simply omit or bracket 'quae' (with Pfitzn., Jacob, and Ritt.), without any sufficient suggestion to account for its insertion, is in effect a more violent change than that given in the text above. For other suggested corrections see Walther, and for a further discussion of the passage see J. H. Müller, Beitr. iv. pp. 7–9.

2. **expertae**, 'proved': cp. 3. 74, 4, etc. Most edd. have followed Ryck. in so reading (after MS. Agr.). The Med. 'experta' is retained by Ritt. and by Nipp. who compares 'expertum belli' in H. 4. 76, 2; where, however, the sense of 'experienced,' here inapplicable, seems preferable.

integra iuventa. She was probably thirty-three: see Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 145.

claritudinem Caesarum, 'the illustrious name of the Caesars,' alluding to her lineal descent from Augustus.

4. **ad eum.** The ed. princeps ('Spirensis') has 'quae' before these words, a reading followed by Lips. and several subsequent edd.

per speciem necessitudinis, 'on the plea of her relationship' (as his niece): cp. Suet. Cl. 26 'inlecebris Agrippinae ... per ius osculi et blanditiarum occasiones pellectus in amorem.'

9. **L. Silano**, one of the great-great-grandsons of Augustus (see the pedigree, Introd. i. ix. p. 139). A Greek inscription quoted by Nipp. (C. I. Att. iii. 1, 612) gives him the surname Torquatus (see on 3. 69, 9), and records that he was 'flamen Iulianus, sodalis Augustalis,' and had filled the offices of 'praef. urb. ob ferias Latinas' (see 4. 36, 1), 'triumvir monetalis' (see Introd. i. vi. p. 77), and 'quaestor Caesaris' (see 16. 27, 2, and note). His name occurs among the Arvales perhaps as early as 796, A.D. 43 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2032). Dio adds (60. 5, 8) that privilege was obtained for him to fill magistracies five years before the legal age (cp. 3. 29, 1), and afterwards states (60. 31, 7) that he became praetor πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου. It is thus clear (see Borghesi, Œuvr. v. 190, 193) that he was not more than twenty-five years old, perhaps even less, at the time of his disgrace and death.

10. **desponderat Octaviam.** This betrothal appears to have been at least

insigni triumphalium et gladiatorii muneris magnificentia pro-
tulerat ad studia vulgi. sed nihil arduum videbatur in animo 3
principis, cui non iudicium, non odium erat nisi indita et iussa.

4. Igitur Vitellius, nomine censoris serviles fallacias obtegens 1
ingruentiumque dominationum provisor, quo gratiam Agrippinae
pararet, consiliis eius implicari, ferre crimina in Silanum, cuius
sane decora et procax soror, Iunia Calvina, haud multo ante
Vitellii nurus fuerat. hinc initium accusationis; fratrumque non 2

arranged in the first year of his rule (Dio, 60. 5, 7), when Octavia was a mere infant (see note on 14. 64, 1). Augustus had allowed girls to be formally betrothed at ten years, and married at twelve years old (Dio, 54. 16, 7), and frequent cases are recorded at even earlier ages: see a number of instances collected in Friedl. Sitteng. i. p. 504, foll.

alia clarum = τά τ' ἄλλα λαμπρόν. Dräger notes such use of 'alia' in Sallust and that of 'cetera' elsewhere in Tacitus (as in 6. 15, 2; 42. 4). The allusion is to his descent from Augustus.

1. **insigni triumphalium**: on the singular 'insigne' cp. 11. 20, 3, and note. The probable occasion of his receiving this distinction would be that of the triumph of Claudius from Britain in 797, A.D. 44, at which date he would probably have been nineteen or twenty years old (see note above), and had filled no magistracy: this would be a great departure from ancient practice (see 11. 20, 5, and note), which Suet. (Cl. 24) and Dio (60. 31, 7) exaggerate by saying that he received the honour in boyhood, i.e. before assuming the 'toga virilis': see Nipp.'s note.

gladiatorii muneris. It appears from Dio (l. l.) that this show was given by him in his office as praetor, at the cost of Claudius.

protulerat, 'had put forward' (C. and B.): so 'ad famam protulerat' (16. 18, 1); 'protulerit ingenium' (16. 29, 3).

2. **nihil arduum**, etc., 'no change seemed hard to bring about in the inclination of a prince,' etc. For the expression 'in animo' cp. 4. 12, 6; 14. 51, 6; 15. 50, 4; also the use of 'animus' for 'inclination' in 4. 71, 1; 5. 7, 1, etc.

3. **iudicium**; so used specially of favourable opinion in 4. 39, 2 (where see note).

erat. Nipp. notes that the verb is referred to each subject separately, 'indita' and 'iussa' to both together.

4. **nomine censoris**: see on 11. 13, 1. On the servility of Vitellius cp. 6. 32, 7; 11. 34, 1, etc.

fallacias, 'the falsehoods': in Tacitus only here and 6. 22, 5, but often so used in Cic., etc.

5. **provisor**, apparently here alone used as 'foreseer': in Hor. A. P. 164 as 'a provider,' and in Insc. as an official title.

6. **ferre** = 'proferre,' as in 6. 49, 3.

cuius, generally adopted from the ed. princeps for the Med. 'cui'; such use of the dative with a personal substantive being properly restricted, as Nipp. notes, to appositional clauses; e.g. 2. 43, 7; 11. 8, 2.

7. **sane**, taken with 'decora' and 'procax,' concessively, as showing colour for the charge. 'Procax,' though generally used in somewhat a bad sense, need not here mean more than the expression ('festivissimam omnium puellarum') used of Calvina by Seneca (Lud. 8, 2); whose allusion to the subject is, however, very obscure.

multo: so Halm for Med. 'multum,' as in 5. 3, 2; cp. Agr. 18, 2.

8. **Vitellii nurus.** Her name is not given as one of those who were married to the future emperor (Suet. Vit. 2); it may therefore be supposed that she had been wife of L. Vitellius (on whom see H. 1. 88, 2, etc.).

hinc. Nipp. seems rightly to refer this to what had been just before mentioned. Although the expression shows that she had been divorced before this charge was made, such divorce did not bar subsequent accusation (see 3. 22, 3); and it would appear that Vitellius, as censor, took up the charge of incest, professedly as one affecting his son's household, and grounded on information coming through this source, and probably represented it as the ground of the divorce.

fratrum, 'brother and sister' (cp. on 11. 38, 3, etc.).

3 incestum, sed incustoditum amorem ad infamiam traxit. et
praebebat Caesar aures, accipiendis adversus generum suspicioni-
4 bus caritate filiae promptior. at Silanus insidiarum nescius ac
forte eo anno praetor, repente per edictum Vitellii ordine senatorio
5 movetur, quamquam lecto pridem senatu lustroque condito. simul
adfinitatem Claudius diremit, adactusque Silanus eiurare magis-
tratum, et reliquus praeturae dies in Eprium Marcellum conlatus
est.

1 **5.** C. Pompeio Q. Veranio consulibus pactum inter Claudium
et Agrippinam matrimonium iam fama, iam amore inlicito firma-

1. **incustoditum**: cp. 2. 13, 5; 40, 4, etc.; here an 'unguarded' or heedless affection, the free intercourse of persons unaware that they were watched: cp. 'incustoditus nimis et incautus' (Pl. Ep. 6. 29, 10). The word appears to occur first in Ovid.

traxit, 'distorted' by misinterpretation: cp. 1. 62, 3, and note.

3. **caritate**, causal abl., followed by objective genitive; so in 4. 17, 1; 19, 1, etc.: 'promptior' is so used with gerundive dat. in 15. 67, 5; Liv. 25, 11, 12; and oftener with simple dat., as in 1. 2, 1, etc.

4. **edictum**, such as that by which any 'nota censoria' might be inflicted. The old censorial power of expelling senators was usually exercised at this time by the princeps (4. 42, 3, etc.), or by the senate in its judicial capacity (4. 31, 8, etc.): see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 946.

5. **lecto pridem senatu lustroque condito**; see 11. 23, 1; 25, 3. With the latter ceremony the office of censor should properly have closed; and Mommsen thinks it possible that the tenure of office may have been renewed to authorise this edict; Vitellius being entitled 'censor ii' in some coins of his son (Staatsr. ii. 340, 5; 413, 6). There is however reason to doubt whether the office was not held by him and Claudius for five years (see note on 11. 13, 1).

6. **adfinitatem**, his espousal to Octavia.

eiurare = 'iurando abdicare'; cp. 13. 14, 1, etc. The word appears to occur only in Tacitus and in Plin. (Ep. 1. 23, 3), and takes an accus. of the office (whence 'magistratum' has here to be read for Med. 'magistratu'): so Plutarch uses ἐξομόσασθαι τὴν ὑπατείαν (Marc. 4), ἀπομόσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν (Cic. 19). The magistrate swore 'se nihil contra leges fecisse' (Plin. Pan. 65).

7. **reliquus praeturae dies**. Suet. states (Cl. 29) that he was forced to resign on Dec. 29. Marcellus would then have held the office on the 30th and resigned on the 31st. For consulships thus held for one day see H. 3. 37, 3.

Eprium Marcellum, the famous 'delator' under Nero (see 16. 27, 10; H. 2. 53, 1; 4. 6, 1, etc.). An inscription from the province of Cyprus, found at Capua and preserved at Naples (Henzen 5425), gives his full name as 'T. Clodius, M. f. Pal(atina tribu) Eprius Marcellus,' and shows him to have been for this day praetor peregrinus, also to have been twice consul (suff. in 827, A.D. 74, and probably in 814, A.D. 61), and three years proconsul of Asia (824–826, A.D. 70–73), as well as augur, curio maximus, and sodalis Augustalis. (On the evidence for the dates here given see Nipp.). He appears also to have been legatus of Lycia (13. 33, 4). He conspired against Vespasian and was forced to suicide in 832, A.D. 79 (Dio, 66. 16, 3).

9. **C. Pompeio Q. Veranio**. The former may have been grandson of the consul of 767, A.D. 14 (1. 7, 3), and has the cognomen Longus in Frontinus (Aq. 102), but that of Gallus in C. I. L. ii. 438 and other authorities (see Nipp.), which also give the praenomen as here; so that of 'Aulus' in the Fast. Ant. (Henzen 6445) seems an error. On Veranius see 14. 29, 1; Agr. 14, 3. Lehmann suggests that he may be the same who was trib. pleb. at the death of Gaius (see Jos. Ant. 19. 3, 4): others have less probably identified him with the legatus and friend of Germanicus (2. 56, 4, etc.), who may have been his father.

10. **firmabatur**. Unless this word is taken in different senses with 'fama' and 'amore inlicito,' we must suppose (with Nipp.) that the marriage was 'cemented'

batur; necdum celebrare sollemnia nuptiarum audebant, nullo
exemplo deductae in domum patrui fratris filiae: quin et incestum 2
ac, si sperneretur, ne in malum publicum erumperet metuebatur.
nec ante omissa cunctatio quam Vitellius suis artibus id perpe-
trandum sumpsit. percontatusque Caesarem an iussis populi, an 3
auctoritati senatus cederet, ubi ille unum se civium et consensui
imparem respondit, opperiri intra palatium iubet. ipse curiam 4
ingreditur, summamque rem publicam agi obtestans veniam
dicendi ante alios exposcit orditurque: gravissimos principis
labores, quis orbem terrae capessat, egere adminiculis, ut
domestica cura vacuus in commune consulat. quod porro 5
honestius censoriae mentis levamentum quam adsumere coniu-
gem, prosperis dubiisque sociam, cui cogitationes intimas, cui
parvos liberos tradat, non luxui aut voluptatibus adsuefactus, sed
qui prima ab iuventa legibus obtemperavisset.

6. Postquam haec favorabili oratione praemisit multaque 1
patrum adsentatio sequebatur, capto rursus initio, quando mari-
tandum principem cuncti suaderent, deligi oportere feminam

by popular report, in the sense of being so talked of as to be difficult to draw back from.

1. **nullo exemplo**, abl. abs.

2. **deductae**, so used of marriage in 14. 63, 4.

incestum, generally taken with 'esse' supplied, or possibly with the idea of some verb of kindred meaning supplied from 'metuebatur.' 'Spernere incestum' appears here to be a pregnant expression for 'spernere incesti metum.' For 'metuebatur' Ritt. reads 'metuebant,' which is, according to him, the Med. text.

3. **malum publicum**, 'disaster to the state,' as a divine judgment.

4. **id**, to be referred back, as Nipp. points out, to 'celebrare sollemnia.'

5. **iussis . . . auctoritati.** Nipp. shows that these terms are used with archaic precision, in accordance with the old formula 'populus iubet,' and the terms 'auctoritas (or 'consultum') senatus.'

6. **consensui imparem**, 'unable to resist unanimity.'

8. **summam rem publicam agi**, 'the highest interests of the state were affected by the question': so again in 16. 28, 1. 'Obtestari' is so used with acc. and inf. in 14. 7, 2; H. 3. 10, 6; 4. 57, 2. The full expression with this construction would be 'obtestari deos,' as in Suet. Cal. 15.

12. **censoriae mentis**, 'a mind worthy of being that of a censor' (as we speak of a judicial mind): Walther aptly compares 'audiebat senatus gravitate censoria' (Pl. Ep. 3. 23, 6). 'Levamentum' is so used of the relaxation of a wife's society in 3. 34, 4.

13. **prosperis dubiisque**, probably best taken as abbreviated abl. abs.; see 2. 14, 6, and note.

14. **luxui**, 'wantonness': cp. 1. 16, 3, etc. The term may perhaps be qualified here by 'qui . . . legibus obtemperavisset'; but it is needless to attempt to reconcile such language with facts.

16. **Postquam**, etc., 'after preface in this winning strain': the same expression is used of a speech studied for popularity in 2. 36, 5 (where see note); so also 'favorabiliter' in Suet. Ner. 7.

17. **maritandum**, etc. This gerundive accus. with 'suadeo' appears not to be found elsewhere in Tacitus and to be otherwise rare; but 'mihi . . . suasissem, nihil esse . . . expetendum' is found in Cic. (Arch. 6, 14), and 'onerandas . . . provincias suadentibus' in Suet. (Tib. 32). On the ellipse of the verb of speaking in this passage cp. Introd. i. v. § 38 a.

2 nobilitate puerperiis sanctimonia insignem. nec diu anquirendum quin Agrippina claritudine generis anteiret: datum ab ea fecundi-
3 tatis experimentum et congruere artes honestas. id vero egregium, quod provisu deum vidua iungeretur principi sua tantum matrimonia experto. audivisse a parentibus, vidisse ipsos abripi coniuges ad libita Caesarum: procul id a praesenti modestia.
4 statueretur immo documentum, quo uxorem imperator *a patribus*
5 acciperet. at enim nova nobis in fratrum filias coniugia: sed aliis gentibus sollemnia, neque lege ulla prohibita; et sobrinarum

1. **sanctimonia**, 'purity of life'; used of a Vestal virgin in 2. 86, 1; 3. 69, 9.

nec diu anquirendum, etc. 'Anquirere' here takes the construction of 'dubitare': no other instance is known. Dr. suggests (Synt. und Stil, § 286) that 'quin . . . anteiret' is equivalent to 'quin intelligerent . . . anteire.'

3. **congruere artes honestas**, 'her virtues (answering to 'sanctimonia' above) corresponded' (to her nobility of race): cp. 'bonis artibus' (11. 22, 4), and note. The application of such terms to Agrippina is part of the irony of the whole business.

4. **provisu**, 'forethought,' as in c. 12. 2; 15. 8, 1: cp. 1. 27, 2, and note.

vidua. Since the death of Domitius (see on 4. 75, 1) she had married Crispus Passienus the orator (see 6. 20, 2, and note), whom she was supposed to have poisoned (Schol. on Juv. 4, 81).

sua tantum, etc., 'who had kept to his own wives' (cp. 'matrimonia' 2. 13, 3). That Claudius had led a moral life would be notoriously untrue (Suet. Cl. 33); but the apparently implied contrast to the shameless adulteries of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 36) is justifiable.

5. **audivisse . . . vidisse**. The first verb refers to the abduction of Livia from Nero by Augustus (see 5. 1, 3), the second to those of Drusilla, Livia Orestilla, and Lollia Paulina from their respective husbands by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 24, 25).

7. **statueretur documentum**, 'let them set up an example' (cp. 'bona malaque documenta' 16. 33, 1).

a patribus; so Halm and Dr. after Ritter (1864), who notes that Med. has a lacuna of about seven letters. Baiter estimates it at about five letters; whence Orelli reads 'a re p.' and notes the similar phrase 'liberos a republica accipere' in Pl. Ep. 4. 15, 10. It would be equally a novelty for either senate or people to recommend a wife to an emperor. Other edd. generally ignore the lacuna, and would lay the stress on the contrast between 'acciperet' and 'abripi.'

8. **at enim**, anticipating the objection.

in fratrum filias. Here and in one other passage (c. 25, 1), 'in' has the force of 'affecting' or 'in relation to,' like πρός. For meanings approaching to this see 2. 39, 3, and note.

9. **aliis**. Marriages within this degree are found among the Spartan kings, as Anaxandrides and Leonidas (Hdt. 5. 39, 2; 7. 239, 6). For instances of marriage of still more near relations see 2. 2, 5, and note.

sobrinarum, 'second cousins' (Fest. s. v.). Evidence, that even within this degree of relationship marriage was at one time contrary to custom, is afforded by a recently discovered fragment of Livy, mentioning a patrician named Celius or Claelius, who 'primus adversus veterem morem intra septimum cognationis gradum duxit uxorem' (see Hermes iv. 372; Marquardt, Privatl. 31). It has however been thought probable that Tacitus meant here to speak of the marriage of relations in the fourth degree, or first cousins ('consobrini'); which was certainly prohibited by Roman law until the enactment of a permissory plebiscite (Plut. Quaest. R. 6) at some date prior to that at which Livy (43. 34, 3) makes a speaker mention such a marriage (A. U. C. 573, B.C. 171). Nipp. thinks that Tacitus may have here written 'sobrinarum consobrinarumque.' Others have thought that 'sobrinus' may here be used for 'consobrinus'; which however is certainly not proved by the fact that 'consobrinus' is sometimes used loosely (Vell. 2. 3, 1; Suet. Cal. 26; Cl. 26).

diu ignorata tempore addito percrebruisse. morem accommo-
dari prout conducat, et fore hoc quoque in iis quae mox
usurpentur.

7. Haud defuere qui certatim, si cunctaretur Caesar, vi acturos 1
testificantes erumperent curia. conglobatur promisca multitudo 2
populumque Romanum eadem orare clamitat. nec Claudius 3
ultra exspectato obvius apud forum praebet se gratantibus,
senatumque ingressus decretum postulat, quo iustae inter patruos
fratrumque filias nuptiae etiam in posterum statuerentur. nec 4
tamen repertus est nisi unus talis matrimonii cupitor, Alledius
Severus eques Romanus, quem plerique Agrippinae gratia in-
pulsum ferebant. versa ex eo civitas et cuncta feminae 5
oboediebant, non per lasciviam, ut Messalina, rebus Romanis
inludenti. adductum et quasi virile servitium : palam severitas 6

1. **percrebruisse.** On this form of the verb cp. 2. 82, 1, and note.

5. **testificantes,** 'protesting': cp. 16. 12, 3, etc.

erumperent curia. Nipp. compares the similar construction in H. 1. 86, 1 ('erupisse cella') and Sall. Jug. 99, 1 ('portis erumpere').

conglobatur. In using this verb of the crowding together of soldiers or other masses of men (cp. c. 31, 2; 1. 35, 6; 13. 39, 4; 14. 34, 3; 45, 2, etc.), Tacitus follows a frequent usage of Livy.

6. **nec Claudius.** On the use of 'nec' for 'et . . . non' see 2. 40, 6, and note; on that of 'apud' see Introd. i. v. § 57; on the abl. abs. 'expectato' cp. 11. 26, 3, and note.

8. **decretum.** Such decrees were now the usual form of legislative enactments: see c. 60, 2; 13. 5, 1; and note on 4. 16, 4; also Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1238.

inter patruos fratrumque filias. Dio states (68. 2, 4) that Nerva abolished this decree (ἐνομοθέτησε . . . μηδὲ ἀδελφιδῆν γαμεῖν); but Gaius (i. § 62) speaks of it as still in force; adding however (what the words here show) that the permission did not extend to the parallel case ('sororis vero filiam uxorem ducere non licet'). It appears really to have been abolished by Constantine and Constans (see Marquardt, Privatl. 31).

10. **cupitor,** only here and in 15. 42, 4, and once in Apuleius. On other such new words in Tacitus see Introd. i. v. § 69, 1 a.

Alledius Severus. This is no doubt the 'primipilaris' (see Introd. i. vii. p. 108, note 11) mentioned by Suet. (Cl. 26), at whose marriage Claudius and Agrippina were present. Suet. adds that the example was followed also by a freedman. See also what is stated of Domitian (Suet. Dom. 22). For the name Med. has here 'talledius,' which many read with Lips. as 'T. Alledius'; but Ritter shows (on 13. 30) that it is the universal practice of Tacitus (except in such a case as Agr. 4, 1, and in some six questioned readings) to use two names only (see note on 2. 1, 1; 3. 49, 1); and his reading (as above) has been followed generally by subsequent editors.

11. **gratia,** here apparently in pregnant sense (Introd. i. v. § 84) for 'gratiae ferendae causa.'

12. **cuncta,** in contrast to the more limited interference of Messalina. On the position assumed by Agrippina see Introd. p. 44.

13. **rebus Romanis inludenti,** 'making state affairs the pastime of her wantonness'; viewing public men only as possible instruments of her lusts, and exerting her influence to advance or destroy them out of mere caprice.

14. **adductum,** etc., 'the reins of servitude were drawn tighter, as if by a masculine hand.' Cp. 'adductius imperitare,' 'regnare' (H. 3. 7, 2; G. 44, 1), and the metaphor 'adducere (in contrast with 'remittere') habenas amicitiae' in Cic. de Am. 13, 45. When used of demeanour, as in 14. 4, 8 (cp. 'adductus vultus' Suet. Tib. 68, etc.), the metaphor is different.

ac saepius superbia; nihil domi inpudicum, nisi dominationi
7 expediret. cupido auri immensa obtentum habebat, quasi sub-
sidium regno pararetur.
1 **8.** Die nuptiarum Silanus mortem sibi conscivit, sive eo usque
spem vitae produxerat, seu delecto die augendam ad invidiam.
2 Calvina soror eius Italia pulsa est. addidit Claudius sacra ex
legibus Tulli regis piaculaque apud lucum Dianae per pontifices
danda, inridentibus cunctis, quod poenae procurationesque incesti
3 id temporis exquirerentur. at Agrippina, ne malis tantum
facinoribus notesceret, veniam exilii pro Annaeo Seneca, simul
praeturam impetrat, laetum in publicum rata ob claritudinem
studiorum eius, utque Domitii pueritia tali magistro adolesceret
et consiliis eiusdem ad spem dominationis uterentur, quia Seneca

1. **saepius**, 'generally': cp. c. 46, 4.

nisi dominationi expediret. She was believed to have purchased the political support of Pallas by adultery (c. 25, 1; 65, 4).

2. **cupido auri**: cp. 13. 18, 3; 14. 6, 2.

obtentum habebat, 'had the apparent excuse (cp. 1. 10, 1, etc.) of collecting resources for despotism'; i.e. it was not set down to mere avarice. On the use of 'regnum' cp. 4. 1, 4; 3, 3, etc.

4. **Die nuptiarum.** This was very early in the year ('initio anni' Suet. Cl. 29).

Silanus: see c. 3, 2, foll. Suet. (l. l.) calls his suicide compulsory, and elsewhere (c. 27) speaks of him as put to death, as also does Dio (60. 31, 7).

6. **Calvina**: see c. 4, 1. She was allowed to return ten years later (14. 12, 5), and was still living in the time of Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 23); unless the Iunia Calvina there spoken of was, as Borghesi thinks (see Orelli's note), her niece.

7. **Tulli regis**, Tullus Hostilius (see 3. 26, 5). Livy (1. 26, 13) mentions expiatory sacrifices prescribed by him to Horatius for the murder of his sister, and kept up in that family. Those here offered were for the alleged incest (c. 4, 4), and are prescribed by Claudius as pontifex maximus. On such offerings by the pontiffs see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 257, foll.

lucum Dianae, probably the famous 'nemus Dianae' at Nemi, near Aricia (Verg. Aen. 7, 764; Stat. Theb. 3. 1, 56; 4. 4, 15, etc.). Some have thought it might be a 'lucus Dianae' near Tusculum mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 16. 44, 91, 242).

8. **procurationes**, 'expiations'; so in Cic. de Div. 1. 45, 101; Liv. 7. 6, 9; and 'procurare' Liv. 40. 2, 3, etc.

9. **id temporis**, at the moment when Claudius was marrying his niece. Tacitus follows Livy (1. 50, 8, etc.) and Cic. (Mil. 10, 28, etc.) in using the phrase 'id temporis,' but only in the later books of the Annals (c. 12, 5; 13. 18, 1; 20, 1; 14. 2, 1: 16. 15, 1): see also c. 18, 1, and note.

10. **veniam**, 'remission,' as in 16. 14, 4, etc. On the antecedents of Seneca, his previous peril under Gaius, and his relegation to Corsica by Claudius in 794, A.D. 41, see Introd. p. 50, 9. The old scholiast on Juv. 5, 109 is wrong in saying that his banishment lasted only three years. Such restoration of exiles was usually effected by Claudius through a decree of the senate (Suet. Cl. 12).

11. **in publicum**: cp. note on 11. 25, 7; also 2. 48, 1, and note.

12. **studiorum**, 'his literary works' (as in 3. 50, 5, etc.). A few of his extant works had been composed before this date; see Introd. l. l.

13. **ad spem**, i.e. towards the fulfilment of their hopes.

uterentur. The plural refers to Agrippina and her party, who are also the subject implied in 'credebatur,' 'placitum,' and 'inducunt.' Some edd. follow inferior MSS. in reading 'uteretur.'

fidus in Agrippinam memoria beneficii et infensus Claudio dolore iniuriae credebatur.

9. Placitum dehinc non ultra cunctari, sed designatum con- 1
sulem Memmium Pollionem ingentibus promissis inducunt sententiam expromere, qua oraretur Claudius despondere Octaviam Domitio; quod aetati utriusque non absurdum et maiora patefacturum erat. Pollio haud disparibus verbis ac 2
nuper Vitellius censet; despondeturque Octavia, ac super priorem necessitudinem sponsus iam et gener Domitius aequari Britannico studiis matris, arte eorum, quis ob accusatam Messalinam ultio ex filio timebatur.

10. Per idem tempus legati Parthorum ad expetendum, ut 1
rettuli, Meherdaten missi senatum ingrediuntur mandataque in hunc modum incipiunt: non se foederis ignaros nec defectione a familia Arsacidarum venire, set filium Vononis, nepotem Phraatis accersere adversus dominationem Gotarzis nobilitati plebique

2. **iniuriae.** The word implies that the charge on which he was banished was unfounded; though his enemy Suillius assumes its justice (13. 42, 3).

3. **designatum consulem.** His consulship, shared with Q. Allius Maximus (Grut. 172, 6), must have been held during the latter half of the year, and he was probably designated in March (Momms. Staatsr. i. 588, 4). The 'sententia' was no doubt pronounced 'per egressionem' (see 2. 33, 2), on some question being put to him first as consul designate (see 3. 22, 6).

4. **inducunt.** The simple inf., though classical with 'animum inducere,' occurs nowhere else with this verb by itself, but is analogous to many other examples (see Introd. i. v. § 43), as is also that below with 'orare' (cp. 11. 32, 5, etc.).

6. **aetati utriusque**: see Introd. i. ix. pp. 140, 150.

7. **maiora**, pregnant construction for 'aditum ad maiora.'

9. **priorem necessitudinem.** He was already the stepson and great nephew of Claudius.

11. **ex filio**, 'Britannico.'

12. **ut rettuli.** The narrative is taken up from 11. 10, 8. The embassy is there stated to have been sent to the princeps, and appears to have been received by him in presence of the senate (c. 11, 1). Another Parthian embassy is referred to the senate in H. 4. 51, 2; and from the advice ascribed by Dio (52. 31, 1) to Maecenas, it would appear that such was the usual, though not invariable practice (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1156).

13. **mandata**, 'their message': cp. 1. 23, 5, etc.

14. **foederis.** The treaty originally made with Augustus (2. 1, 2) had been renewed with Tiberius through Germanicus (2. 58, 1), and again with Gaius through L. Vitellius (Suet. Cal. 14; Dio, 59. 27, 3).

defectione, 'through having revolted'; a strong instance of the use of this abl. of objective causes: see Introd. i. v. § 30.

15. **set**: so Halm, Or., Nipp. for Med. 'sed et,' which others retain in the sense of 'but even.' Ritt. (who reads 'accedere' below) marks a lacuna between 'sed' and 'et,' and thinks some such words as 'Romanum ad principem' have dropped out.

Vononis: see 2. 1, 1.

16. **accersere.** (On this form see 4. 29, 1, and note); here read by Halm, Nipp., and Dr. (after Puteol. and some inferior MSS.) for Med. 'accedere,' which others, among them Orell. and Ritt., retain; the former, however, inclining to prefer 'accire' (cp. 2. 2, 1), the latter thinking the original context ran differently (see note above). Tacitus uses 'accedere' with simple accus. apparently only of place (as in 2. 58, 1; H. 2. 27, 3) or persons

2 iuxta intolerandam. iam fratres, iam propinquos, iam longius
sitos caedibus exhaustos: adici coniuges gravidas, liberos parvos,
3 dum socors domi, bellis infaustus ignaviam saevitia tegat. veterem
sibi ac publice coeptam nobiscum amicitiam, et subveniendum
4 sociis virium aemulis cedentibusque per reverentiam. ideo regum
liberos obsides dari, ut, si domestici imperii taedeat, sit regressus
ad principem patresque, quorum moribus adsuefactus rex melior
adscisceretur.
1 **11.** Ubi haec atque talia dissertavere, incipit orationem Caesar
de fastigio Romano Parthorumque obsequiis, seque divo Augusto
adaequabat, petitum ab eo regem referens, omissa Tiberii me-
2 moria, quamquam is quoque miserat. addidit praecepta (etenim
aderat Meherdates), ut non dominationem et servos, sed rectorem
et cives cogitaret, clementiamque ac iustitiam, quanto ignota
3 barbaris, tanto laetiora capesseret. hinc versus ad legatos ex-
tollit laudibus alumnum urbis, spectatae ad id modestiae: ac

viewed locally (as in 14. 35, 1; H. 3. 24, 2), or in similar metaphorical expressions (c. 31, 3); but the Med. text may receive some support from the expression 'adire aliquem in aliquem' (4. 36, 1), or the use of ἱκνεῖσθαι of suppliants.

1. **longius sitos**, 'more distant relatives.' This sense appears to be grounded on that of Sallust in 'epistola Mithridatis' § 17 ('procul iuxta sitos'), a passage verbally copied in H. 2. 74, 1.

2. **adici**, 'were added to his victims' (C. and B.).

3. **dum tegat**, 'while he would hide his feebleness under cruelty'; making this show of energy to lead us to forget his feebleness as a king. 'Infaustus,' a poetical word, seems to be elsewhere used by Tacitus of things only.

4. **publice**, 'nationally': cp. 3. 36, 2, and note.

5. **virium aemulis**, etc. The Parthians generally speak of themselves as masters of a rival empire to that of Rome: see 2. 58, 1; 6. 31, 2.

ideo regum liberos, etc. On the reasons inducing these kings to entrust their sons to Rome see 2. 1, 1, and note. Halm and Nipp. follow Dr. in taking the Med. 'obsides liberos' as an error of transposition (cp. 1. 26, 5; 65, 7, and notes). The interpretation given to the Med. text by Pfitzner ('as hostages for the kings their sons are given') is much less suitable to the point of the sentence.

9. **dissertavere**, a word adopted by Tacitus (cp. 13. 38, 4; H. 4. 69, 1), apparently from Cato and Plautus. On his use of archaic words and frequentative forms see Introd. i. v. §§ 96, 69 (4).

10. **fastigio Romano**: cp. 3. 73, 3. This part of the speech is a rebuke to the assumption of equality in c. 10, 3. The chief homage of Parthia is that alluded to in 2. 1, 2 (where see note).

11. **petitum . . . regem**, Vonones (see 2. 2, 1, and note). Tiberius had sent Phraates and, after his death, Tiridates (6. 32). On the ellipse of noun or pronoun with 'miserat' cp. 11. 14, 4, etc.

13. **ut . . . cogitaret**, 'to conceive himself as a governor among freemen, not as a despot among slaves': cp. 'tamquam . . . Catonem cogitasset' (Dial. 2, 1).

14. **quanto ignota**. On the use of the positive see Introd. i. v. § 64, 2. Med. has 'ignata,' whence some read 'ignara' (passively, as in 2. 13, 1, etc.), but 'ignota' is supported by parallel expressions in c. 12, 1; 2. 2, 6.

15. **laetiora**: so all recent edd. after Urs. and Acid. (cp. 1. 68, 1); Freinsh. 'gratiora' (cp. 11. 16, 4), for Med. 'toleratiora'; which older edd. retain, but which, besides being ἅπ. εἰρ., can only bear the weak meaning 'more tolerable.'

16. **alumnum urbis**, 'the foster-child of Rome': cp. 'legionum alumnus' (1. 44, 1).

ad id: so used for 'ad id temporis' in c. 38, 2; also in Liv. 3. 22, 8, etc.

ac tamen. The thought is that,

tamen ferenda regum ingenia, neque usui crebras mutationes.
rem Romanam huc satietate gloriae provectam, ut externis quo- 4
que gentibus quietem velit. datum posthac C. Cassio, qui Suriae
praeerat, deducere iuvenem ripam ad Euphratis.
12. Ea tempestate Cassius ceteros praeminebat peritia legum: 1
nam militares artes per otium ignotae, industriosque aut ignavos
pax in aequo tenet. ac tamen quantum sine bello dabatur, 2
revocare priscum morem, exercitare legiones, cura provisu per-
inde agere ac si hostis ingrueret: ita dignum maioribus suis et
familia Cassia *ratus* per illas quoque gentes celebrata. igitur 3
excitis quorum de sententia petitus rex, positisque castris apud
Zeugma, unde maxime pervius amnis, postquam inlustres Parthi

even should he change his character, they had better make the best of him.

2. **rem Romanam**, etc., i. e. Rome had no longer the desire to profit by the internal seditions of other nations.

3. **C. Cassio**, brother of L. Cassius, the husband of Drusilla (on his parentage see 6. 15, 3, and note, and Lehmann, p. 256). He was cos. suff. in 783, A. D. 30 (I. R. N. 1968), and was proconsul of Asia ten years later (Dio, 59. 29, 3), and narrowly escaped death at the hands of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 57; Dio, l. l.). He succeeded Vibius Marsus (11. 10, 1) as legatus of Syria not later than 798, A. D. 45 (Eckhel, iii. 280; Mionnet, v. 176), and was succeeded by Ummidius Quadratus not later than 804, A. D. 51 (c. 45, 6). Afterwards he is mentioned several times down to the date of his exile (see 16. 9, 1).

4. **deducere.** The simple inf. is thus used after 'negotio dato' in 6. 12, 4 (see Introd. i. v. § 43). On the anastrophe of 'ad' cp. c. 51, 4; 3. 72, 2; 6. 37, 1; Introd. i. v. § 77, 4.

5. **ceteros praeminebat.** On the accus. with this verb, found only in the Annals and Sallust, see 3. 56, 2, and note. On other analogous instances see Introd. i. v. § 12 c.

peritia legum. According to Pomponius (Dig. 1. 2, 2, 51), he succeeded Masurius Sabinus in the leadership of the school formerly represented by Ateius Capito (see 3. 75, 3, and note).

6. **nam**, etc., explanatory of the fact that such an accomplishment could at that time give political prominence; military eminence, the more natural Roman ground of distinction, being precluded. The tone of the remark is suited to the age of renewed military glory under Trajan. 'Per otium' is so used for 'in time of peace' in 15. 6, 2; and 'industrius' and 'ignavus' have here special reference to the presence or absence of soldierly vigour: cp. 'industria' in c. 27, 4; 1. 44, 8, etc.; 'ignavia' in 15. 13, 2; H. 4. 27, 2, etc. 'Aut' has the force of 'et'—'et,' as in 3. 42, 2: cp. also 1. 64, 6; 3. 20, 3, and the use of 'vel' in c. 17, 2.

7. **in aequo**, 'on a dead level' (of obscurity).

8. **perinde ac si.** This Ciceronian phrase is probably adopted here only (see note on c. 60, 3) by Tacitus, who has 'perinde . . . atque' (without 'si') in H. 3. 18, 2, but oftener 'perinde quam' or 'quam si' (cp. 1. 73, 5, and note).

9. **hostis ingrueret.** The use of this verb of persons (cp. c. 30, 1; 1. 27, 2; 15. 3, 2; H. 3. 34, 1) seems not to be found in earlier prose. Vergil has 'ingruit Aeneas' (Aen. 12, 628).

10. **ratus**, so in some later MSS. and (superscribed in a later hand) in Med., above a lacuna apparently of eight letters; which Ritt. considers could not be filled by this word (written 'rat.') and inserts 'et gloria.' Nipp. takes no notice of the lacuna. A verb or participle of thinking could no doubt be supplied from the sense: cp. Introd. i. v. § 38 a.

celebrata. The allusion is to the successful defence of Syria against the Parthian invaders after the fall of Crassus by C. Cassius (the subsequent conspirator), then quaestor of the province: see Vell. 2. 46, 4; Dio, 40. 29, 1; also the allusions in Cic. ad Fam. 2. 10, 2; ad Att. 5. 20, 3.

12. **Zeugma.** This place, named originally from the bridge made by Alexander

rexque Arabum Acbarus advenerat, monet Meherdaten, bar-
barorum impetus acres cunctatione languescere aut in perfidiam
4 mutari: ita urgueret coepta. quod spretum fraude Acbari, qui
iuvenem ignarum et summam fortunam in luxu ratum multos
5 per dies attinuit apud oppidum Edessam. et vocante Carene
promptasque res ostentante, si citi advenissent, non comminus
Mesopotamiam, sed flexu Armeniam petunt, id temporis inpor-
tunam, quia hiems occipiebat.

1 **13.** Exim nivibus et montibus fessi, postquam campos propin-

(Dio, 40. 17, 3: cp. 'Zeugma Pellaeum' Luc. 8, 237), was connected by a bridge with Apameia by Seleucus Nicator, the founder of both towns (Pl. N. H. 5. 24, 21, 86). It was the most usual place of crossing (Dio, 49. 19, 3), but it does not appear that at this time any permanent bridge across the Euphrates was kept up (see note on 6. 37, 4). Its site is stated (see Orelli) to be marked by Tscheschme or Zima, opposite to Bir or Biredsjik, which occupies that of Apameia. For another place of crossing see 15. 26, 2.

1. **rex Arabum Acbarus.** This prince ruled no part of Arabia proper, but the Arab race (cp. 6. 44, 7) called by Pliny 'Arabes Orrhoei' (N. H. 6. 9, 25, etc.) and inhabiting the district of Upper Mesopotamia opposite to Commagene, afterwards known as Osrhoene, and having for its capital Edessa (see below). 'Acbarus' (so in Med. twice here, but in c. 14, 2, 'Abbarus') appears to be not an individual name but a title borne by princes of this district, and traceable from the time of Crassus or earlier (see Marquardt, i. 279) to the third century A. D. (see Dict. of Biog.). It is found also as Ἄκβαρος in App. Parth. p. 34 (Sch.), as Αὔγαρος in Dio (40. 20, 1; 68. 18, 1; 77. 12, 1) and Herodian (3, 9); but the correct form is shown by coins (Eckh. iii. 511) and inscriptions (see Orelli, Insc. 921) to be 'Abgarus.' Nipp. thinks the present one probably the prince who ruled as Abgar V, Ukhama ('the dark') from A. D. 13–50.

advenerat. The singular verb may apparently stand here, as the Arabian prince is prominent in what follows; and the construction is often in such cases adapted to the more important subject. Cp. 'abstulerat' (1. 10, 1), 'reducem' (1. 70, 8), 'adfecit' (2. 19, 1), 'obstrictum' (2. 26, 3), and many other instances collected by Nipp. in an Appendix at the end of his volume.

2. **impetus,** 'impulses,' such as their enthusiasm for Meherdates.

4. **ignarum.** This can hardly mean 'inexperienced,' but may readily be understood of his unconsciousness of the treacherous motive; so that Madvig's conjecture 'ignavum' is needless.

summam fortunam, etc., 'thinking that royalty (cp. 11. 12, 4, etc.) consisted in sensuality' (cp. 1. 14, 3, etc.).

5. **Edessam.** This city, situate about forty miles from Zeugma, and now represented by Urfah or Orfah, appears to have been founded upon an already existing town, early in the history of the Syro-Macedonian dynasty; and to have borne at one time the name of Antiocheia, or (as some read) Antiocheia Callirrhoë (see Plin. N. H. 5. 24, 21, 86). Its celebrity belongs to later times.

vocante Carene, 'though Carenes invited him.' He was evidently governor of Mesopotamia (cp. 6. 37, 4), and is mentioned as if already known to the reader. On 'promptas res' cp. 1. 35, 3, and note.

6. **comminus.** This word has the general sense of local proximity in H. 1. 41, 1; G. 8, 1, and in other authors, and the opposition to 'flexu' ('by a detour') suggests that it is to be so taken here. Or Tacitus may have followed Vergil (G. 1, 104) in using it in the sense of 'immediately.'

7. **petunt:** so most edd. after Lips. Nipp. retains the Med. 'petivit,' which seems hardly consistent with 'advenissent.' Ritt. reads 'petivere.'

id temporis: cp. c. 8, 1. The mention of winter shows this campaign to have begun at the end of the year.

inportunam, 'unfavourable'; so in c. 33, 2.

9. **Exim.** The remainder of this narra-

quabant, copiis Carenis adiunguntur, tramissoque amne Tigri
permeant Adiabenos, quorum rex Izates societatem Meherdatis
palam induerat, in Gotarzen per occulta et magis fida inclinabat.
sed capta in transitu urbs Ninos, vetustissima sedes Assyriae, *et* 2
castellum insigne fama, quod postremo inter Darium atque
Alexandrum proelio Persarum illic opes conciderant. interea 3
Gotarzes apud montem, cui nomen Sanbulos, vota dis loci susci-
piebat, praecipua religione Herculis, qui tempore stato per quietem

tive appears to belong to the following year. The mountains would be the range of Taurus and Masius in the south of Armenia: see Introd. p. 110.

campos propinquabant. Such a construction is found elsewhere only in Sall. H. 4. 62, D; 20 K; 50 G ('propinquantes . . . amnem'); nor does any other earlier prose author use the verb, which elsewhere in Tacitus takes the dat., as in 1. 63, 2; 15. 39, 1, etc. Ritt. reads 'propinquarant,' pointing out a similar confusion of 'b' and 'r' ('tenebo' for 'te, Nero') in 16. 22, 2.

1. **tramisso**: cp. 1. 56, 4; 2. 11, 1, etc.

2. **permeant**, 'traverse': cp. 1. 50, 3; 15. 9, 1.

Adiabenos. Adiabene is properly the name of the northern part of Assyria between the Tigris and its tributary the Lycus (Greater Zab) and the mountains of Kurdistan (see Ptol. 6. 1, 2). Pliny however, though apparently at times so restricting the name (cp. 'Adiabene Assyriorum initium' 6. 13, 16, 41), also takes it as in his time a name for the whole of Assyria proper (cp. 'Adiabene Assyria ante dicta' 5. 12, 13, 66), as does also Ammianus (cp. 'Adiabena Assyria priscis temporibus vocitata' 23. 6, 20); and the district, as containing Ninus, may no doubt be regarded as the cradle of Assyria.

Izates. Med. has here 'iuliates,' and in c. 14, 2, 'ezates,' which may have been the form written by Tacitus; but all editors have followed Freinsh. in reading it as in Josephus, from whose account (Ant. 20. 2–4) it appears that Izates was son of Monobazus and Helena, and became a Jewish proselyte; also that he had restored Artabanus to his throne (see Introd. p. 105, 1), but was at variance with his successors.

3. **induerat.** On the metaphor cp. 1. 69, 2, and note.

per occulta et magis fida, 'by secret and more sincere overtures.'

4. **Ninos.** The vast remains of Nineveh are situate opposite Mosul. Pliny indeed speaks of the city (N. H. 6. 13, 16, 42) as a thing of the past ('fuit et Ninos imposita Tigri, ad solis occasum spectans, quondam clarissima'), and Strabo (16. 1, 3, 737) and Lucian (Contempl. 23) represent it as having wholly perished; but the latter statements must be exaggerated, and that of Pliny must be referred only to its departed greatness; the existence of an inhabited town upon the site being not only attested by this passage, and by Ptol. (6. 2, 3), but also by coins struck in Trajan's time and later, showing that Meherdates must have called it, in honour of this victory, 'Colonia Nini (or Niniva) Clau,' or 'Claudiopolis.' See Marquardt, i. p. 279, 1.

et castellum. Most edd. have inserted 'et' after Lips.: some have inserted 'et Arbela,' which is found in MS. Agr. but appears to be a gloss. Neither Arbela, which was a considerable town, many miles from the field of battle, nor the village of Gaugamela near the actual spot (see Strabo, 16. 1, 3, 737), could well be called 'castellum'; but it is probable that a fort may have been built on the site of the battle by the Macedonian kings.

7. **Sanbulos.** This name appears to be preserved in that of the modern Mount Sunbulah, a considerable offshoot of Zagros, between the plains of Ghilan and Deira, in Lat. 34°. 25′, Long. 46°. 10′ (Rawlinson, 258, n. 1). It is to be noted that on Mt. Kerefto, in the east of Kurdistan, a fragmentary inscription has been found (C. I. G. 4673) which Boeckh reads as Ἡρακλῆ [προσ]κύ[νημα] . . . μη[θ]ὲν . . . π[ά]θοι κακόν.

8. **praecipua religione Herculis**, 'the especial worship being that of Hercules.' The old editors and most of the

monet sacerdotes, ut templum iuxta equos venatui adornatos
4 sistant. equi ubi pharetras telis onustas accepere, per saltus
vagi nocte demum vacuis pharetris multo cum anhelitu redeunt.
rursum deus, qua silvas pererraverit, nocturno visu demonstrat,
reperiunturque fusae passim ferae.
1 **14.** Ceterum Gotarzes, nondum satis aucto exercitu, flumine
Corma pro munimento uti, et quamquam per insectationes et
nuntios ad proelium vocaretur, nectere moras, locos mutare et
2 missis corruptoribus exuendam ad fidem hostes emercari. ex
quis Izates Adiabeno, mox Acbarus Arabum cum exercitu
abscedunt, levitate gentili, et quia experimentis cognitum est
3 barbaros malle Roma petere reges quam habere. at Meherdates

moderns have thus corrected the Med. 'Herculi,' which Rup., Walth. and Ritt. retain as a dat. taken closely with 'religione' ('the chief worship being paid to Hercules'), which appears hardly a possible construction; while to take the dat. (with Ern.) after 'suscipiebat,' does not, as Nipp. has shown, give the meaning which Tacitus appears to intend. On the other hand, such a genitive as 'Herculi' could be defended from earlier Latin, as Cic. Acad. 2. 34, 108; but Tacitus elsewhere has always 'Herculis' (c. 24, 2; 3. 61, 3; 4. 43, 2; H. 3. 42, 3; G. 34, 2), and the 'i' form of such genitives had so dropped out of use (cp. Quint. 1. 5, 63) that Pliny (ap. Charis. 107. P.) calls it altogether obsolete. The occurrence of the Greek name Heracles in those regions has been noticed above; but the worship was no doubt grounded on that of some antient Eastern deity. The most probable identification seems to be that with the Assyrian god Nin or Ninip, a deity whose association with Heracles seems vaguely indicated by the mythical pedigree in Hdt. 1. 7, 3, and who certainly resembled him in attributes, and was worshipped as giving the king success both in war and hunting (Rawlinson, 'Five Great Monarchies,' i. p. 159–161). The identifications with the Assyrian sun-god San or Sansi, and with the Verethragna worshipped by the Arians of Iran and closely associated with Mithras (see Duncker, Hist. Ant. v. 115, foll.), seem to be grounded on a less close resemblance.

tempore stato, 'at regular intervals': cp. 'statos aestivis flatibus dies' (H. 4. 81, 1).

per quietem: cp. 1. 65, 2, and note.

1. **monet sacerdotes,** etc. Nipp. rightly notes that the simple narration of this story by Tacitus need not be taken to imply his belief in it.

venatui, dat. of purpose: cp. Introd. i. v. § 22, c.

7. **Corma.** This unknown river has been by some taken to be the Kara-su or river of Kermanschat, near which place is the inscription by which Gotarzes has been thought to have commemorated his victory (see Introd. p. 106, 3). The campaign must probably have taken place in the district of Chalonitis between Mt. Zagros and the Tigris, and the positions of Gotarzes appear to have covered the advance to Ctesiphon, which Meherdates is not mentioned as having reached.

insectationes, 'insults'; so in pl. in 2. 55, 3.

9. **emercari,** a Tacitean word, only in the later books of the Annals; used here with accus. of the person, in c. 45. 5, with that of the quality in a person to which the bribe appeals, in 13. 44. 1; 16. 1, 1, with that of the favour purchased.

10. **Adiabeno**: so Halm and Nipp. with J. F. Gron. Orelli and Dr. retain the Med. 'Adiabenus,' which loses the antithesis, and seems the error of a scribe who thought it must agree with 'Izates.' Ritt. has 'Adiabenus suo,' Haase 'Adiabenum' (taking it as genit. pl., as also in 15. 1, 3).

11. **gentili,** 'characteristic of their race': cp. c. 17, 3; 34, 4; also 'more gentico diversa induere' (6. 33, 3).

12. **Roma petere**: so in 2. 1, 1.

validis auxiliis nudatus, ceterorum proditione suspecta, quod unum reliquum, rem in casum dare proelioque experiri statuit. nec detrectavit pugnam Gotarzes deminutis hostibus ferox; con- 4
cursumque magna caede et ambiguo eventu, donec Carenem profligatis obversis longius evectum integer a tergo globus circumveniret. tum omni spe perdita Meherdates, promissa 5
Parracis paterni clientis secutus, dolo eius vincitur traditurque victori. atque ille non propinquum neque Arsacis de gente, sed 6
alienigenam et Romanum increpans, auribus decisis vivere iubet, ostentui clementiae suae et in nos dehonestamento. dein Go- 7
tarzes morbo obiit, accitusque in regnum Vonones Medos tum praesidens. nulla huic prospera aut adversa, quis memoraretur: 8
brevi et inglorio imperio perfunctus est, resque Parthorum in filium eius Vologesen translatae.

1. **suspecta,** 'being apprehended': cp. 3. 52, 1, and note.

quod unum reliquum (sc. 'erat'), 'his only resource.'

2. **rem in casum dare**: cp. 1. 47, 1, and note.

3. **ferox,** 'confident': cp. 1. 3, 4 (and note), etc.

concursumque, etc. Cp. the description of the battle between Maroboduus and Arminius (2. 26, 4).

5. **obversis,** 'his opponents.' Dr. notes that this word is not elsewhere used substantively.

7. **clientis,** apparently a vassal freeman, but perhaps only a slave, as Justin states (41. 2, 5) that the main Parthian force consisted of such, armed and trained by the nobles with their own sons. He adds that in an army of 50,000 Parthians opposed to Antonius, only four hundred were free. (See Momms. Hist. v. 345; E. T. ii. 7.)

9. **increpans,** 'upbraiding him as'; taken strictly with 'alienigenam et Romanum,' and by zeugma with 'non propinquum,' etc.

10. **ostentui . . . dehonestamento**: on this dative (which is rare in apposition) see Introd. i. v. § 23. 'Dehonestamentum' is used for 'disgrace' in 14. 21, 7 (cp. H. 2. 87, 4), and for 'disfigurement' in H. 4. 13, 2, and once in each sense in Sall. (H. 1. 55 D, 57 K, 80 G; 'Or. Lepidi' 21), the only instances of the word before Seneca. This mutilation disposed of his chance of the crown (see Rawlinson, 259, n. 1).

dein, etc. The events of some years appear to be here grouped together. Professor Percy Gardner notes (Coinage of Parthia, p. 50) that, though a coin of Gotarzes has been assigned to A. D. 52, his latest indisputable coin belongs to June A. D. 51, and that he may probably have died about that time. Also (p. 13) that Vonones, to whom some assign a reign of five or six years, probably issued no coins and reigned only during some two months of the same year, and that Volgeses probably succeeded in Sept. A.D. 51. Other views (see note on c. 44, 1, and Nipp. here) give Vonones a somewhat longer reign. Josephus (Ant. 20. 3, 4), whose general account is inaccurate (see below), makes Gotarzes lose his life by a conspiracy.

11. **accitus in regnum**: cp. 11. 10, 6, and the instances of the use of 'regnum' for 'the throne' there cited by Nipp., esp. Livy 1. 35, 2; 2. 6, 2, from which the expression here is taken.

Medos tum praesidens. On the use of 'praesidere' with accus. cp. 3. 39, 1, and note; on the kingdom of Media Atropatene see 2. 56, 1, and note. Josephus (l. l.) omits all mention of this Vonones, and calls Vologeses a brother of Gotarzes.

14. **Vologesen.** The name in Med. is 'Vologaeses' in 15. 7, 1, elsewhere in the Annals 'Vologeses,' twice 'Vologesus' (see 13. 7, 2; 37, 1, and notes), which form occurs also in H. 4. 51, 2; 'Vologaesus' in H. 1. 40, 4. Nipp. reads the name as 'Vologaeses,' on the analogy of 'Abdagaeses' (6. 37, 5, etc.)

1 **15.** At Mithridates Bosporanus amissis opibus vagus, postquam Didium ducem Romanum roburque exercitus abisse cognoverat, relictos in novo regno Cotym iuventa rudem et paucas cohortium cum Iulio Aquila equite Romano, spretis utrisque concire nationes, inlicere perfugas; postremo exercitu coacto
2 regem Dandaridarum exturbat imperioque eius potitur. quae ubi cognita et iam iamque Bosporum invasurus habebatur, diffisi propriis viribus Aquila et Cotys, quia Zorsines Siracorum rex hostilia resumpserat, externas et ipsi gratias quaesivere missis

and 'Monaeses.' Some coins are found inscribed *Βολαγάσου* (Eckh. iii. 536) or *'Ολογάσου* (Gardner, l. l.), but those of this king bear no name save 'Arsaces,' except one, which has 'Vol' in Pehlvi letters. On the probable duration of his reign see Introd. p. 97, 3. The account of his relations with Rome is resumed in c. 44.

1. **Mithridates Bosporanus**, so distinguished from the king of Armenia (11. 8, 1, etc.). Tacitus is here no doubt referring to events previously related. This prince, who calls himself *υἱὸς τοῦ 'Ασπουργοῦ* on an inscription (C. I. G. ii. p. 95; Lehm. 479, 484), is stated by Dio (60. 8, 2) to have been a descendant of the great Mithridates, and to have received this kingdom (in succession to Polemo, who received an equivalent in Cilicia) from Claudius in 794, A. D. 41, but was afterwards displaced by him in favour of his brother Cotys (see below and c. 18, 1, and note). Coins of Cotys (see Visc. Ic. Gr. ii. 157) appear to show this to have taken place in 799, A. D. 46. A kingdom of more or less extent, having Panticapaeum (Kertch) for its capital, and ruling most of the Crimea (the chief exception being the independent Greek city Heraclea or Chersonesus, now Sevastopol), besides a dominion or sovereignty, uncertain in extent, over the tribes to the east of the Cimmerian Bosporus, is traceable from the fifth century B. C. to the fourth century A. D. (see the list of its kings given by Mr. James, in Dict. of Geog. s. v. and a sketch of its history in Mommsen, Hist. v. 286–294; E. T. i. 312–319). It is chiefly famous as having been annexed by the great Mithridates and retained by his son Pharnaces, after whose death it became dependent on Rome.

vagus. On his deposition, he is recorded by Pliny (N. H. 6. 5, 17) to have fled to the Sauromatae.

2. **Didium**, apparently A. Didius Gallus, who may probably, as Nipp. suggests, have acted against Mithridates as legatus of Moesia. He is known as 'curator aquarum' at this date (Frontin. Aq. 102; C. I. L. vi. 1. 1248; on which see Nipp. here). He was afterwards legatus of Britain (c. 40, 1, and note). He is called a consular (Agr. 14, 3), and must have been such to have held these appointments; but the date of his consulship is unknown.

3. **paucas cohortium**, sc. 'auxiliarium.'

4. **Iulio Aquila.** Nipp. cites an inscription at Naples (C. I. G. 5790), Γ. 'Ιούλιος (wrongly there read by Boëckh as 'Ιούνιος) *'Ακύλας νεώτερος, στρατευσάμενος, ἐπιτροπεύσας, δημαρχήσας, λαυκελαρχήσας.* The two latter terms denote municipal offices, *ἐπιτροπεύσας* that of 'procurator fisci': a bilingual inscription (Or. 3311; C. I. G. 3743; C. I. L. iii. 1. 346) records him to have held that office in Bithynia, and to have made a road there by order of Nero in 811, A. D. 58.

6. **Dandaridarum.** This people are called *Δανδάριοι* by Strabo (11. 2, 11, 495), who speaks of them as a Maeotic (apparently Sarmatian) race living near the Hypanis (here evidently the Kuban), and by Plutarch, who mentions their prince as a vassal of Mithridates (Luc. 16, 501).

7. **habebatur**: so with nom. and inf. in 4. 45, 5 (where see note).

8. **Siracorum**, a correction of Lips. (for Med. 'Syracusorum') from Pliny (N. H. 4. 12, 26, 83) and Strabo (11. 2, 1, p. 492), who also (11. 5, 8, 506) calls them *Σίρακες*: in Ptol. (5. 9, 17, 19) they are *Σιρακηνοί*, in C. I. G. 2132 e (ii. p. 1009) *Σιραχοί*. On their local and ethnical affinity to the Aorsi see note below.

9. **hostilia resumpserat**: Dr. notes the analogy of this new phrase to 'hostilia facere' (15. 13, 4), 'coeptare' (H. 3. 70,

legatis ad Eunonen, qui Aorsorum genti *praesidens opibus* prae-
cellebat. nec fuit in arduo societas potentiam Romanam ad- 3
versus rebellem Mithridaten ostentantibus. igitur pepigere,
equestribus proeliis Eunones certaret, obsidia urbium Romani
capesserent.

16. Tunc composito agmine incedunt, cuius frontem et terga 1
Aorsi, media cohortes et Bosporani tutabantur nostris in armis.
sic pulsus hostis, ventumque Sozam, oppidum Dandaricae, quod 2
desertum a Mithridate ob ambiguos popularium animos optineri
relicto ibi praesidio visum. exim in Siracos pergunt, et trans- 3
gressi amnem Pandam circumveniunt urbem Uspen, editam loco
et moenibus ac fossis munitam, nisi quod moenia non saxo sed
cratibus et vimentis ac media humo adversum inrumpentes inva-
lida erant; eductaeque altius turres facibus atque hastis turba-

1), etc. It is probable that some hostile act of this prince had been previously mentioned.

1. **Aorsorum**: also a correction of Lips. for Med. 'aduorsorum'; which form is given throughout, and may have been that used by Tacitus. These and the Siraci (who adjoined them on the north) are described by Strabo (ll. ll.) as Sarmatian races living between the Tanais, the Euxine, the Caspian, and the Caucasus. He makes both to be off-shoots of the great nation of the more distant Aorsi who lived further north-east, on the Caspian. The name is found both in Europe and in Asia (Ptol. 3. 5, 22; 6. 14, 10).

praecellebat. The unsuitableness of this word to denote kingship is Halm's reason for inserting 'praesidens opibus' before it; nor is it unlikely that a copyist's eye may have been led on from one word beginning with 'prae' to the other. Nipp., who also suggests an insertion of similar effect, in his text follows Haase in altering 'praecellebat' to 'praesidebat' (cp. c. 14, 7).

2. **in arduo**: so in 4. 7, 2, cp. 'in levi' 3. 54, 6 (where see note).

3. **pepigere.** Dr. notes that this verb is here alone used with simple subjunct.: so 'perpulerant' (H. 4. 20, 2).

6. **composito agmine.** The context seems to show that this means here 'with combined forces,' as also probably in H. 5. 1, 5. In H. 2. 89, 1, and elsewhere, the expression denotes an orderly or disciplined force.

7. **nostris in armis.** Nipp. notes that this is taken closely with 'Bosporani,' being superfluous in relation to 'cohortes.' The Roman military organisation adopted by allied or even hostile peoples (cp. 2. 45, 3; 52, 4; H. 3. 47, 3) was probably here, and in most cases, that of Roman auxiliary cohorts, but sometimes, as in the case of Deiotarus (Bell. Al. 34, 4) that of the legions (cp. also 3. 43, 2).

8. **Sozam.** This town, as also Uspe, and the Panda, are nowhere else mentioned; but the line of march appears to have been to the north-east from the straits (c. 17, 3).

9. **popularium**, probably here 'the citizens,' or 'population,' a sense borne by this substantive in late writers. Nipp. points out that they could hardly be called 'the countrymen' of Mithridates, who had usurped rule over them.

optineri, 'to be secured': cp. 'optinendis quae percurrerat' (Agr. 23, 1).

12. **nisi quod**, qualifying 'munitam:' cp. 1. 33, 6, and note.

saxo, abl. of material: cp. 'auro solida' (2. 33, 1, and note).

13. **vimentis** (ἅπ. εἰρ.) = 'viminibus,' forming a hendiadys with 'cratibus.' On the preference of Tacitus for the more unusual forms either in 'men' or 'mentum' see Introd. i. v. § 69.

media, 'filling the space between.'

14. **turbabant.** The action of the men in the towers is here assigned to the towers themselves. Dr. compares this figure of speech to the frequent personification of

4 bant obsessos. ac ni proelium nox diremisset, coepta patrataque
expugnatio eundem intra diem foret.
1 **17.** Postero misere legatos, veniam liberis corporibus orantes:
servitii decem milia offerebant. quod aspernati sunt victores,
quia trucidare deditos saevum, tantam multitudinem custodia
cingere arduum: belli potius iure caderent, datumque militi-
2 bus, qui scalis evaserant, signum caedis. excidio Uspensium
metus ceteris iniectus, nihil tutum ratis, cum arma, munimenta,
impediti vel eminentes loci amnesque et urbes iuxta perrum-
3 perentur. igitur Zorsines, diu pensitato Mithridatisne rebus ex-
tremis an patrio regno consuleret, postquam praevaluit gentilis
utilitas, datis obsidibus apud effigiem Caesaris procubuit, magna
gloria exercitus Romani, quem incruentum et victorem tridui
4 itinere afuisse ab amne Tanai constitit. sed in regressu dispar

'annus,' 'dies,' 'nox,' etc. (cp. Introd. i. v. § 75).

3. **postero**, sc. 'die': cp. 4. 45, 4, and note.

4. **servitii**, abstr. for concr.: cp. 'e servitio Blaesi' (1. 23, 2), and many more instances in plural. The large number offered appears to show an active slave trade in these parts (see Momms. Hist. v. 293; E. T. ii. 319).

quod. The grounds of the refusal show this to refer to all proposals of surrender, conditional or unconditional.

6. **belli potius iure caderent.** Med. has 'ut' before these words, which is retained by most edd. and defended by J. H. Müller (Beitr. iv. 10); the clause being taken as depending on some such idea as 'visum est,' supplied from 'aspernavere.' But such passages as are referred to (e.g. 3. 68, 1; 71, 3; H. 4. 5, 1) are not really parallel, and a sentence so complete in itself as that here given ('quod . . . arduum') would hardly be thus awkwardly followed by a final clause. It is possible that some participle has dropped out, but Ritter's insertion of 'placitum' is violent. It seems better either to suppose (with Acid.) that the clause has got out of its place, and should stand after 'signum caedis,' or to follow Ern. with Halm and Nipp., in treating 'ut' as the insertion of a scribe who thought such a construction necessary, and to take the sentence as the expression of a thought ('let them rather perish by right of warfare') with the verb of thinking omitted (see Introd. i. v. § 38 a). The transition is somewhat harsh, but less so than if 'ut' were altered to 'at' (with Haase).

7. **evaserant**, sc. 'in muros' or 'moenia'; the full expression is used by Livy (2. 17, 5; 10. 17, 7), who appears to follow Verg. Aen. 2, 458 ('evado ad summi fastigia culminis'). The verb is also used in the sense of 'ascending' by Sallust (Jug. 52, 3, etc.).

8. **arma . . . urbes.** For the change from asyndeta to clauses connected by particles, and the variations in these, cp. 1. 11, 6, and note, also c. 39, 3; 64, 3, etc. Such variations occur in other authors, e.g. Liv. 9. 14, 11, 'caedunt pariter resistentes fusosque, inermes atque armatos, servos liberos, puberes impubes, homines iumentaque.'

9. **impediti vel eminentes.** The situation of Uspe was on an eminence, besides being fortified (c. 16, 3).

iuxta = 'pariter': cp. 11. 33, 1, and note.

10. **pensitato**: cp. 3. 52, 4, and note.

11. **gentilis** = 'gentis suae': cp. 11. 1, 2; also 'gentile imperium' (6. 32, 5).

12. **procubuit**, 'prostrated himself': cp. 1. 12, 1, etc. The effigy of Caesar was carried with the standards (cp. 15. 24, 3). Artabanus in similar manner 'aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit' (Suet. Cal. 14).

magna gloria, abl. abs.

14. **ab amne Tanai.** Orelli notes that this river was, in Roman idea, one of the extremities of the known world: cp. 'extremum Tanain si biberes' (Hor. Od. 3. 10, 1).

fortuna fuit, quia navium quasdam (quippe mari remeabant) in litora Taurorum delatas circumvenere barbari, praefecto cohortis et plerisque auxiliarium interfectis.

18. Interea Mithridates nullo in armis subsidio consultat, 1
cuius misericordiam experiretur. frater Cotys, proditor olim,
deinde hostis, metuebatur: Romanorum nemo id auctoritatis
aderat, ut promissa eius magni penderentur. ad Eunonen 2
convertit, propriis odiis *non* infensum et recens coniuncta nobiscum amicitia validum. igitur cultu vultuque quam maxime 3
ad praesentem fortunam comparato regiam ingreditur genibusque eius provolutus 'Mithridates' inquit 'terra marique Romanis per tot annos quaesitus sponte adsum: utere, ut

1. **quia**, 'inasmuch as.' Nipp. notes a similar use in 14. 22, 4.

quippe: so Halm and Dr., after Nipp., for the Med. 'quae,' on the supposition that the troops are supplied as the subject of 'remeabant.' It is impossible to suppose that the historian meant to say no more than that the ships went by sea, nor can the Med. text be well defended by supposing 'remeabant' to convey the meaning that they were returning loaded with troops. Ritter imagines that 'Pontico' may have dropped out; but this would hardly be a correct designation of the Palus Maeotis. The genit. 'navium' resembles 'cohortium' in c. 15, 1, and many others (Introd. i. v. § 32 c).

2. **Taurorum.** This people were known to Herodotus, who represents them (4. 99, 3) as the inhabitants of the Crimea. He distinguishes them from Scythians proper, and would perhaps connect them with their predecessors, the half-legendary Cimmerians (4. 12, 1). He also mentions (4. 103, 1) their savage worship of the Παρθένος. In a wider sense they were no doubt a Scythic race, and are so called by Strabo (7. 4, 2, p. 308), who mentions their piratical habits and hostility to strangers.

3. **plerisque** = 'permultis,' cp. 3. 1, 2, and note.

auxiliarium, the soldiers of the cohorts (c. 15, 1). This correction of Lips. for Med. 'consiliarium' has been generally followed. The old edd. read 'consularium'; but there could have been none of such rank in this force (see on c. 18, 1). Some have followed Rhen. in reading the correction of an inferior MS., 'centurionum.'

interfectis, aoristic perf.: cp. Introd. i. v. § 54 b.

5. **frater Cotys**: see c. 15. 1.

proditor olim. A story is preserved by the Byzantine writer Petrus Patricius (see Momms. Hist. v. 379, 2; E. T. ii. 46, 1), that Mithridates (whom he confuses with the Armenian king of that name) meditated revolt, but, to keep up the appearance of fidelity, sent to Rome his brother Cotys, who there informed against him, and received the kingdom as his reward.

6. **nemo id auctoritatis.** This expression is ἅπ. εἰρ., founded on the analogy of the Ciceronian 'id temporis' (cp. c. 8, 2, and note), 'id aetatis' (5. 9, 3). The Roman commander was only a knight (c. 15, 1).

8. **convertit**, intrans., as in 3. 35, 3; 4. 3, 3.

propriis, 'personal.' He had only become his enemy to please the Romans.

non infensum. All recent edd. follow Ryck. and Ern. in thus inserting the negative, after MS. Agr. The alternative emendation, 'inoffensum,' suggested by Jac. Gron. and approved by Madvig (Adv. ii. 551), is hardly supported by such passages as 13. 30, 4. Eunones would be the more influential ('validus': cp. 4. 12, 6; 6. 8, 4, etc.) with the Romans, as they had themselves sought his alliance (c. 15, 2). The adverbial use of 'recens' is not found in the minor writings of Tacitus, nor in Cic. or Caes., but is otherwise not uncommon.

9. **cultu vultuque.** Dr. notices that any such play on words (cp. 'famam fatumque' Agr. 42, 4) is rare in Tacitus and in historians generally, more common in Cicero, most of all in Apuleius.

10. **genibus..provolutus**: cp. 11. 30, 1.

voles, prole magni Achaemenis, quod mihi solum hostes non
abstulerunt.'

1 **19.** At Eunones claritudine viri, mutatione rerum et prece
haud degeneri permotus, adlevat supplicem laudatque quod
gentem Aorsorum, quod suam dextram petendae veniae dele-
2 gerit. simul legatos literasque ad Caesarem in hunc modum
mittit: populi Romani imperatoribus, magnarum nationum regi-
bus primam ex similitudine fortunae amicitiam, sibi et Claudio
3 etiam communionem victoriae esse. bellorum egregios fines,
quotiens ignoscendo transigatur: sic Zorsini victo nihil ereptum.
4 pro Mithridate, quando gravius mereretur, non potentiam neque
regnum precari, sed ne triumpharetur neve poenas capite expen-
deret.

1 **20.** At Claudius, quamquam nobilitatibus externis mitis, du-
bitavit tamen, accipere captivum pacto salutis an repetere armis
2 rectius foret. hinc dolor iniuriarum et libido vindictae adigebat:

1. **prole magni Achaemenis.** His ancestor, the great Mithridates (see on c. 15, 1), is said by Justin (38. 7, 1) 'paternos maiores suos a Cyro Darioque, . . . maternos a Magno Alexandro et Nicatore Seleuco . . . referre.' Achaemenes is represented as great-grandfather of Cyrus (Hdt. 7. 11, 3), and founder of the family of the Achaemenidae, to which all the Persian kings belonged (Id. 1. 125, 5). Horace uses 'dives Achaemenes' (Od. 2. 12, 21) as a name for a typical Eastern king.

quod, 'which possession,' i.e. the glory of this ancestry.

4. **haud degeneri,** 'not undignified': cp. 'preces degeneres' (c. 36, 6), and similar expressions in 4. 38, 4; 11. 19, 4; H. 3. 65, 4, etc. He had not condescended to stipulate, but had relied, as a king, on the generosity of a brother king.

5. **suam dextram,** 'his good faith' (C. and B.): cp. 'renovari dextras' (= 'foedus') in 2. 58, 1.

delegerit, so with gerundive dat. in 2. 4, 2; 6. 43, 2, etc.

7. **imperatoribus . . . regibus.** The reading of the older editors, 'magnarumque,' has been generally set aside in recent texts for the Med. as above; but the asyndeton is harsh, and the instances cited by Nipp. hardly apposite, as the parties spoken of here are those between whom friendship is formed, and answer to 'sibi et Claudio' below.

8. **primam . . . amicitiam,** 'friendship originates': on 'fortuna,' in the sense of rank, cp. 11. 30, 3, etc.

10. **quotiens ignoscendo transigatur,** 'whenever the matter is ended by a pardon': in the same sense impers. in passive in G. 19, 3 ('cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur'), also intrans. act. in H. 3. 46, 4; Agr. 34, 4.

11. **gravius mereretur.** Nipp. notes that, though the sense is here that of an adjective ('had deserved heavier punishment'), the construction is adverbial, as in 'bene,' 'male mereri,' etc.

12. **ne triumpharetur,** 'that he should not be led in triumph': so 'triumphati magis quam victi' (G. 37, 6); and in Verg., Hor., Ov., etc.: the transitive active sense is of later use.

poenas . . . expenderet, a poetical expression, here apparently taken by Tacitus from Vergil (Aen. 10, 669; 11, 258).

14. **nobilitatibus,** 'princes' (abstr. for concrete; cp. Introd. i. v. § 1), so used (as also 'nobilis') of royal or princely rank in c. 37, 1; 53, 3; 13. 12, 2; 14. 26, 1. A similar dative with 'mitis' is found in Agr. 16, 3 ('poenitentiae mitior'), and with 'inmitis' in 14. 23, 3: cp. 'adrogans minoribus' (11. 21, 4).

15. **repetere,** 'to recover him,' like 'res repetere,' etc.

16. **hinc** = 'ab hac parte,' as in 3. 10, 6: 'adigere' can be used absolutely (cp. 15.

sed disserebatur contra suscipi bellum avio itinere, inportuoso
mari; ad hoc reges feroces, vagos populos, solum frugum
egenum, taedium ex mora, pericula ex properantia, modicam
victoribus laudem ac multum infamiae, si pellerentur. quin 3
arriperet oblata et servaret exulem, cui inopi quanto longiorem
vitam, tanto plus supplicii fore. his permotus scripsit Eunoni, 4
meritum quidem novissima exempla Mithridatem, nec sibi vim ad
exsequendum deesse: verum ita maioribus placitum, quanta pervicacia in hostem, tanta beneficentia adversus supplices utendum;
nam triumphos de populis regnisque integris acquiri.

21. Traditus posthac Mithridates vectusque Romam per Iu- 1
nium Cilonem, procuratorem Ponti, ferocius quam pro fortuna
disseruisse apud Caesarem ferebatur, elataque vox eius in vulgum hisce verbis, 'non sum remissus ad te, sed reversus: vel

33, 1, and note); so that the correction 'huc,' adopted by Nipp. and Jacob after Lips., seems needless. In Gerber and Greef, Lex., 'vindictae' is less well taken as dat. The 'iniuriae' would appear to consist in his having meditated revolt (see on c. 18, 1), after having received his kingdom as a gift from Claudius (see on c. 15, 1).

1. **suscipi** = 'suscipiendum esse': so 'incipi' in 2. 76, 4.

inportuoso: cp. 4. 67, 2, and note. The ablatives here are absolute.

2. **ad hoc**, 'besides' (= πρὸς τούτοις), as in c. 34, 1; 13. 34, 5; 14. 24, 2, etc.

3. **egenum**: cp. 1. 53, 3, and note; here a correction from MS. Agr. for Med. 'egentum' (in margin 'egens tum').

properantia = 'properatione'; only here and in Sall. Jug. 36, 3.

4. **quin arriperet**, 'why not seize the offer,' equivalent to 'quin arripe' in oratio recta: cp. 'quin . . . accingeretur' (H. 3. 66, 6).

5. **servaret exulem**, 'keep him alive, but in exile.'

7. **meritum . . . novissima exempla.** The expression is repeated in 15. 44, 8, and 'novissima' means 'the uttermost' in 6. 50, 8 (where see note): 'exemplum' is used for 'punishment' in Caes. B. G. 1. 31, 12 ('omnia exempla cruciatusque edere'), and a few other places (cp. 14. 44, 7, and note).

8. **pervicacia**, in good sense ('resolution'): cp. 'recti pervicax' (H. 4. 5, 4). The thought seems taken from that of Vergil (Aen. 6, 854), 'Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'

9. **in . . . adversus**, interchanged, as in c. 55, 3; 6. 1, 5, etc.

10. **integris**, perhaps best taken with Ruperti as = 'universis' (whole peoples as opposed to single individuals). Others would take it as 'unimpaired.' Mithridates had already been driven from his kingdom by Cotys.

11. **Iunium Cilonem.** The Med. 'Colonem' is thus corrected from Dio, who gives a story (60. 33, 5) of his accusation for extortion, and of Narcissus as telling Claudius that the accusers (whose voices were drowned by a tumult) were praising his government; whereupon the emperor, without further inquiry, gave him two years' extension of his office. 'Cilo' and 'Chilo' are both Roman names, differing in their etymology (see Nipp.), but sometimes confounded in coins (Eckh. v. p. 212) and inscriptions (cp. Wilm. 1202 a, b; 2815).

12. **procuratorem Ponti.** Dio (l. l.) calls him governor of Bithynia, which, with part of Pontus, was a senatorial province under proconsuls of praetorian rank (see on c. 22, 4, also 1. 74, 1, and note). If he was only a 'procurator fisci' (see 4. 15, 3, and note), he would be no more than a knight, but may have had subordinate charge, in that capacity, of the district of Pontus. See below on § 2.

ferocius, 'with more spirit.'

13. **elata . . . in vulgum**, 'became publicly known': 'efferre' has the force of 'eloqui' in 6. 9, 1.

14. **reversus.** Nipp. notes that Tacitus here uses the less classical deponent form of the perfect probably on account of the

2 si non credis, dimitte et quaere.' vultu quoque interrito permansit, cum rostra iuxta custodibus circumdatus visui populo praeberetur. consularia insignia Ciloni, Aquilae praetoria decernuntur.

1 **22.** Isdem consulibus atrox odii Agrippina ac Lolliae infensa, quod secum de matrimonio principis certavisset, molitur crimina et accusatorem, qui obiceret Chaldaeos, magos interrogatumque
2 Apollinis Clarii simulacrum super nuptiis imperatoris. exim Claudius inaudita rea multa de claritudine eius apud senatum praefatus, sorore L. Volusii genitam, maiorem ei patruum Cottam Messalinum esse, Memmio quondam Regulo nuptam (nam de Gai Caesaris nuptiis consulto reticebat), addidit perniciosa in

proximity of 'remissus.' Claudius had originally given him the kingdom (see on c. 15, 1); so that he means to say 'you sent me there, and I have come back to you of my own free will.'

1. **dimitte et quaere**, 'set me free again and catch me if you can.'

2. **rostra iuxta**: for the anastrophe cp. 2. 41, 1; Introd. i. v. § 77, 1. Tacitus makes no further mention of Mithridates, who is stated by Plutarch (Galb. 15, 1059) to have been put to death by Galba for complicity in the treason of Nymphidius Sabinus (on whom see 15. 72, 3 and note). An inscription at Rome (Henzen 6363) records one of his household ('ego sum L. Lutatius Paccius thurarius de familia rege Mithredatis').

3. **consularia insignia**, etc. On such 'insignia' or 'ornamenta' see 11. 38, 5, and note. The fact that Cilo received a higher distinction than the knight Aquila, who had certainly done much more (c. 15, 1, foll.), would rather argue that Tacitus is wrong, and Dio right, in the rank assigned to him (see above): on the other hand, Graecinus Laco, as procurator of Gaul, received a similar honour (Dio, 60 23, 3; Inscr. Or. 3130); and Suet. who says (Cl. 24) 'ornamenta consularia etiam procuratoribus ducenariis indulsit,' seems to be alluding especially to this case; as Nipp. points out that a procurator of Pontus and Bithynia is styled δουκηνάριος ('receiving a salary of 200,000 HS.') in C. I. G. 2509. It is possible that Suet. may be merely following Tacitus here, and misled by him, and that Cilo may have been the successor of Cadius Rufus (c. 22, 4).

5. **atrox odii**, 'unrelenting in her hatred.' This genit. (ἀπ. εἰρ.) is analogous to those with 'ferox' (4. 12, 3) and others: see Introd. i. v. § 33 e, γ.

Lolliae: see c. 1, 3, and note.

6. **molitur**, taken by zeugma with 'accusatorem': cp. 11. 12, 1.

7. **Chaldaeos, magos**, used in a pregnant sense for the consultation of such persons: for other such instances in which the sense of a participle or abstract noun is thus supplied cp. 1. 68, 6; 15. 36, 1; Introd. i. v. § 80. On the Chaldaeans (astrologers) and magicians see 2. 27, 2 (and note); and, on the measures taken against them, c. 52, 3; 3. 32, 5, and note.

8. **Apollinis Clarii simulacrum.** We should rather have expected 'oraculum'; but it must apparently be understood that she was alleged to have consulted, probably through persons sent for the purpose, the famous oracle at Colophon (on which see 2. 54, 3, and note); for we can hardly suppose, with Ritter, that some image of the god kept at Rome was interrogated. On the criminality of consultations of any sort concerning the imperial family see c. 52, 1; 3. 22, 2, and note.

9. **inaudita**, 'unheard in her defence,' a Tacitean sense of the word: see 2. 77, 5 (and note); 4. 11, 2.

10. **L. Volusii**: see 13. 30, 4, and note: on Cotta Messalinus see 2. 32, 2, and note; on P. Memmius Regulus see 5. 11, 1 (and note); 14. 47, 1; on the marriage of Lollia to Gaius see note on c. 1, 3.

12. **perniciosa**, sc. 'esse.' It is also possible (with Nipp.) to supply some such word as 'prohibenda' by zeugma from 'detrahendam.'

rem publicam consilia et materiem sceleri detrahendam: proin
publicatis bonis cederet Italia. ita quinquagiens sestertium ex 3
opibus immensis exuli relictum. et Calpurnia inlustris femina
pervertitur, quia formam eius laudaverat princeps, nulla libidine,
sed fortuito sermone, unde ira Agrippinae citra ultima stetit. in 4
Lolliam mittitur tribunus, a quo ad mortem adigeretur. damnatus et lege repetundarum Cadius Rufus accusantibus Bithynis.

23. Galliae Narbonensi ob egregiam in patres reverentiam 1
datum, ut senatoribus eius provinciae non exquisita principis sententia, iure quo Sicilia haberetur, res suas invisere liceret.
Ituraeique et Iudaei defunctis regibus, Sohaemo atque Agrippa, 2

1. **materiem,** 'her means for criminal enterprise,' i. e. her wealth (on which see note on c. 1, 3): the word is often used similarly of cause or opportunity.

2. **cederet Italia.** The expression would seem to denote not full 'exilium' but 'relegatio,' which was not necessarily or usually accompanied by forfeiture of property (see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 287). The sum of five million HS., represented as a pitiful fraction of her former wealth, illustrates the remark of Seneca (ad Helv. 12, 4) 'maius viaticum exulum, quam olim patrimonium principum fuit.'

3. **inlustris femina.** These words distinguish her from the Calpurnia of 11. 30, 1. Her return from exile is mentioned in 14. 12, 5.

5. **ira Agrippinae,** etc., 'the resentment of Agrippina stopped short of the last extremity.' For 'ira' Med. has 'irex': the old edd. followed G. in reading 'vis,' but all recent edd. have adopted the above correction from Bötticher, which is supported by being an evident reminiscence of Ov. Tr. 2, 127 (' citraque necem tua constitit ira'). 'Stare' has the sense of 'coming to a standstill' in H. 4. 67, 3; Agr. 16, 5.

in Lolliam, etc. Dio states (60. 32, 4) that her head was brought to Agrippina, who carefully identified it by examining some peculiarity in the teeth. Her ashes were brought back for burial to Rome after her persecutor's death (14. 12, 6).

7. **Cadius Rufus,** proconsul of Bithynia (see note on c. 21, 1) in or before 801, A. D. 48; as would appear from coins of that province bearing the heads of Messalina and Britannicus with the inscription ἐπὶ Γαΐου Γαδίου Ῥούφου ἀνθυπάτου (Eckh. ii. 402; Mionn. ii. 450 f.; Supp. v. 81 f.). He appears to have been expelled from the senate, and to have been restored to it twenty years later by Otho (H. 1. 77, 6).

8. **Galliae Narbonensi.** This old Gallic province was under senatorial rule. The Roman citizens belonging to it had for some time enjoyed the 'ius honorum' (cp. 11. 23, 1), and had furnished, especially from the colony of Vienna, many senators to Rome (see 'Oratio Claudii' ii. 9; Friedl. i. 201).

9. **ut senatoribus,** etc. Under the Republic, absent senators could be compelled to return to Rome by the consuls (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 912), and those who wished to be absent on private business for some time usually availed themselves of the fiction of 'legatio libera.' Augustus, who had made an ordinance soon after Actium forbidding senators to reside out of Italy without permission (cp. 6. 14, 3), had made an exception allowing those who had property in Sicily to visit it when they pleased (Dio, 52. 42, 6). The further extension here granted by Claudius was the only one down to the time of Dio (see l. l.). Under the early Empire, the senate retained its power to grant 'legatio libera' (Suet. Tib. 31); but Claudius is stated to have taken into his own hands all privilege of granting leave of absence to individuals (Suet. Cl. 23; Dio, 60. 25, 6). On the vast estates held by many senators in the provinces see Friedl. i. p. 218, foll.

10. **iure quo** = 'eodem iure quo': cp. 2. 63, 2, and note.

11. **Ituraei.** This people, called an Arab race by Dio (59. 12, 2), had been in part conquered by the Jewish king Aristobulus in B. C. 100 (Jos. Ant. 13. 11, 3), had been subjected to the Romans by

3 provinciae Suriae additi. Salutis augurium quinque et septua-
4 ginta annis omissum repeti ac deinde continuari placitum. et
pomerium urbis auxit Caesar, more prisco, quo iis qui protulere

Pompeius in 691, B.C. 63 (App. Mithr. 106), had formed part of the dominion (Jos. Ant. 15. 10, 1) placed under the rule of Herod the Great, and had passed to his son Philip (St. Luke 3, 1). They are described as a barbarous and predatory race, furnishing a corps of archers to the Roman army (Bell. Afr. 20, 2; Cic. Phil. 2. 44, 112; Strab. 16. 2, 18, 755; Verg. G. 2, 448; Luc. 7, 230; Vopisc. Aurel. 11, 3).

Sohaemo. The origin of this prince does not appear to be known. He was made king of this people by Gaius in 792, A.D. 39, and confirmed by decree of the senate (Dio, 59. 12, 2). On a different person of the name see 13. 7, 2.

Agrippa. Herodes Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great, had courted the friendship of Gaius in the lifetime of Tiberius, and had been rewarded by him subsequently with the gift of the northern tetrarchies of Palestine and the title of king (Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 10; 7, 2). His assistance to Claudius during the crisis of his accession had been rewarded by the addition of Judaea and Samaria (Id. 19. 5, 1); so that his dominion was equal to that of Herod the Great, and 'Iudaei' is here taken in a wide sense. His coins bear his effigy, with the title βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀγρίππας Φιλοκλαύδιος (Visc. Ic. Gr. Pl. 48, 9). His death (on which see Acts 12, 23) appears from Josephus (19. 8, 2) to have taken place in 797, A.D. 44. Tacitus may perhaps have deferred mention of it till this date so as to record together the incorporation of Ituraea and Judaea. It is also suggested (see Marquardt i. 253) from comparison of Jos. 19. 9, 2 and 20. 1, 1, that the formal subordination to Syria did not take place till Marsus (11. 10, 1) was succeeded by Cassius (c. 12, 1).

1. **provinciae Suriae additi.** This is consistent with the statement in Hist. 5. 9, 5 ('Claudius, defunctis regibus aut ad modicum redactis, Iudaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit'), as these procurators were subordinate to the legatus of Syria. Cuspius Fadus had been appointed procurator of Judaea after Agrippa's death (Jos. 19. 9, 2); on others, see c. 54, 1.

Salutis augurium. This οἰώνισμα τῆς ὑγιείας is explained by Dio on the relation of an occasion of it in the year of Cicero's consulship (37. 24, 1). Divination was resorted to by the augurs to ascertain εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφίσιν ὁ θεὸς ὑγιείαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτῆσαι, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν οὐδὲ αἴτησιν αὐτῆς, πρὶν συγχωρηθῆναι, γενέσθαι. Καὶ ἐτελεῖτο κατ' ἔτος ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ μηδὲν στρατόπεδον μήτε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῄει, μήτ' ἀντιπαρετάττετό τισι μήτε ἐμάχετο. He adds that the frequency of foreign and civil wars had made the opportunities for such augury few and far between, and that in the year mentioned, the first after a long interval, it was questioned (cp. 'addubitato Salutis augurio' Cic. de Div. 1. 47, 105).

quinque et septuaginta. Med. has 'quinque et XX,' which would make the last occasion to have been in 777, A.D. 24, when Tacitus, who treats of that time in 4. 1–16, would probably have made some mention of it. Modern edd. have therefore followed Ritter (1838) in supposing that 'L' has dropped out before 'XX' in Med., so as to give an at least approximately correct reference to 725, B.C. 29, when Dio (51. 20, 4) records such an augury as taken by Augustus. We have no record of any intermediate occasion, unless Suet. (Aug. 31) is to be taken to mean that Augustus revived it as an annual custom, which may have dropped again by reason of wars and subsequent neglect.

2. **continuari,** 'to be made continuous,' i.e. annual.

3. **pomerium urbis.** Gellius (13. 14, 1) gives the definition of this term from the books of augurs: 'locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certis determinatus, qui facit finem urbani auspicii.' The derivation from 'post murum' is given by Varro (L. L. 5. § 143) and Plutarch (Rom. 11), as also by Livy (1. 44, 4), who however notes that it extended within as well as without the wall, and that the consecration of such a space (no doubt for military reasons) was an Etruscan custom. The interior limit was apparently ignored in Livy's time; the exterior one being of more importance, not only as the limit of auspices (see Gell. above), but also formerly as having an important bearing on the circumscription

imperium etiam terminos urbis propagare datur. nec tamen duces Romani, quamquam magnis nationibus subactis, usurpaverant, nisi L. Sulla et divus Augustus.

24. Regum in eo ambitio vel gloria varie vulgata: sed ini- 1 tium condendi, et quod pomerium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. igitur a foro boario, ubi aereum tauri 2

of the authority of magistrates. This, however, had become practically obsolete, as the proconsulare imperium and tribunitia potestas of the princeps had no local limit (Introd. i. vi. p. 71).

auxit, 'extended': cp. 'auget (urbem) Esquiliis' (Liv. 1. 44, 3). The inscription on one of the boundary stones (Or. 710; C. I. L. vi. 1, 1231) runs thus 'Ti. Claudius, Drusi f., Caisar Aug. Germanicus, Pont. Max., Trib. Pot. VIIII, Imp. XVI., Cos. IIII, censor, P. P. (pater patriae), auctis Populi Romani finibus pomerium amplia⅃it termina⅃itque.' The increase of empire here alluded to was the conquest of Britain; and the action of Claudius is expressly cited (Lex de imp. Vesp. 14) as a precedent for Vespasian ('utique ei fines pomerii proferre promovere, cum ex republica censebit esse, liceat, ita uti licuit Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug. Germanico'). The statement here and in Gell. (l. l.), that such a privilege belonged to any one who had added to Roman territory, corresponds with the formula on the boundary stones (see above), but is qualified by the statement of Seneca (de Brev. vitae 13, 8), 'pomerium . . . numquam provinciali, sed Italico agro adquisito proferre moris apud antiquos fuit'; and the fact, here admitted, that the generals under whom the greatest conquests of the Republic were made exercised no such right, leads Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 738; see also iii. 829) to conclude that it was not a magisterial, but a regal prerogative, revived by Sulla when possessed of quasi-regal authority, and incorporated by Claudius into the powers of the principate. In its original idea it appears connected with the συνοικισμὸς accompanying expansion of territory (Momms. l. l.).

3. **nisi L. Sulla et divus Augustus.** On this point we have considerable discrepancy of authorities. The action of Sulla is attested by Seneca (l. l.) and Gell. (l. l.); but in the former passage (written probably before this act of Claudius) he is said 'ultimum Romanorum protulisse pomerium,' and Gellius makes no mention of Augustus, but mentions Julius Caesar, who is also said by Dio (43. 50, 1; cp. 44. 49, 1) to have done so, and certainly seems at least to have published an intention of adding to the city (cp. 'de urbe augenda quid sit promulgatum non intellexi' Cic. Att. 13. 20, 1; also 33, 4; 35, 1). The extension by Augustus is attested by Dio (55. 6, 6) and the 'vita Aureliani' (21, 11), but the absence of mention in Seneca and Gellius, and the still more important silence of the 'Monumentum Ancyranum' and 'lex de imperio Vespasiani' (see above) throw great doubt on the statement, which may be an error of some authority whom Tacitus and others have followed, arising out of some definition of boundaries, which Augustus does appear from inscriptions to have made (Grut. Insc. 196, 3; 197, 2), and which may have arisen, as Mommsen thinks (Staatsr. ii. 1072, 3), out of his partition of the city into 'regiones.' On the later extensions by Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, and Aurelian see Momms. 1073, 3.

4. **Regum,** etc., 'various traditions are current as to the vanity (cp. 14. 22, 4; 29, 1, etc.) or renown of kings in that matter'; i. e. as to kings of Rome who had enlarged the pomerium, whether through vanity in respect of pretended conquests or to record the glory of real ones. Livy mentions no other extension of the pomerium besides that by Servius Tullius (1. 44, 3), but records enlargements of the city by Tullus (1. 30, 1) and Ancus (1. 33, 1).

initium condendi, 'the commencement of the foundation of Rome,' the leading points of the original enclosure.

5. **noscere haud absurdum reor.** A similar expression of quasi-apology for the introduction of a digression or antiquarian note is given in 4. 65, 1; 6. 28, 2; H. 3. 51, 4; 4. 48, 1. 'Noscere,' 'to trace out' or 'investigate,' as in 1. 73, 1; 4. 33, 2, etc.

6. **igitur,** etc. The following passage, as containing the fullest account known to us of the circumscription of the original city, has been fully commented upon

simulacrum aspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus, ut magnam Herculis aram
3 amplecteretur; inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox curias veteres, tum ad sacel-

by the leading writers on Roman topography. Among recent works, it will be sufficient here to refer to those of Mr. Dyer (D. of Geogr. ii, p. 724, foll.), Mr. Burn (p. 33, foll.), H. Jordan (i, 1, p. 163 foll.), and Prof. Middleton (p. 45, foll.). In all these treatises, the view of Cav. Rosa, that the original Rome, the 'Ρώμη τετράγωνος of Dion. Hal. 2. 65, was not co-extensive with the Palatine but confined to the northern portion of it, is more or less controverted, but Mr. Dyer in a later work (Ancient Rome, 1883, p. 16, foll.) has adopted it. The description of Tacitus is unfortunately obscure at the important point. It should be observed that he is tracing, not the line of wall, which may be supposed to surround the top of the hill, but the pomerium, which skirted its base. This line, starting from a point somewhere between San Giorgio in Velabro and Santa Maria in Cosmedin, follows a direction nearly coinciding with that of the 'spina' of the Circus Maximus or that of the modern via dei Cerchi; but our ignorance of the site of the 'curiae veteres' (see below, § 3) makes it uncertain whether the line traced to the 'sacellum Larum' took a course between the Palatine and Caelian or along the supposed depression between the two summits of the former hill. It should be noted, however, that the words 'per ima montis Palatini' appear to apply to all the points mentioned, and Tacitus is so far in agreement with other writers, as Gellius (13. 14, 2), who in general terms speak of the original city as comprised by the Palatine hill. Prof. Middleton adds in confirmation that traces of primitive fortification have been found on the southern portion, and Mr. Burn doubts whether any strongly marked depression similar to that between the two summits of the Capitol ever existed between the two parts of the Palatine.

aereum tauri simulacrum. This statue cannot have given its name to the 'forum boarium,' as Ovid (F. 6, 478) supposes, but was no doubt placed in the cattlemarket as an appropriate site, being part of the plunder brought from Greece, and the chief specimen in Rome of Aeginetan bronze (Pl. N. H. 34. 2, 5, 10). 'Quia' has no reference to the statue, but explains the reason for beginning at this forum.

2. **sulcus designandi oppidi.** On the genit. see Introd. i. v. § 37 b. The ceremony is described by Cato (Origines, as quoted by Serv. on Verg. Aen. 5, 755), Varro (L. L. v. § 143 Mull.), Dion. Hal. (1. 88), Ovid (Fast. 4, 821, foll.), Plutarch (Rom. 11), and others; whence we gather that the founder wearing the 'cinctus Gabinus,' on an auspicious day, traced, in a direction always keeping to the left, with a plough drawn by a white bull on the off and a white cow on the near side, a furrow called 'sulcus primigenius,' round a circumference, of which the excavation termed the 'mundus' formed the centre, that the furrow was termed the 'fossa' and the earth turned inside from it the 'murus,' and that the plough was lifted at the spaces intended for gates. This circuit was the outer limit of the pomerium, within which the wall of defence was built afterwards. The ceremony is stated to be of Etruscan origin, and, if so, hardly likely to have been observed in founding a primitive Latin city.

Herculis aram. This altar, situated near the northern end or 'carceres' of the Circus, and called 'Ara Maxima,' was originally connected with the hereditary priesthood of the Potitii and Pinarii, and was in all probability erected to the true Italian Hercules, the presiding spirit of the homestead and of property, the god of good faith (Dius Fidius): see Momms. Hist. Rom. i. ch. 12; Seeley, Introd. to Livy, p. 30). Tradition, however, made it belong to a Greek worship, instituted by Evander, to commemorate the slaying of Cacus, the stealer of the oxen of Geryon: see 15. 41, 1; Verg. Aen. 8, 179, foll.; Prop. 4. 9, 68; Liv. 1. 7; Ov. Fast. 1, 543, foll.

3. **lapides,** 'boundary stones,' the 'cippi pomerii' of Varr. L. L. 4, 32. It is suggested that these indications of the primitive pomerium were kept up to mark out the course of the Luperci (see Marquardt, iii. 425).

4. **aram Consi.** This 'ara defossa' (Tert. de Spect. 5) near the 'meta' of the

lum Larum, inde forum Romanum; forumque et Capitolium non a Romulo, sed a Tito Tatio additum urbi credidere. mox pro fortuna pomerium auctum. et quos tum Claudius terminos po- 4
suerit, facile cognitu et publicis actis perscriptum.

Circus, was exposed to view only during the Consualia, a festival held with circensian games in August, and said to have been instituted by Romulus, and to have been the occasion of the rape of the Sabines. Dion. Hal. (2. 31) and others make Consus another name for Poseidon, and Livy (1. 9, 6) represents the Consualia as held to 'Neptunus Equestris' (on which see Seeley's note): a more prevalent tradition makes Consus the god of counsel, as in an old inscription (ap. Tert. l. l.), 'Consus consilio Mars duello Lares coillo (v. l. comitio) potentes.' Another view (Pseud. Ascon. in Cic. Verr. 2. 10, p. 142 Or.) somewhat combines these, speaking of worship paid to Consus 'consiliorum deo, id est Neptuno laticum regi et rerum conditarum.' Preller (Myth. R. ii. 24) makes Consus an earth god, connecting the name with 'condere' or 'conserere.'

mox curias veteres. Here, and with 'forum Romanum' below, the prep. is supplied from the context. The 'curiae veteres,' also called 'Curia vetus' (Notitia) or 'Curia Prisca' (Ov. F. 3, 139), claimed to have been the original meeting-place of the curiae, and continued to be used for four of those bodies after the others had transferred their meetings to the 'curiae novae' (Fest. p. 174 M). No other indication of the site is known than that given by the order of names in the 'Notitia' (cir. A.D. 300), showing it to have lain somewhere between the Septizonium and the Temple of Jupiter Victor (perhaps 'Stator'): see Dyer, in D. of Geogr. p. 725; Burn, p. 32.

sacellum Larum. This is generally supposed to be the 'aedes Larum in summa sacra via' (somewhere near the arch of Titus), built or perhaps rebuilt by Augustus (Mon. Anc. 4. 7), which was dedicated to the ἥρωες (Mon. Anc. Gr.), or Lares 'gemini qui compita servant,' the legend of whose birth is given in Ov. Fast. 2, 599 foll. (see Momms. on Mon. Anc. l. l.). They are to be distinguished from the Penates, on whom see 15. 41, 1, and note. Orelli, restoring the corrupt Med. text differently (see below), reads 'Larundae,' a form of the name given to the mother of the Lares (see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 244); but there appears to be record only of an altar, not a shrine to this goddess or nymph (Varr. L. L. 5. 74).

1. **inde forum Romanum; forumque.** Halm, Nipp., Dr., and Jacob so read, after Weissenborn, for the Med. 'larū de forū q.'; Orelli's reading is quoted above; Ritt. places a semicolon at 'Larum' and reads 'dein forumque'; others read 'Larum forumque Romanum,' separated by a colon from 'et Capitolium.' Tacitus appears to mean to say that the pomerium skirted the Forum without including it, and that people in general have believed neither it nor the Capitol to be parts of the original city. Ritter would read 'prodidere,' others 'tradidere,' so as to make the reference lie not to general belief but to authorities. It is stated by Dion. Hal. (2. 65) that the Temple of Vesta (between the Palatine and Forum), was outside τετράγωνος Ῥώμη, also (2. 33) that the Capitol was part of the city of Tatius, whom Livy (1. 11, 6), Plutarch (Rom. 17), and others represent as having taken it from the Romans. It was probably the citadel of the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal, and the Forum a common market between them and the citizens of the Palatine. It is to be observed that Tacitus is wholly silent as to the line of the pomerium from the Forum to the starting-point. Probably he may have thought it needless to trace it. M. Ampère thinks that the marshy character of the ground prevented the line from being accurately laid down in that quarter in ancient times.

2. **pro fortuna,** 'according to the acquisitions made.'

3. **auctum:** cp. 'auxit' c. 23, 4.

quos tum Claudius, etc. It is known from Seneca (de Brev. vit. 13, 8) and Gellius (13. 14) that the Aventine, though within the walls of Servius, was technically 'extra pomerium'; its exclusion being usually explained by its having been the site of the unlucky augury of Remus. A more probable explanation may be found in the fact that its temple of Diana was common ground to Romans and Latins (Livy 1. 45, 2). Gellius adds that he had found it stated 'in Elidis

1 **25.** C. Antistio M. Suillio consulibus adoptio in Domitium
auctoritate Pallantis festinatur, qui obstrictus Agrippinae ut
conciliator nuptiarum et mox stupro eius inligatus, stimulabat
Claudium consuleret rei publicae, Britannici pueritiam robore
2 circumdaret: sic apud divum Augustum, quamquam nepotibus
subnixum, viguisse privignos; a Tiberio super propriam stirpem
Germanicum adsumptum: se quoque accingeret iuvene partem
3 curarum capessituro. his evictus biennio maiorem natu Domi-

grammatici veteris commentario' that this hill was included when the pomerium was extended by Claudius. This authority, however weak in itself, has been fully confirmed by the recent discovery of a cippus, with similar inscription to that noted on c. 23, 4, between the Aventine and Monte Testaccio (Lanciani, in Athenæum, Jan. 25, 1886).

publicis actis. Nipp. thinks this must here mean not the 'acta populi' (3. 3, 2, etc.), but inscriptions. Ritt. inserts 'in' before 'actis'; but the simple abl. can be used, as in referring to a book.

1. **C. Antistio M. Suillio.** The Fasti Antiates (Henzen 6445 = C. I. L. i. p. 327) and another inscription (Or. 3389) give the full names C. Antistius Vetus, M. Suillius Nerullinus; the former being given in one of them as cos. ii. He is probably son of the consul of 776, A.D. 23 (on whom see 4. 1, 1, and note), and related to the one mentioned in 13. 11, 1. The other was son of the Suillius of 11. 1, 1, and brother of the Caesoninus of 11. 36, 5; and his cognomen may probably, as Nipp. suggests, have been assumed in honour of Nero son of Germanicus, to whom the father Suillius had been quaestor (4. 31, 5). He is shown by coins (Eckh. ii. 556) to have been proconsul of Asia under Vespasian, and may (as Nipp. thinks) have been successor in that office to Fonteius Agrippa (H. 3. 46, 5) in 822–823, A.D. 69–70.

adoptio in Domitium . . . festinatur. On the force of 'in' cp. c. 6, 5, and note; on the transitive and passive use of 'festinare' cp. 1. 6, 4, and note. The day of adoption is shown by the Acta Arvalium (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2041) to have been Feb. 25. Suetonius (Ner. 7) appears wrongly to place it a year earlier.

2. **obstrictus,** 'pledged to her service.'

3. **stupro,** abl.; cp. 'veneno inligaret' (6. 32, 2).

4. **robore,** 'with the strength of a protector': cp. the expression 'munimenta' used of heirs in 1. 3, 5.

6. **subnixum,** 'supported by.' On the 'nepotes' (Gaius and Lucius) and the 'privigni' (Tiberius and Drusus), and on the adoption of Germanicus by Tiberius, see 1. 3, and notes.

7. **accingeret.** Dräger notes that this verb nowhere else takes an abl. of person.; but the use is analogous to those in which, from the idea of girding oneself with a sword, it comes to have the sense of furnishing or providing with resources: cp. c. 44, 5, and note.

8. **biennio maiorem natu.** Nero is known from Suet. (Ner. 6) to have been born on Dec. 15, 790, A. D. 37, and must therefore have been at this time twelve years and two months old. That Tacitus knew his age correctly appears from 13. 6, 2 (cp. also c. 58, 1). Britannicus is said elsewhere (13. 15, 1) to have been about to complete his fourteenth year at the beginning of 808, A.D. 55; a computation which agrees with the statement of Suet. (Cl. 27) that he was born almost immediately after his father became princeps ('vicesimo imperii die'), i.e. Feb. 12 or 13, 794, A.D. 41. Suet. adds, inconsistently (unless 'imperii' refers to the consulate), 'inque secundo consulatu,' which would place the birth a year later still, a date probably copied by Dio (60. 12, 5), but apparently refuted by a coin of Alexandria of A.D. 41, in which both children are represented with Messalina (Eckh. iv. 52). The only question is whether the error here ('biennio') is due to Tacitus or the copyist. In another similar case (3. 31, 1), Halm and Nipp. alter 'biennio' to 'triennio,' and the latter adopts from Freinsh. the same change here, to which the inconsistency of 'biennio' with the reckoning of ages in 13. 6, 2, and 13. 15, 1 gives some support.

tium filio anteponit, habita apud senatum oratione *in* eundem quem a liberto acceperat modum. adnotabant periti nullam 4 antehac adoptionem inter patricios Claudios reperiri, eosque ab Atto Clauso continuos duravisse.

26. Ceterum actae principi grates, quaesitiore in Domitium 1 adulatione; rogataque lex qua in familiam Claudiam et nomen Neronis transiret. augetur et Agrippina cognomento Augustae. quibus patratis nemo adeo expers misericordiae fuit, quem non 2

1. **filio anteponit.** By adoption he became his equal in position, and would then naturally take precedence as the elder. Thus his name comes before that of Britannicus in an inscription cited by Lehmann (B. 4. No. 399). Germanicus had a similar precedence over Drusus, son of Tiberius. Such cases would not exist in ancient times, when only those who had no children adopted others.

in eundem . . . modum, 'to the same purport' (cp. 6. 49, 1, and note). The preposition is omitted in Med., but inserted by Muret. and subsequent edd. (after G.). Halm, noting that an erasure of about one letter occurs after 'eundem' in Med., reads 'eundem in . . . modum,' noting the similar anastrophe in 6. 41, 1; 11. 2, 3; 13. 13, 1; but in none of these is a relative clause interposed.

2. **adnotabant periti.** These words are repeated from H. 3. 37, 3; Agr. 22, 2: cp. 'adnotabant seniores' (13. 3, 3). 'Periti' is often used thus absolutely for 'docti' ('experts'), as in Cic. de Or. 1. 23, 109. The version here given is more probable than that of Suet., who (Cl. 39) makes the remark an ill-judged utterance of Claudius himself.

3. **patricios,** used to distinguish them from the famous plebeian branch, the Claudii Marcelli. Tiberius, when he adopted Germanicus, was not a Claudius but a Julius, and adopted him into that house. On Attus Clausus see 4. 9, 3 (and note); 11. 24, 1.

4. **duravisse,** here used of the continued existence of a family through generations, as elsewhere (3. 16, 2, etc.) of individual life.

5. **quaesitiore,** 'more recondite'; repeated from 3. 57, 1.

6. **lex,** a 'lex curiata,' passed in presence of the pontiffs (H. 1. 15, 1); the curiae being supposed to be represented by thirty lictors. Such adoption was termed 'adrogatio' (see the form described in Gell. 5. 19), and this supposed 'auctoritas populi' (cp. c. 41, 7) was required by law when the person to be adopted was 'sui iuris' (Gell. l. l.; Gaius 1. 99), as Nero had become by his father's death. Augustus, for a similar reason, adopted Tiberius by this form (Suet. Aug. 65), having previously adopted Gaius and Lucius, who were not 'sui iuris,' by the ceremony of fictitious purchase (Id. 64). Galba (see H. 1. 17, 3), and after his example the later Caesars, assumed the right of adopting by simple declaration, or 'nuncupatio pro contione': see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1138.

nomen Neronis. His name from this time till his accession is 'Ti. Claudius Nero Caesar,' or 'Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus': see Introd. i. ix. p. 147. On the many inscriptions and medals commemorating the event see Schiller, Nero, p. 72, 2.

7. **augetur,** 'is exalted'; so 'imperatoriis nominibus auxit' (1. 3, 1); 'honoribus augebantur' (6. 8, 4).

Augustae. Her title on coins and inscriptions is 'Iulia Augusta Agrippina' (see Introd. i. ix. p. 145; Insc. Or. 650 = Wilm. 899 d = C. I. L. vi. 1. 921 a 1). An inscription at Mytilene calls her *νέα θεά* (Eph. Epig. ii. p. 8); from another Greek inscr. (C. I. G. 2183) she appears to have been worshipped as Demeter (*καρποφόρος*). Livia had become Augusta by her husband's will (1. 8, 2), Antonia after the accession of her grandson (Introd. l. l. p. 146), Messalina only by provincial adulation (Introd. l. l. p. 145): Agrippina is the first to be 'Augusta' in her husband's lifetime, and the first (except to a certain extent Livia) to treat the title as conferring a substantial share of power (see 14. 11, 1, Introd. pp. 43, foll.; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 788, 4). Nero gave the title to Poppaea (15. 23, 1); and from Domitian's time it is usually borne by emperors' wives (Momms. ii. 821).

Britannici fortuna maerore adficeret. desolatus paulatim etiam servilibus ministeriis puer intempestiva novercae officia in ludibrium vertebat, intellegens falsi. neque enim segnem ei fuisse indolem ferunt, sive verum, seu periculis commendatus retinuit famam sine experimento.

1 **27.** Sed Agrippina quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus
ostentaret, in oppidum Ubiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos
coloniamque deduci impetrat, cui nomen inditum e vocabulo
2 ipsius. ac forte acciderat ut eam gentem Rhenum transgressam
avus Agrippa in fidem acciperet.

1. **fortuna maerore**; so Halm, Or., Dr., Ritt., Jacob (after Em.): Nipp. retains the Med. 'fortunae maeror'; which, besides the awkward combination of two genitives, requires 'maeror' to bear the apparently unexampled meaning of 'sad condition' (as 'metus' = 'metuendum aliquid' in 1. 40, 1, etc.).

desolatus, a poetical word, used in 1. 30, 4; 16. 30, 4. Here it means 'deprived of,' as in Stat. Theb. 9, 672 ('desolatumque magistro Agmen'); Suet. Cal. 12 ('desolata subsidiis aula'); Apul. Met. 4. 24, 290 ('parentibus desolata'). The removal of the attendants of Britannicus is further described in c. 41, 8.

2. **puer.** Halm., Nipp., Ritt., Dr., Jacob, follow Sirker in this reading. Med. has 'p. imtempestiva,' which is read in old edd. as 'per intempestiva,' and explained by taking 'vertebat' intransitively (as in 6. 46, 3, etc.). Orelli follows Kiessling in reading 'perintempestiva,' a word not elsewhere found, but analogous to others which Tacitus invents or adopts (Introd. i. v. § 69, 3). 'Intempestivus' is used of compliments which are 'ill-timed,' in the sense of being unsuitable to the present circumstances of the person to whom they are paid (cp. H. 2. 52, 3; 92, 3), and the more emphatic word might well have been here used of the outward obsequiousness of Agrippina towards one so forlorn.

ludibrium, generally read, after Nipp., for Med. 'ludibria.'

3. **intellegens falsi** = 'fraudis,' as in 4. 58, 3, etc. For the genit. cp. 4. 38, 3, etc.

4. **sive verum,** 'whether this was really so.'

periculis commendatus, 'winning sympathy by his peril.'

retinuit, i. e. kept in the memory of men down to the time when Tacitus was writing. The sympathy felt may have led posterity to credit him with an intelligence which he never had the chance of showing by proof. The anecdotes given by Tacitus (c. 41, 6; 13. 15, 1) would show him to have been sensitive and not unintelligent; and his alleged liability to epileptic fits (13. 16, 5) may have been a mere invention, or may not have affected his intellect generally.

7. **oppidum Ubiorum**: see 1. 36, 1, and note. On the birth of Agrippina there see Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 145.

veteranos coloniamque, hendiadys for 'coloniam veteranorum.' Mommsen (Hist. v. 90; E. T. i. 99) thinks it was probably a Latin colony.

8. **impetrat.** The accus. and inf. with this verb is a novelty, analogous to that with 'orare' (11. 10, 8): see Introd. i. v. § 44.

nomen. Its title, usually abbreviated in inscriptions, is 'Colonia Agrippinensis' (or 'Agrippinensium'), (Wilm. 833, etc.), or sometimes 'Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensium' (Grut. 436), or 'Colonia Claudia Ara' (see note on 1. 39, 1), or 'Colonia Agrippina' (Notitia). The Ubii from this time drop their German name and are called 'Agrippinenses' (see H. 4. 28, 2; G. 28, 5).

vocabulo, often used of proper names: cp. c. 66, 4; 1. 8, 4 (and note), etc.

9. **ac forte,** etc., i. e. there was this further reason for the name. It has been thought that, when Tacitus wrote the Germania (l. l.), he believed the name to be taken from Agrippa (see Schweizer-Sidler ad loc.). The Ubii were transported with their own consent (Strab. 4. 3, 4, 194), and the date was probably that on which Dio (48. 49, 3) mentions Agrippa as having crossed the Rhine (716, B.C. 38). For 'Rhenum' (Sirker), Med. has 'rheno.'

Isdem temporibus in superiore Germania trepidatum adventu 3
Chattorum latrocinia agitantium. dein P. Pomponius legatus auxi-
liares Vangionas ac Nemetas, addito equite alario *inmittit*, monitos
ut anteirent populatores vel dilapsis inprovisi circumfunderentur.
et secuta consilium ducis industria militum, divisique in duo 4
agmina, qui laevum iter petiverant, recens reversos praedaque
per luxum usos et somno graves circumvenere. aucta laetitia,
quod quosdam e clade Variana quadragensimum post annum
servitio exemerant.

28. At qui dextris et propioribus compendiis ierant, obvio 1
hosti et aciem auso plus cladis faciunt, et praeda famaque onusti
ad montem Taunum revertuntur, ubi Pomponius cum legionibus
opperiebatur, si Chatti cupidine ulciscendi casum pugnae prae-
berent. illi metu, ne hinc Romanus, inde Cherusci, cum quis 2
aeternum discordant, circumgrederentur, legatos in urbem et

2. **Chattorum**: see 1. 55, 1, and note. For an earlier expedition against them in the first year of Claudius see Introd. p. 32.

dein P. Pomponius. In the Med. text the praenomen is 'L.' and the sentence has no verb. The former is corrected by Ritt. (1864) from 11. 13, 1; the person meant being Pomponius Secundus (5. 8, 1). For the verb 'inmittit' is inserted by Halm and Nipp., after Doed., 'inmisit' by Dr. and Jacob, after Ritt., 'mittit' (after 'Nemetas') by Walther. Orelli follows Ritt. (1838) in thinking that the Med. 'dein l.' is a corruption of 'deligit.' None of these corrections are very satisfactory; and it is possible that Ern. is right in thinking that one or more sentences alluding to the earlier hostilities (see note above) may have dropped out.

3. **Vangionas ac Nemetas.** These tribes (with the Tribocci) occupied the left bank of the Rhine in 'Germania Superior' (G. 28, 4; Pl. N. H. 4. 17, 31, 106). The chief town of the former was Borbetomagus (Worms), those of the latter Noviomagus (Speyer) and probably Argentoratum (Strassburg): see Ptol. 2. 9, 17, and the correction of Zeuss (in Schweizer-Sidler on G. l. l.).

equite alario, the general body of auxiliary horse, or part of it (cp. 4. 73, 3).

4. **anteirent**, 'get before them' (on their line of retreat): so used in the sense of 'praevenire' in 5. 6, 4; 10, 4, etc. The poetical word 'populator' is noted by Dr. as not elsewhere used by Tacitus, but found in Liv. (3. 68, 13).

6. **qui laevum**, etc. The answering clause 'at qui dextris,' etc. is introduced as a new sentence, on account of the sentence interposed. Nipp. places 'aucta . . . exemerant' in parentheses, with only a comma before 'at,' and takes 'praeda . . . onusti' as referring to both divisions.

recens, adv., as in c. 18, 2, etc.

7. **per luxum**, 'in a debauch': cp. 1. 16, 3, etc.

8. **clade Variana**: see 1. 3, 6, and note. It took place in 762, A. D. 9.

10. **At qui dextris.** This body had evidently followed the instruction 'anteire populatores' (c. 27, 3).

compendiis, more fully 'compendiis viarum' (1. 63, 6).

11. **aciem auso**: cp. c. 32, 2; 11. 9, 2, and note.

12. **montem Taunum**, near Wiesbaden: see 1. 56, 1, and note.

13. **si**, 'in case that': cp. 1. 48, 1; 3. 49, 1, etc.

casum, 'opportunity': cp. 1. 13, 2, and note.

14. **Cherusci.** On this tribe, see 1. 56, 7 (and note), 11. 16, 1. The Chatti had overpowered them in the time of Tacitus (G. 36, 2).

15. **aeternum**, adv. here and in 3. 26, 3; after Verg. and Hor.: cp. Introd. i. v. § 5.

obsides misere; decretusque Pomponio triumphalis honos, modica pars famae eius apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria praecellit.

1 **29.** Per idem tempus Vannius Suebis a Druso Caesare in-
positus pellitur regno, prima imperii aetate carus acceptusque
popularibus, mox diuturnitate in superbiam mutans et odio
2 accolarum, simul domesticis discordiis circumventus. auctores
fuere Vibilius Hermundurorum rex et Vangio ac Sido sorore
Vannii geniti. nec Claudius, quamquam saepe oratus, arma cer-
tantibus barbaris interposuit, tutum Vannio perfugium promit-
tens, si pelleretur; scripsitque Palpellio Histro, qui Pannoniam
praesidebat, legionem ipsaque e provincia lecta auxilia pro ripa

1. **triumphalis honos**, i.e. the 'ornamenta triumphalia.'

2. **carminum gloria**, probably best taken with Nipp. as nom. On the literary reputation of Pomponius see 5. 8, 4, and note.

4. **Vannius.** This prince, a Quadian by race, was mentioned in 2. 63, 7 as set over some of the subjects of Maroboduus and Catualda. This kingdom, called Suebic here and in H. 3. 5, 4; 21, 3 (cp. 1. 44, 6, and note), and 'regnum Vannianum' by Pliny (N. H. 4. 22, 25, 81), would appear at this time to have included the whole territory of the Marcomani and Quadi (answering generally to Bohemia and Moravia); as the enemies of Vannius, besides his own rebellious subjects, are the Hermunduri and Lugii (§ 2, 3), who bordered on Bohemia to the west and north, and his allies are the Iazyges (§ 4), who bordered on the Quadi to the east. See Mommsen, Hist. v. 196; E. T. i. 215.

5. **carus acceptusque popularibus.** These words are an exact verbal imitation of Sall. Jug. 70, 2, where 'clarum,' the reading of all the MSS., has been altered by Kritz and Dietsch to 'carum'; the combination 'carus acceptusque' being found also in Id. 12, 3; 108, 1; also 'carior acceptiorque' in Liv. 35. 15, 4; 'carus iucundusque' in Cic. (pro Sull. 21, 62, etc.). Hence Halm and Dr. follow Wölfflin (Philol. xxvi. p. 108) in altering the Med. 'clarus' to 'carus' here. 'Clarus' can no doubt well stand, taken by itself, without connection with 'popularibus,' and without forming part of the antithesis to 'mox,' etc., and is retained by others and defended by Nipp.

6. **mutans**, absol. as 'mutabat' (2. 23, 4): cp. 'ut nihil odor mutaret' (Liv. 3. 10, 6).

8. **Vibilius.** On this prince and on the Hermunduri see 2. 63, 6, and note; on the latter, also 13. 57, 1. The orthography of the first Med. (l. l.) is followed, in preference to that of the second Med. here ('uibillius').

11. **Palpellio Histro.** The first name, written in Med. 'p·atellio,' is thus corrected by Lips. from an inscr. at Pola given in Or. 693 (cp. Henzen, p. 66); Wilm. 1133; C. I. L. v. 1, 35: 'Sex Palpellio, P. f. Vel(ina tribu) Histro, leg(ato) Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug., pro cos., pr(aetori), tr. pl., X vir. stl(itibus) iudic(andis), tr. mil. XIII Geminae, comiti Ti. Caesaris Aug. dato ab divo Aug.' The proconsulship there mentioned would be that of some senatorial praetorian province, and the 'legatio' that of some lesser Caesarian province than Pannonia, as the inscription appears to be prior in date to his consulship, which is mentioned by Plin. (N. H. 10. 12, 16, 35) as shared with L. Pedanius (14. 42, 1). Wilm. and Nipp., following a very fragmentary inscription, place them as 'suffecti' in 796, A. D. 43, Borghesi (cited on C. I. L. l. l.) four years later.

Pannoniam praesidebat. On the use of the accus. cp. c. 14, 7; on the province of Pannonia see note on 1. 16, 1. Its garrison consisted of three (1. 16, 2), or at times of two (4. 5, 5; H. 2. 86, 1) legions.

12. **auxilia.** Nipp. points out that these are evidently not the standing force attached to the legion, but bodies specially called out. On such troops cp. 1. 56, 1 (and note); c. 49, 2; 15. 5, 3; H. 1. 52, 6, etc.

componere, subsidio victis et terrorem adversus victores, ne for- 3
tuna elati nostram quoque pacem turbarent. nam vis innumera,
Lugii aliaeque gentes adventabant, fama ditis regni, quod Van-
nius triginta per annos praedationibus et vectigalibus auxerat.
ipsi manus propria pedites, eques e Sarmatis Iazygibus erat, 4
impar multitudini hostium, eoque castellis sese defensare bellum-
que ducere statuerat.

30. Sed Iazyges obsidionis impatientes et proximos per 1
campos vagi necessitudinem pugnae attulere, quia Lugius Her-

pro ripa, 'along the bank' (of the Danube): so in 2. 9, 3; 15. 3, 3; see note on 1. 44, 4. Mommsen notes (Hist. v. 187; E. T. i. 205) that the Pannonian legions were posted at this time chiefly on the Drave, and the defence of the Danube left generally to the fleet (see c. 30, 3).

1. **componere**. The older edd. and Orell. follow the 'ed. princeps' in reading 'componeret'; but the simple inf. after 'scribere' is used in 15. 25, 6, and is analogous to many others (Introd. i. v. § 43).

subsidio, dat. of purpose (Introd. i. v. § 22 c), co-ordinate with accus. (see c. 32, 5; G. 46, 1; Introd. i. v. § 91, 1).

2. **innumera**: cp. 56, 4; 14. 53, 5; in poets and Pl. ma.

3. **Lugii**. Med. and the old edd. and Ritt. read, here and in c. 30, 'ligii' and 'ligius,' Oberl. and others Lygii; Greek writers have Λύγιοι (Dio, 67. 5, 2) or Λούγιοι (Strab. 7. 1, 3, 290; Ptol. 2. 11, 18); and most recent edd. follow Müllenhoff in reading 'Lugii' here and in G. 43, 3; 44, 1 (where the MSS. have various forms). The name appears to be connected with 'lug,' an old German word for a marsh or wood, and the tribe denoted, a Suebic race with many subdivisions, are thought to have lived in Silesia and part of Poland, and to have extended northwards between the Oder and Vistula. See Schweizer-Sidler, on G. l. l.

fama, causal abl. (Introd. i. v. § 30).

4. **triginta**. He was set up by Drusus in 772, A.D. 19 (2. 63, 7).

vectigalibus, i.e. by duties on merchandise (Nipp.). The considerable and lucrative traffic across the Danube in those quarters is alluded to in 2. 62, 4.

5. **ipsi manus**, etc. Pfitzn. places commas after 'manus' and 'Iazygibus,' and joins 'erat' with 'impar,' taking 'propria . . . Iazygibus' as in apposition; but it seems better to stop as in the text, and to suppose 'erant' to be supplied with 'pedites.' 'Impar' is no doubt referred to the whole force; the construction being somewhat sacrificed in the attempt to state concisely in a single sentence the composition of the army and its inferiority as a whole to that of the enemy.

Iazygibus. For this, the usual form of the name, Med. has here 'iazigibus,' in c. 30, 1 'iazygies,' in H. 3. 5, 2 'Iazugum,' which form Nipp. and Ritt. adopt here. Those meant are the Ἰάζυγες μετάναστοι of Ptolemy (3. 7, 1), who had driven out the Dacians from the tract between the Danube and Tibiscus (Theiss), and were thus on the frontier of Pannonia (Plin. N. H. 4. 12, 25, 81), and came later into collision with the empire (Gibbon, c. 18). We hear of them on the lower Danube in Ovid's time (Ex P. 4. 7, 9; Trist. 2, 191); and other, probably older branches of the race, were on the Euxine and Palus Maeotis (Strab. 7. 3, 17, 306; Ptol. 3. 5, 19).

6. **defensare**. This verb, used also in 2. 5, 3; Agr. 28, 3, appears to be adopted by Tacitus from Sallust and Livy, and by them from Plautus.

7. **ducere**, 'to protract'; so 'duceret bellum' (H. 2. 32, 6): cp. 'tempus atque iter ducens' (2. 34, 6); 'lacrimae . . . ducebantur' (11. 37, 5).

8. **impatientes**, often with genit. (e.g. 2. 64, 4; 4. 3, 2; 72, 1, etc.), after Verg., Ov., Liv., etc.

9. **necessitudinem . . . attulere**. They brought upon themselves an attack, in which Vannius was obliged to support them.

2 mundurusque illic ingruerant. igitur degressus castellis Vannius
funditur proelio, quamquam rebus adversis laudatus, quod et
pugnam manu capessivit et corpore adverso vulnera excepit.
3 ceterum ad classem in Danuvio opperientem perfugit; secuti
4 mox clientes et acceptis agris in Pannonia locati sunt. regnum
Vangio ac Sido inter se partivere, egregia adversus nos fide,
subiectis, suone an servitii ingenio, dum adipiscerentur domina-
tionis, multa caritate, et maiore odio, postquam adepti sunt.

1 **31.** At in Britannia P. Ostorium pro praetore turbidae res
excepere, effusis in agrum sociorum hostibus eo violentius, quod
novum ducem exercitu ignoto et coepta hieme iturum obviam
2 non rebantur. ille gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam

1. **illic ingruerant**: cp. 'illuc incubuere Germani' (H. 4. 18, 6).

degressus: so most edd., after Ern., for the Med. 'digressus,' which Ritt. retains, and which could be supported from such passages as 'digressus Narnia . . . exercitus' (H. 3. 78, 1), etc.

2. **rebus adversis**, abl. abs.

4. **ceterum**, apparently adversative (as in 1. 6, 3, etc.), contrasting his flight with his previous resistance.

classem. The Romans had such at various provincial stations (4. 5, 5). On the Danube we have mention of a 'classis Pannonica,' afterwards called 'Flavia' (Or. 3601; Henzen 6868), which would be that here meant: there was also a 'classis Moesica' on the Lower Danube (Or. 3601, 3602).

5. **clientes.** On the 'comitatus' of a German prince cp. G. 13, 14. The clients are received with Vannius, as were those of Segestes (1. 57, 4).

6. **Vangio ac Sido**: cp. c. 29, 2. The latter was still reigning in 822, A.D. 69; the former had been then succeeded by Italicus, and both these joined Vespasian (H. 3. 5, 4; 21, 3).

partivere. The act. form is mainly archaic (Plaut., Lucil., Lucr., etc.), but in Sall. Jug. 43, 1; also 'partitur' is pass. in Cic. Or. 56, 188, and the participle is so used not unfrequently in Caes., Liv., etc.

egregia . . . fide, abl. of quality, as are also 'multa caritate et maiore odio' (see Introd. i. v. § 29). Nipp. cites as similar instances 'apud milites tanta caritate esse' (Liv. 1. 54, 4); 'credens minore se invidia fore' (Nep. Eum. 7, 2).

7. **subiectis**, dative (= 'apud subiectos').

suone an servitii ingenio. These are causal ablatives, relating both to 'caritate' and 'odio,' and explaining the change from the one feeling to the other. 'Either from a change in their own disposition, or because such is the nature of the servile condition' (i.e. to welcome new masters and then in turn to hate them worse than old ones). This explanation (that of Orelli) seems better than to take 'servitii' (with Burnouf and others) to mean 'despotism.'

dominationis. Nipp. follows the old edd. in retaining the Med. 'dominationes'; but although two kingdoms are spoken of, the case is hardly parallel to 3. 26, 3, and most modern edd. have followed Ern. in reading the gen. sing. as above, on the analogy of 3. 55, 1 (where see note), and 6. 45, 6.

9. **At in Britannia**, etc. The narrative is here carried back to the date of the appointment of Ostorius, who is known to have been the immediate successor of Plautius Silvanus (Agr. 14, 1), and must therefore have been sent out when that officer returned for his ovation in 800, A.D. 47 (see note on 13. 32, 3).

P. Ostorium. P. Ostorius Scapula is mentioned (Dig. 38. 4, 1) as having been consul (suffectus) with Vellius (probably Suillius) Rufus (on whom see 11. 1, 1) under Claudius, in some year which the date of his appointment to Britain would show to have been not later than 799, A.D. 46.

11. **exercitu ignoto et coepta hieme**, 'before he knew his army, and when winter had already begun.' On the active use of 'coeptus' cp. 1. 65, 3, etc.; Introd. i. v. § 42 b.

12. **gnarus**, etc. Nipp. compares the sentiment in H. 2. 20, 3; Agr. 18, 4.

gigni, citas cohortes rapit, et caesis qui restiterant, disiectos consectatus, ne rursus conglobarentur infensaque et infida pax non duci, non militi requiem permitteret, detrahere arma suspectis † cunctaque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere

1. **rapit,** 'hurries' (by forced marches): cp. 1. 56, 1, and note.

caesis qui restiterant. Med. has here 'restiterunt,' which Walther thinks can be taken aoristically; but here and in 13. 54, 7 Tacitus appears to repeat the expression in H. 2. 23, 5; and uses the pluperf. in similar expressions in 1. 38, 4; Agr. 36, 2.

4. **cunctaque castris Antonam et Sabrinam,** etc. In the great conflict of opinion as to the restoration of this passage, it seems best to print the corrupt Med. text as above. The attempts of older edd. (most of whom read, with some inferior MSS., 'cinctosque') will be found discussed by Ern., Walth., and Rup. Most later edd. have completed the construction by arbitrarily inserting a preposition, as 'inter' (Hein., etc.), 'usque' (Ritt.), or 'contra' (Sillig), after 'Antonam,' or (better) 'ad' before that name (Bipont. ed.), which itself has generally been altered to 'Avonam,' or some similar form, on the supposition that the Worcestershire Avon is meant, and that at its confluence with the Severn a camp was formed to check the most persistent enemy, the Silures (c. 32, 4, etc.). No trace of a camp has been found in this position, but it is said (Scarth, Rom. Brit. 41) that remains of several camps are found, both along the Avon and on the Cotswold hills above the Severn valley. If, however, a series of forts were here meant, we should certainly expect 'castellis,' not 'castris,' to be used. Mommsen (Hist. v. 162, 1; E. T. i. 178, 1) thinks that the text (read 'ad . . . ntonam') contains a name that cannot be restored, but that the Tern is the stream designated, and that the point seized at or near its confluence with the Severn was Viroconium (Wroxeter), a post which was certainly occupied not much later than this date (see Introd. p. 140, 4), but more probably not till the Ordovices had become prominent enemies (c. 32, 2). Mr. F. Haverfield (Journal of Philology, xvii. 268), combining Mommsen's view with another reading discussed below, suggests that 'castris ad Trisantonam' should be read, and that from this name that of the Tern could possibly be derived. It is not obvious how any camp could concern the Iceni (see below) unless it was near enough to seem to menace them as well as those who might invade them; and therefore in adopting any such views as those given above, we should have to suppose that their resistance was provoked only by their disarmament. Such a reference of 'quod . . . abnuere' to the more remote clause only is certainly not free from awkwardness; and this consideration has given rise to an opposite view, which retains 'Antonam' as a possible name of the Nen, and supposes a line of forts to have been drawn along the Severn (with which the Avon is reckoned) and that river, so as completely to cut off the subdued from the unsubdued country. But the identification of 'Antona' with the Nen is wholly arbitrary, and the use of 'castris' as a discrete plural very doubtful; nor can we suppose that the Romans would have undertaken so prodigious a work as the construction of a line of forts for some 150 miles from the Severn to the Wash, or that, if they had done so, it would have been thus cursorily mentioned. An extremely tempting emendation is that apparently suggested (see Ritt. 1864) by Heraeus, and since strongly supported by Mr. H. Bradley (Academy, April 28 and May 19, 1883), which inserts no prep., and with no further change in the Med. text than the alteration of one letter and the division between two words, reads for 'castris Antonam' 'cis Trisantonam.' A British river Τρισαντών is given in Ptol. 2. 3, 4, and though that so named by him (flowing to the southern coast) cannot on any probable supposition be taken to be here meant, the name may, like other river names, repeat itself elsewhere, and is in fact traceable, with a natural phonetic decay, in the Tarannon of Montgomeryshire. In this place Mr. Bradley argues that we discover in 'Trisantona' the ancient name of the Trent, which appears certainly to be called 'Trannonus' (or some similar reading) in the ninth century by Nennius (see Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 77), who describes as belonging to a river so named a tidal phenomenon which cannot be any other

3 parat. quod primi Iceni abnuere, valida gens nec proeliis con-
4 tusi, quia societatem nostram volentes accesserant. hisque auctoribus circumiectae nationes locum pugnae delegere, saeptum
5 agresti aggere et aditu angusto, ne pervius equiti foret. ea munimenta dux Romanus, quamquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat, perrumpere adgreditur et distributis cohortibus
6 turmas quoque peditum ad munia accingit. tunc dato signo
7 perfringunt aggerem suisque claustris impeditos turbant. atque illi conscientia rebellionis et obsaeptis effugiis multa et clara faci-

than the well-known 'eagre' of the Trent. There is certainly no improbability in the supposition that a line drawn from the Bristol Channel to the Humber, and coinciding mainly with that of the Severn, Avon, and Trent, may have been at this time the limit of more or less complete conquest, and that the Foss Way, somewhat behind it, may have been, when first constructed, a line of communication along the virtual frontier; and with this reading the supposition of any camp or fortress formed entirely disappears, and we are only told that Ostorius took measures to disarm suspected tribes, and generally to put pressure upon ('cohibere') the Iceni and others along the inner side of this limit, that the invader might find no support within Roman territory. The suggestion that the text contains the name 'Trisantonam' is certainly one of very high probability; but an objection lies in the fact that the whole passage, so read, will contain only an account of means taken to keep down disaffection within the province, and that the main object, that of preventing the hostile tribes outside from again concentrating within it ('ne rursus conglobarentur'), is left altogether unnoticed. These words seem to show that the construction of a camp at some favourite point of invasion was undertaken, and that 'castris' is an integral part of the text. If the Ordovices may be supposed to have been already prominent enemies, the site of Viroconium is more probable than any other on the Severn; but it does not seem that the text can be restored with certainty.

1. **Iceni**: cp. 14. 31, foll. This people lived in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, and their name is now read as Ἰκενοί by Müller in Ptol. 2. 3, 21, where it has been corrupted into Σιμενοί by repeating σ from the end of the preceding οὐς, and changing κ to μ. Their town Οὔεντα, the 'Venta Icenorum' of the Itinerary, is Norwich or Caistor. The correct form of the name is seen from coins to be 'Eceni' (probably 'swordsmen'), and it is thought that their full name may have been 'Ecenimagni,' which may have been corrupted in Caes. B. G. 5. 21, 1 to 'Cenimagni' (Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 28, 283, etc.). A form of the name more resembling that here given is traced in the words Ickworth, Icknield, etc. On their prince Andedrigus see Introd. p. 138, 2.

abnuere, 'rebel against': cp. 1. 2, 2, etc.

contusi, 'crushed': cp. 4. 46, 1, and note.

2. **accesserant**, so used with simple accus. in 2. 58, 1; cp. other analogous instances in Introd. i. v. § 12 c.

4. **agresti aggere**. The Iceni appear to have protected themselves on the west by very strong embankments, some of which, especially the 'Devil's Dyke,' crossing the road from Cambridge to Newmarket, are still traceable; but the expression here used would rather represent a mere agricultural landmark. There are no real grounds for fixing on any particular locality, as Burrough Hill, near Daventry (Scarth, Rom. Brit. p. 41), as the site of this battle.

6. **adgreditur**, so with simple inf. in 3. 53, 5, etc.

7. **peditum**, dependent on 'munia,' but placed before it to emphasize the unusual tactic (Nipp.).

9. **effugiis**, so in pl. in 3. 42, 4; 15. 63, 5; 16. 15, 3: cp. 'diffugia' (H. 1. 39, 3).

facinora, 'bold deeds': cp. 'praeclarum facinus' (H. 3. 23, 3), etc.

nora fecere, qua pugna filius legati M. Ostorius servati civis decus meruit.

1 **32.** Ceterum clade Icenorum compositi qui bellum inter et
2 pacem dubitabant; et ductus in Decangos exercitus. vastati

1. **M. Ostorius**: cp. 14. 48, 1; 16. 14–15. He is shown by the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2042) to have been cos. suff. in 812, A.D. 59.

servati civis decus: cp. 3. 21, 3; 15. 12, 5, and notes.

3. **compositi**, 'were quieted': so in c. 40, 1; 55, 3, etc.

qui . . . dubitabant. Besides those who had actually risen with the Iceni (c. 31, 4), others had been expected to do so. Their pacification appears to precede and to be distinguished from the expedition against the people mentioned below, who therefore need not, as has been supposed (see Evans, Coins of Ancient Britons, p. 147; Suppt. p. 492), be taken to have been associated with the Iceni. They may have been marked for chastisement as perhaps one among the previous invaders from beyond the pale (c. 31, 1); and the movement was also evidently an attempt at the conquest of a fresh region (cp. 'ne nova moliretur,' etc., § 3).

4. **in Decangos.** The Med. text 'inde cangos' can hardly be right as it stands; as the mere accus. of motion to a place could not well serve to denote a hostile attack: but in view of the great uncertainty respecting the name, it seems best to make only such change as the sense requires. Besides that given above, the most probable alternative reading (a less violent change than the 'in Ceangos' of Andresen and Halm) would appear to be 'inde in (cp. c. 33, 1) Cangos'; the supposition being in either alternative that Tacitus had given (in a slightly inaccurate form) the name appearing in abbreviation on several pigs of lead (C. I. L. vii. 1204–1206; Eph. Epig. vii. 1121), and usually read as 'Ceangi,' but possibly as 'Deceangi' (see below). The localities where these pigs have been found are in Cheshire and Staffordshire, and the people from whom they came are taken to have lived in the lead-producing district of Flintshire, and probably on both sides of the Dee. The alternative view (see Evans, Suppt. 492), that they lived in the Mendip district, rests partly on the supposition, which does not seem necessary (see note above), that they were closely associated with the Iceni, which would have suggested that they may have been among the western subjects of Andedrigus (see Introd. p. 138, 2), partly on a doubt whether the mines of Flintshire were worked as early as the date (A.D. 74, 76) found on some of the pigs above mentioned. But there appears to be no evidence against the supposition that they may have been worked by Romans soon after the military occupation of Deva (see Introd. p. 141) made the district a safe field for their enterprise; and the locality in which the pigs have been found is strongly in favour of this and against the idea that they came from as great a distance as the Mendips: also the march of Ostorius is described as bringing him to the neighbourhood of the Irish Channel (§ 3), and would seem to have passed near enough to the frontier of the Brigantes to make their disaffection liable to threaten his communications. Some evidence is also afforded by traces of the name in the district (see below). The correct form of the name is however matter of much controversy. It is given on the pigs as 'DECEA,' 'DECEANG,' and (but see below) 'DECEANGI'; and Hübner treats the first two letters as a preposition, and the name of the people as 'Ceangi.' In no case, however, is any indication given by dots or spaces that these letters are not part of the name; although on the other hand the lettering is not so careful as to warrant the conclusion that, where no division is indicated, none can have been intended. The analogy of other such inscriptions is also doubtful; for we have on the one hand the form 'de Britan.' on the Mendip pigs (see Introd. p. 137, 5), and on the other such forms as 'Brig.' and 'Lut.' (C. I. L. vii. 1207, 1208, 1215), taken to be abbreviations of adjectival names ('Briganticum,' 'Lutudense'). Thus the evidence of the inscriptions, while leaving the question open between 'de Ceang' and 'Deceang' appears really somewhat in favour of the latter; and for corroborating evidence we are referred on the one side to the name Γαγγανῶν (for which Müller, with some MSS., reads Καιαγγανῶν) ἄκρον, given by Ptolemy (2. 3, 3), to the extreme point of Carnarvonshire; also to the 'Ceganges' of Geog. Rav. 5.

agri, praedae passim actae, non ausis aciem hostibus, vel si ex
3 occulto carpere agmen temptarent, punito dolo. iamque ventum haud procul mari quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat, cum ortae apud Brigantas discordiae retraxere ducem, destinationis certum,
4 ne nova moliretur nisi prioribus firmatis. et Brigantes quidem, paucis qui arma coeptabant interfectis, in reliquos data venia, resedere: Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur,

31, p. 342, and the 'Concangiis' or 'Cecangiis' of the 'Notitia,' p. 113 (see Müller on Ptol. ad loc.); on the other, to the Welsh name 'Tegeingl,' still given to the district between the Dee and Clwyd (Rhys, p. 287), and to the similar prefix in the 'Decanti' of Degannwy, near Llandudno (Id. 228, 287). Also, in two pigs (C. I. L. vii. 1204; Eph. Epig. vii. 1121), in which the nearest approach to the full name yet found occurs (see above), the last letter has been a subject of recent controversy, and is read by Professor Rhys and others as 'L.' From a still more recent examination, kindly communicated to me by Mr. Haverfield, it would appear that in his opinion the instances are too few, the surface of both too rough, and the occurrence of accidental dots and hollows on them too common, to warrant such a conclusion; but if unmistakable instances, or other evidence, should hereafter indicate any such name for the district as 'Deceanglia,' or 'Deceanglion,' it would no doubt be additionally confirmed by the modern 'Tegeingl' (always supposing that name to be of immemorial antiquity in the district, and not otherwise explicable), but would be more difficult to identify with the form here given in Med. In any case, however, it seems on the whole clear (see above) that the locality of this expedition of Ostorius was somewhere in the direction of North Wales.

2. **carpere**, 'to harass': so 'equitatu praemisso, qui novissimum agmen carperet' (Caes. B. C. 1. 78, 5), and often in Livy. 'Temptarent' is subjunct. of action frequently repeated (Introd. i. v. § 52).

3. **Hiberniam.** What Tacitus knew of this island is to be seen from Agr. 24. It has the same name in Caesar (B. G. 5. 13, 2) and Pliny (N. H. 4. 16, 30, 103). The forms 'Iuverna' (Mel. 3. 6, 53; Juv. 2, 160) and Ἰουερνία (Ptol. 2. 2) connect it, through an intermediate 'Iverna,' with the oldest and probably most correct form 'Ierne'; under which it gives its name to the νῆσοι Ἰερνίδες of the Orphic poems (1164), and is mentioned in the 'de Mundo,' c. 3 (ascribed to Aristotle), and by Strabo (2. 5, 8, 115), who places it on the north of Britain, though its position had already been correctly given by Caesar.

aspectat, so used apparently only here and in Verg. Aen. 1, 420. The similar use of 'aspicere' (Agr. 24, 1; G. 5, 1) is less rare.

4. **Brigantas.** This tribe, one of the most extensive and powerful in Britain, held the main part of the country from the Trent and Humber to the Tyne, and perhaps to the Caledonian forest (Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 39). The name is thought to mean 'the freemen,' in contrast with other tribes subdued by them (Rhys, 279). The victory gained at this time over them ('caeruleos scuta Brigantas') is probably alluded to by Seneca (Lud. 12, 13–17); and subsequent troubles with them are mentioned in c. 40, 3, which Nipp. seems wrong in identifying with those spoken of here. For later notices of them see note on c. 40, 6.

destinationis certum, 'stedfast in his purpose' (explained by 'ne . . . firmatis'): cp. 15. 51, 3; H. 2. 47, 6; 78, 8; and for the sense and construction of 'certus' cp. c. 66, 4; 4. 34, 2, and note.

6. **arma coeptabant.** Dr. notes the fondness of Tacitus for this and similar expressions, as 'coeptare seditionem' (1. 38, 1; 45, 2), 'rebellionem' (3. 40, 1), 'defectionem' (4. 24, 2), etc.: cp. 'arma incipere' (4. 46, 4), 'coepta arma' (H. 4. 61, 1).

in reliquos. Nipp. here takes the prep. in a distributive sense, as in 1. 55, 2 (where see note); 78, 1; 6. 22, 2; c. 35, 4. In many other passages such a construction has nearly the force of a simple dative (Introd. i. v. § 60 b).

7. **Silurum.** This people, with the kindred tribe of the Demetae west of them, held a territory nearly corresponding to South Wales, Monmouthshire, and

quin bellum exerceret castrisque legionum premenda foret. id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camulodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles et inbuendis sociis ad officia legum.

33. Itum inde in Siluras, super propriam ferociam Carataci 1

Herefordshire, and probably extending also to the Severn and Teme. Ptol. (2. 3, 24) mentions their town Βούλλαιον, apparently Burium (Usk). On the theory of Tacitus respecting their Iberian origin see Agr. 2, 11. Professor Rhys (pp. 80, 215) classes them as Goidelic Celts who had absorbed a considerable earlier Non-Celtic population.

atrocitate, 'severity': cp. 'atrocitas poenae' (Liv. 8. 8, 1).

1. **quin,** with adversative force (nearly ='sed'), as in 6. 6, 3; 38, 1; 11. 22, 4, etc. See Dr., Synt. und Stil, § 186. For 'bellum exercerent' cp. 6. 31, 2.

castrisque legionum, etc. Mommsen (Hist. v. 162, 1; E. T. i. 178, 1) notes from this passage, and from c. 38, 3, that the permanent occupation of Isca Silurum ('Castra legionis,' Caerleon) as the head-quarters of the Second legion, dates from this period. Others think that this legion was for some time stationed at Glevum, and moved on later.

id quo promptius veniret, 'to reach this end the more readily': Pluygers has not been generally followed in reading 'eveniret' (as in 14. 43, 3; Liv. 8. 1, 2). The words of Tacitus, as they stand, have been thought to show that he believed the colony to have been near the seat of war. It is, however, evident that he knew the position of the Silures (Agr. 11. 2); and he must have approximately, though perhaps not accurately (see on 14. 32, 2), known that of Camulodunum, which must have been prominently noticed in his account of the first invasion under Claudius (see Introd. p. 137). His words may have been intended to mean no more than this, that before the head-quarters of a legion could be pushed so far forward to the west, a permanent base of operations and military centre of the whole province had to be secured in the east. The natural base of support for an advanced post in South Wales would seem to be Glevum (Gloucester); which is called 'Colonia Glev[ensis]' in an inscription (C. I. L. vii. 54), and may have been colonised, as it certainly seems to have been occupied (see Introd. p. 138) at an early date. Whether its colonisation took place at the same date with that of Camulodunum, and may possibly have been confused with it, is perhaps an open question.

2. **Camulodunum.** On this town and its colony see Introd. pp. 129, 142, and the description of its condition and disaster in 14. 31, 5. The opinion of Dr. Latham (in D. of Geog. s.v. 'Colonia') that the Roman colony was at Colchester, but that Camulodunum was at Maldon, appears to ignore the fact that the expressions of Tacitus here and in 14. 31, 5, and also the inscription below cited, clearly identify the two, and could not be reconciled with the supposition that they were thus wholly distinct, and some fifteen miles or more apart. In answer to the view which, admitting the identity of Camulodunum and the Colonia, would place both at Maldon (see Introd. p. 129), it is sufficient to point to the very extensive remains at Colchester, and the absence of any such clear traces of Roman occupation at the other place. The form 'Camalodunum,' found in Plin. N. H. 2. 75, 77, 187, is supported by an inscription (Or. 208, Wilm. 1815) 'censitor civium Romanorum coloniae victricensis quae est Britannia Camaloduni'; but all the coins of Cunobelinus have the form 'Camul,' sometimes in full 'Camuloduno,' and the name of the Celtic war-god after whom it is taken to be called (Rhys, 280) is always written 'Camulos' (Inscr. Or. 1960, 1977, 1978). In Ptolemy, 2. 3, 22, the name, very variously read in MSS., is now given by Müller as Καμουλόδουνον, and that of the people as Τρινοούαντες. The same author gives another town of similar name among the Brigantes (§ 17).

valida . . . manu, abl. of quality.

4. **inbuendis,** etc., dat. of purpose (Introd. i. v. § 21 b): the construction is varied as in c. 29, 2. 'Inbuere' is constantly used of instruction or habituation, so here of familiarising the subjects with the due performance of legal duties.

5. **Carataci.** This prince, one of the sons of Cunobelinus, had no doubt been already mentioned by Tacitus, as he is by Dio (60. 20, 1), in his account of the first

viribus confisos, quem multa ambigua, multa prospera extulerant,
2 ut ceteros Britannorum imperatores praemineret. sed tum astu locorum fraude prior, vi militum inferior, transfert bellum in Ordovicas, additisque qui pacem nostram metuebant, novissimum casum experitur, sumpto ad proelium loco, ut aditus, abscessus, cuncta nobis inportuna et suis in melius essent, hinc montibus

invasion (see Introd. p. 133). The name occurs eight times in Med. (in these chapters and in H. 3. 45) and is always intended to be in this form (the 'carattaci' of c. 35, 7, and 'carataratacus' of c. 36, 6 being evidently clerical errors). The same form occurs in an inscription ('Sex. Aquinio Carataco') in Grut. 902, 5, and is nearest to the Celtic root 'carat' (= 'beloved'), whence 'Caradog,' 'Carthach,' 'McCarthy': see Rhys, 280. The unmeaning form 'Caractacus' was adopted from an inferior MS. in nearly all the older edd. and has unfortunately become popular. In Dio (l. l.) the name is read as *Καταράτακος*, in a fragment (see on c. 36, 6), *Καρτάκης*, in Zonaras (11, 7, p. 566), as here. Coins inscribed 'CARA' have been found (Evans, Suppt. 552) near Guildford, but it is hardly likely that they can have been issued by this prince. Dr. Evans suggests that he may have had an uncle of the same name.

1. **ambigua**, 'battles of doubtful issue': the term is thus opposed to 'prospera' in 11. 15, 1, and might here be understood of the firmness in adversity which had inspired confidence in him; but probably the word is understood in a favourable sense, of battles which were not decisive defeats. Cp. the description of Arminius (2. 83, 3), 'proeliis ambiguus, bello non victus.'

2. **imperatores**; so used of barbarians in 2. 10, 1, etc.: on the accus. with 'praeminere' cp. c. 12, 1.

astu locorum fraude. Ritt. brackets the latter words as a gloss to explain 'astu'; but such an explanation of a general term is hardly superfluous. 'Inferior in military strength, he gains an advantage by stratagem, by turning to account the intricacies of the country'; the advantage being that of changing the seat of war and forcing the Roman army to retrace its steps under great difficulty. Others, as Gerber and Greef (Lex.), take 'astu' with 'transfert' as equivalent to 'astute, callide transfert.' 'Fraus loci,' or 'locorum' is a poetical expression (Verg. Aen. 9, 397; Ov. Tr. 4. 2, 23), imitated by Curtius (5. 17, 1) and Florus (1. 16, 7). Cp. the description of Tacfarinas (3. 74, 1).

4. **Ordovicas**. The Med. 'ordolucas' is thus corrected from Agr. 18, 2, 3, and Ptol. 2. 3, 18; the latter of whom gives as their towns *Μεδιολάνιον* and *Βραννογένιον*, which have not been satisfactorily identified. They occupied at this time the chief part of central and north Wales, and their name is thought to mean 'hammerers,' from their use of the axe-hammer as a weapon (Rhys, p. 300). They rose again at a later date, and sustained a crushing defeat from Agricola (Agr. 18).

pacem nostram: cp. c. 29, 2; here used of the general order and submission established in subject states, the 'pax Romana' of Seneca (de Prov. 4, 14), Pliny (N. H. 27, 1, 3), etc., to which Tacitus makes Calgacus bitterly allude (Agr. 30, 5), 'ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.'

novissimum casum experitur, 'tries the last extremity of chance,' i.e. the issue of a decisive battle on which the last chance is staked. Cp. the boast of Otho (H. 2. 48, 4), 'remisisse reipublicae novissimum casum,' and the use of 'novissima' in 6. 50, 8, etc.

5. **abscessus**, 'exits' (so 'abitus' 14. 37, 3); elsewhere in the sense of departure (c. 49, 2; 15. 17, 1) or absence (4. 57, 2; 6. 38, 2). The word is rare.

6. **inportuna**: cp. c. 12, 5. 'In melius esse' is an extension of the use of 'in' to express result (Introd. i. v. § 60 b).

hinc montibus arduis. The site of the battle is described too vaguely to be identified; but various localities have been imagined, as Coxall Knoll, on the Teme, near Leintwardine (see Merivale, ch. 51). In reading 'hinc' for Med. 'tunc' Halm is followed by most edd.; the construction being taken as abl. abs. with the idea of a participle of 'sum' supplied (Introd. i. v. § 31 b). Bezzenb. would alter 'tunc' to 'cincto,' Ritt. supposes a lacuna. We should expect the following clause to run 'illinc . . . saxis praestructis,' but the construction is varied.

arduis, et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa
praestruit. et praefluebat amnis vado incerto, catervaeque arma- 3
torum pro munimentis constiterant.

34. Ad hoc gentium ductores circumire, hortari, firmare animos 1
minuendo metu, accendenda spe aliisque belli incitamentis:
enimvero Caratacus huc illuc volitans illum diem, illam aciem 2
testabatur aut reciperandae libertatis aut servitutis aeternae
initium fore: vocabatque nomina maiorum, qui dictatorem 3
Caesarem pepulissent, quorum virtute vacui a securibus et tributis
intemerata coniugum et liberorum corpora retinerent. haec atque 4
talia dicenti adstrepere vulgus, gentili quisque religione obstringi,
non telis, non vulneribus cessuros.

35. Obstupefecit ea alacritas ducem Romanum; simul obiectus 1
amnis, additum vallum, inminentia iuga, nihil nisi atrox et pro-
pugnatoribus frequens terrebat. sed miles proelium poscere, 2
cuncta virtute expugnabilia clamitare; praefectique *et* tribuni

1. **si qua**, probably best taken (with Nipp.) as nom. pl., as also in H. 3. 52, 1 ('si qua Appennini iuga clementius adirentur'). 'Clementer' is used of gentle rising ground also in 13. 38, 5; G. 1, 3. 'Praestruere' is used elsewhere (chiefly in Ovid) in the sense of 'to block up.'

2. **praefluebat**, 'flowed in front': cp. 2. 63, 1, etc., where the verb has rather the force of 'praeterfluere.'

vado incerto, 'of shifting depth': cp. the opposition of 'incerta' and 'solida' (1. 70, 3).

catervaeque armatorum. The Med. 'catervaque maiorum' has been generally treated as corrupt; for 'maiorum' cannot by itself mean 'seniorum.' Freinsheim's conjecture 'armatorum,' suggested by Agr. 37, 3, has been generally accepted, and most edd. follow Lips. in reading 'catervae'; though the sing., retained by Walth. and Ritt., can be used with a plural verb.

3. **pro munimentis**, either 'along the entrenchments,' as in 2. 13, 4, etc.; or (less probably) = 'ante munimenta,' as in 2. 80, 5, etc.

4. **Ad hoc**: cp. c. 20, 2, and note.

5. **minuendo metu**, a rare use of gerundive construction with a masc. sing. nom.; see note on 6. 23, 4. Here it is suited to the feminine clause which follows.

6. **enimvero**, here a strengthened 'vero,' marking the transition from what is said of others to what is said of the principal person. Cp. c. 64, 6; 2. 64, 6, and notes.

huc illuc volitans: cp. 'tota volitantem acie' (of Inguiomerus) 2. 21, 2.

9. **pepulissent**, used rhetorically. The judgment of Tacitus himself, in Agr. 13, 2, is 'quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas et litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse (Britanniam) posteris non tradidisse.'

10. **intemerata.** On this poetical word cp. 1. 42, 3, and note.

11. **adstrepere**: cp. 1. 18, 1, and note.

obstringi, middle, for 'obstringere se'; 'each swore by the gods of his own tribe.' On the ellipse of 'se' before 'cessuros,' see Introd. i. v. § 8.

14. **nihil nisi atrox** = 'quod nihil nisi atrox erat' ('the fact that the whole aspect was defiant'), a substantival clause like 'nihil occultum' (3. 9, 3), 'nihil arduum fatis' (H. 2. 82, 5): see Introd. i. v. § 55 b. The sing. 'terrebat' is suited to the last subject only, as also 'abstulerat' (1. 10, 1), 'movebat' (2. 71, 4), etc.

15. **frequens**, 'crowded with'; so used with abl. in Liv. and later authors, also by Tacitus in H. 1. 67, 4; Dial. 6, 1; once with genit. (4. 65, 1).

16. **expugnabilia.** This rare word (cp. H. 3. 78, 4) appears to be taken from Livy (33. 17, 8) and Statius. 'Inpenetrabilis,' below, appears also to originate

3 paria disserentes ardorem exercitus intendebant. tum Ostorius
circumspectis quae inpenetrabilia quaeque pervia, ducit infensos
4 amnemque haud difficulter evadit. ubi ventum ad aggerem, dum
missilibus certabatur, plus vulnerum in nos et pleraeque caedes
5 oriebantur: postquam facta testudine rudes et informes saxorum
conpages distractae parque comminus acies, decedere barbari in
6 iuga montium. sed eo quoque inrupere ferentarius gravisque
miles, illi telis adsultantes, hi conferto gradu, turbatis contra
Britannorum ordinibus, apud quos nulla loricarum galearumve
tegmina; et si auxiliaribus resisterent, gladiis ac pilis legionario-
rum, si huc verterent, spathis et hastis auxiliarium sternebantur.
7 clara ea victoria fuit, captaque uxor et filia Carataci fratresque in
deditionem accepti.
1 **36.** Ipse, ut ferme intuta sunt adversa, cum fidem Cartiman-

with Livy, but to have become far more common.

praefecti. The commanders of auxiliary cohorts and 'alae,' so coupled with the tribunes of the legions in 4. 73, 6, etc.

1. **intendebant** = 'augebant': cp. 2. 38, 6, and note.

2. **infensos**, 'filled with ardour.'

3. **evadit**, 'passes through;' so used with accus. in 1. 51, 8; 5. 10, 4, etc.; also with 'viam,' 'ripam' (Verg. Aen. 2, 731; 6, 425), with 'vada' and 'arma' (Ov. M. 3, 19). Cp. 'evecta insulas' (c. 36, 2, and note).

ubi ventum, etc. The apodosis is divided into two parts, introduced by 'dum' and 'postquam.' On the use of 'in' cp. c. 32, 4. 'Pleraeque' = 'plurimae,' as in 3. 1, 2, etc.

5. **facta testudine.** Orelli seems wrongly to understand this not of the συνασπισμός frequently so called, but of a penthouse (as in Caes. B. G. 5. 42, 5, etc.); as this would seem to imply that they had to wait while such a 'vinea' was being constructed (which is most unlikely); also 'facta testudine' is used of the locked shields in Liv. 34. 39, 6. The soldiers could get close up to the walls in this manner, and then dislodge the stones which had been rudely piled together, and thus form a breach by which numbers could break into the enclosed space.

6. **decedere**, 'leave their position': so 'provincia decedere' (2. 70, 3), etc. The correction 'recedere' (Acid.) is needless.

7. **ferentarius.** Soldiers under such a name are mentioned once by Sallust (Cat. 60, 2), never by Caesar or Livy. Varro (L. L. 7, 57) speaks of them as 'equites . . . qui ea modo habebant arma quae ferrentur, ut iaculum.' Vegetius (1. 20) speaks of foot soldiers so termed 'apud veteres,' who were light armed, and stationed, with the slingers, in the wings, and who opened the battle by skirmishing. The word is used in a figure by Plautus, and would thus seem to be an archaism in Sallust, and adopted from him by Tacitus. The term answers to 'auxiliarium' below, as 'gravis miles' to 'legionariorum.'

8. **conferto gradu**, 'in close order,' a new phrase; the part. being elsewhere used of persons or masses of persons. The idea in 'conlato gradu' (2. 20, 6, etc.) is different.

9. **nulla . . . tegmina.** Compare the description of the absence of defensive armour among the Germans in 2. 14, 4. Dio (62. 5, 3) makes Boudicca boast that the Briton's shield was his sole protection.

11. **spathis**: cp. Veg. 2. 15 'gravis armatura . . . habebant . . . gladios maiores, quos spathas vocant.' The word, here first thus used, survives in the Italian 'spada': σπάθη has sometimes a similar sense.

14. **intuta sunt adversa**, 'adversity finds no safety.'

Cartimanduae. The Med. form of the name here and in c. 40 is twice 'Cartimandus,' once 'Cartimannus'; in H. 3. 45, twice 'Cartimandua,' once 'Cartismandua.' Most edd. follow Puteol. in reading it uniformly as 'Cartimandua,' but Lips. and some others have uniformly read 'Cartismandua,' and Ritt. reads

duae reginae Brigantum petivisset, vinctus ac victoribus traditus
est, nono post anno, quam bellum in Britannia coeptum. unde 2
fama eius evecta insulas et proximas provincias pervagata per
Italiam quoque celebrabatur, avebantque visere, quis ille tot per
annos opes nostras sprevisset. ne Romae quidem ignobile 3
Carataci nomen erat; et Caesar dum suum decus extollit, addidit
gloriam victo. vocatus quippe ut ad insigne spectaculum populus: 4
stetere in armis praetoriae cohortes campo qui castra praeiacet.
tunc incedentibus regiis clientelis phalerae, torques quaeque bellis 5
externis quaesiverat traducta, mox fratres et coniunx et filia,
postremo ipse ostentatus. ceterorum preces degeneres fuere ex 6
metu: at non Caratacus aut vultu demisso aut verbis misericordiam requirens, ubi tribunali adstitit, in hunc modum locutus est.

'Cartimandus' here and 'Cartimandua' in H. 3. 45, thus treating the variation in the two distinct works as due to the historian. The etymology does not appear to be known; but the second part of the name is traced in others, as 'Mandubratios,' etc. (Rhys, p. 281).

2. **nono post anno.** Dating from 796, A. D. 43, which year is probably reckoned inclusively, the capture of Caratacus would have taken place in 804, A. D. 51, which is also the date of the inscription on the triumphal arch (see Introd. p. 140, 9).

unde, i. e. from this prolonged resistance.

3. **evecta insulas.** This construction (cp. 14. 52, 2), similar to that with 'evadit' (c. 35, 3), 'egredi' (1. 30, 2), and many other verbs (Introd. i. v. § 12 c), is found also (as a probable reading) in Prop. 4. 3, 21 ('evecta est pagina gyros') and Curt. 9. 9 ('evectus os amnis'). Nipp. and Ritt. follow Heins. in reading 'insulam,' thinking that a British chief would usually be no better known in Hibernia than in Gaul; but Tacitus may easily have conceived these islands as a group by themselves, mixing more freely with each other than with the continent.

4. **quis ille**, brachylogical, for 'quis ille esset qui': cp. 11. 7, 1, and note.

6. **dum . . . extollit**, 'in seeking to extol': cp. 'dum vetera extollimus' (2. 88, 4).

8. **in armis**, 'in full accoutrement,' not 'togati': cp. 3. 4, 2 (and note); 16. 27, 1.

campo. On the simple abl., see Introd. i. v. § 25.

castra, the praetorian camp (4. 2, 1). 'Praeiaceo' is elsewhere found (only in the participle) in Pl. mai., once with dat. (4. 12, 24, 75), once absol. (3. 4, 5, 32). The accus. is analogous to that with 'adiaceo' (Liv. 7. 12, 6, etc.) and to that noted above with 'evecta.'

9. **clientelis**, abst. for concr. as in 13. 37, 1; 14. 61, 3. The 'clientes' of a British prince appear to have resembled those of Gauls or Germans (c. 30, 3, etc.).

phalerae, torques. Ritt. reads 'cum torquibus,' as nearest to the Med. 'torqb,' and also 'falerae,' the Med. form here and in H. 1. 57, 5; though 'phalerae' is in Med. H. 2. 89, 3, and the MSS. of G. 15, 3. 'Phalerae' are plates or bosses of chased metal worn on the breast (see Juv. 16, 60 and Mayor ad loc.): both decorations are often spoken of as worn by Roman soldiers; and 'torques' are especially a Celtic ornament.

bellis externis, 'wars with his own countrymen,' 'externi' from the Roman point of view.

10. **traducta**, 'were led in procession' (as in a triumph).

11. **degeneres**: cp. c. 19, 1, and note.

12. **at non.** The negation belongs only to 'aut' . . . 'aut'; the expression being equivalent to 'at Caratacus neque . . . neque,' and this form used to give greater rhetorical emphasis to the negation. Cp. 'at non . . . Phoenissa' (Verg. Aen. 4. 523).

13. **in hunc modum.** The speech is, no doubt, merely a composition; and, though Latin is used on British coins, probably few barbarians spoke it like

1 **37.** 'Si quanta nobilitas et fortuna mihi fuit, tanta rerum
prosperarum moderatio fuisset, amicus potius in hanc urbem
quam captus venissem, neque dedignatus esses, claris maioribus
ortum, pluribus gentibus imperitantem foedere *in* pacem accipere.
2 praesens sors mea ut mihi informis, sic tibi magnifica est. habui
3 equos viros, arma opes: quid mirum, si haec invitus amisi? nam
si vos omnibus imperitare vultis, sequitur ut omnes servitutem
4 accipiant? si statim deditus traherer, neque mea fortuna neque
tua gloria inclaruisset; et supplicium mei oblivio sequeretur: at
5 si incolumem servaveris, aeternum exemplar clementiae ero.' ad
ea Caesar veniam ipsique et coniugi et fratribus tribuit. atque
illi vinclis absoluti Agrippinam quoque, haud procul alio suggestu
conspicuam, isdem quibus principem laudibus gratibusque venerati

Arminius (2. 10, 3). Zonaras (see on c. 33, 1), apparently following Dio (Fr. Vat. p. 191 Dind.), makes Caratacus say, after seeing the splendour of the city, εἶτα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κεκτημένοι, τῶν σκηνιδίων ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε.

1. **fortuna,** 'rank,' as in c. 19, 2, etc.

3. **dedignatus esses.** This poetical verb (Verg., Ov.) is used in prose by Curtius (by Tacitus only in the Annals).

4. **pluribus gentibus.** The sovereignty inherited from his father Cunobelinus had extended over many tribes (Introd. p. 129); and even after this was broken up, he had been accepted by the Silures and Ordovices as their leader. The insertion of 'in' (Halm and Dr. after Doed.) receives support from an erasure before 'pacem' in Med. (which Ritt. fills up by 'pacto'). The construction would thus resemble that in 2. 34, 8; 45, 2. The Med. text (retained by other edd.) gives a construction of accus. and infin., not found elsewhere with 'dedignor,' but supported by analogies (Introd. i. v. § 44).

5. **informis,** 'degrading': cp. 'informem exitum' (6. 49, 1).

6. **equos viros arma.** The reminiscence of Sall. Jug. 51, 1 ('arma tela equi viri'), of Liv. 23. 24, 9 ('arma viros equos'), and 30. 11, 4 ('equos arma tela') is noticeable.

7. **sequitur,** 'does it follow?' The omission of an interrogative particle adds energy to the question: cp. 2. 15, 4 (and note); 13. 21, 8. Such alterations as that of 'nam' to 'num' (Lips.), or to 'non' (Ryck.), the latter of which Madvig (Adv. iii. 231) inclines to support, are needless.

8. **si statim deditus traherer,** 'were I being dragged here as one surrendered at once' (without a struggle). So Halm and Nipp., after Bekk. Most others retain the Med. 'traderer,' which would be somewhat a weak repetition of the idea of 'deditus,' though with a distinction of time between the prior surrender in Britain and subsequent delivery to Claudius. With either reading, the main stress is laid on 'statim.'

9. **inclaruisset**: cp. Agr. 42, 5. The verb appears to be first used by Pl. mai.

supplicium mei. On the substitution of this genit. for the adjectival possessive pronoun see Introd. i. v. § 33 a. Nipp. gives here many examples to show how Tacitus goes beyond other authors in this usage. Here the pron. refers also to 'oblivio,' which requires its use.

sequeretur. The distinction in mood between this verb and 'ero' appears to imply confidence that his life would be spared.

10. **ad ea,** 'in reply to this'; so c. 46, 3; 1. 26, 2, etc.

11. **ipsique,** etc. His daughter (c. 35, 7) must be assumed to be included. The coordination 'que—et' (cp. 1. 4, 1; H. 4. 2, 4, etc.) is noted by Dr. (Synt. and Stil, § 123, 2) as used by Liv., not by Cic. or Caes.

12. **absoluti.** Nipp. reads 'exsoluti,' after Lips. (cp. 13. 36, 5; H. 3. 12, 4), Ritt. brackets 'ab'; but 'bello absolvere' (for 'solvere') is used in 4. 23, 1.

suggestu = 'tribunali': cp. 1. 44, 4, and note.

13. **gratibus,** ἅπ. εἰρ.; only the nom. and acc. 'grates' being elsewhere found.

sunt. novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum, feminam signis 6
Romanis praesidere: ipsa semet parti a maioribus suis imperii
sociam ferebat.

38. Vocati posthac patres multa et magnifica super captivitate 1
Carataci disseruere, neque minus id clarum quam quod Syphacem
P. Scipio, Persen L. Paulus, et si qui alii vinctos reges populo
Romano ostendere. censentur Ostorio triumphi insignia, prosperis 2
ad id rebus eius, mox ambiguis, sive amoto Carataco, quasi
debellatum foret, minus intenta apud nos militia fuit, sive hostes
miseratione tanti regis acrius ad ultionem exarsere. praefectum 3
castrorum et legionarias cohortes exstruendis apud Siluras prae-
sidiis relictas circumfundunt. ac ni cito nuntiis ex castellis 4
proximis subventum foret copiarum obsidio, occidione obcu-
buissent: praefectus tamen et octo centuriones ac promptissimus

1. **signis Romanis praesidere**, i.e. to sit on the tribunal of the 'imperator,' surrounded by the standards. Compare the complaint made of Plancina (2. 55, 5; 3. 33, 3).

2. **parti a maioribus suis.** She was the first emperor's wife who was herself a descendant of emperors, the great-grand-daughter (by blood) of Augustus, and grand-daughter (by adoption) of Tiberius.

3. **ferebat**, 'was displaying': cp. 1. 2, 1 ('consulem se ferens'); 2. 43, 6; 15. 35, 2, etc.

5. **neque minus id clarum**, sc. 'esse.' Livy (30. 45, 5) refers to Polybius as stating that Syphax, king of Numidia, was led in triumph by Scipio Africanus in 553, B.C. 201, but himself believes that he died at Tibur before the return of Scipio. Aemilius Paulus in 587, B.C. 167, 'Persen cum tribus filiis ante currum duxit' (Liv. Epit. 45). 'Quod' (sc. 'ostendit') 'the fact that he showed.'

6. **si qui alii.** Jugurtha had been led in triumph by Marius.

7. **censentur**; so in pass. 2. 83, 4: the act. is used with accus. of neuter pronoun in Cic., with accus. of noun in Caes. (B. G. 7. 77, 2), Sall. (H. 3. 61, 17 D, 82 K, 152 G), Liv. (10. 12, 3), and especially often in Tacitus (3. 57, 2; 65, 2, etc.), and with similar dat. of the person honoured (c. 53, 2; 3. 72, 5; 13. 8, 1).

8. **ad id**: cp. 11. 3.

10. **praefectum castrorum**: see 1. 20, 1, and note.

11. **extruendis praesidiis**, dat. of purpose (Introd. i. v. § 22 b). The works were no doubt those alluded to in c. 32, 4 (see note).

12. **circumfundunt**, so used in 13. 40, 2, etc., and (without accus.) in 3. 46, 5. The more classical usage of the passive with dative is also found, as in c. 27, 3, etc.

ni cito nuntiis . . . subventum foret. Bekker's correction 'ex' for Med. 'et' has been generally adopted; but the passage is still obscure, and might mean either that, by means of messengers sent, help was despatched from the nearest forts, or that, by messengers from the nearest forts to headquarters, help was thence procured. In either case the concise use of 'nuntiis' (to which 13. 9, 1 is hardly parallel) causes great difficulty, and those who take the former interpretation would prefer to bracket 'nuntiis' as a gloss (Jacob), while those who take the latter would insert 'missis' or 'dimissis' (Nipp., Wurm.). The latter interpretation is in itself more probable, as the 'castella' were probably held by small bodies only, and it would appear from c. 39, 1 that Ostorius and the main body reached the spot.

13. **obsidio, occidione**: so Halm for Med. 'obsidione,' which most recent edd. (after Bezzenb.) alter to 'obsidioni.' The older edd. followed Rhen. in reading 'copiae tum occidione occubuissent,' which Madvig (Adv. iii. 231) would amend by altering 'tum' to 'Rom.' ('Romanae'). 'Obcubuissent' could hardly stand well without 'occidione,' when the context states that, notwithstanding the arrival of help, a large number were killed.

5 quisque e manipulis cecidere. nec multo post pabulantis nostros
missasque ad subsidium turmas profligant.
1 **39.** Tum Ostorius cohortes expeditas opposuit; nec ideo
fugam sistebat, ni legiones proelium excepissent: earum robore
2 aequata pugna, dein nobis pro meliore fuit. effugere hostes
3 tenui damno, quia inclinabat dies. crebra hinc proelia, et saepius
in modum latrocinii per saltus per paludes, ut cuique sors aut
virtus, temere proviso, ob iram ob praedam, iussu et aliquando
4 ignaris ducibus, ac pracecipua Silurum pervicacia. quos accendebat
vulgata imperatoris Romani vox, ut quondam Sugambri excisi
aut in Gallias traiecti forent, ita Silurum nomen penitus ex-
5 tinguendum. igitur duas auxiliares cohortes avaritia praefectorum
incautius populantes intercepere; spoliaque et captivos largiendo
ceteras quoque nationes ad defectionem trahebant, cum taedio
curarum fessus Ostorius concessit vita, laetis hostibus, tamquam

1. **e manipulis**: so most edd., after Lips. for Med. 'manipulus'; 'manipularis' and 'manipularium' have been also read.

nostros: so most edd. after Puteol. for the Med. 'nos ipsos.' Nipp. follows others in reading, with inferior MSS., 'nostros ipsos,' 'our foragers by themselves,' i. e. separate from the 'turmae'; but the context would make 'ipsos' wholly superfluous. Ritt., who reads 'hos ipsos,' notes also the existence of 'et' in Med. after 'missasque,' and thinks that another word, such as 'adcurrentes,' may have dropped out before 'ad.'

3. **opposuit**: so most edd., after Lips. for Med. 'exposuit,' which might easily be an error of assimilation after 'expeditas.'

4. **sistebat, ni**: cp. Introd. i. v. § 50 b.

5. **pro meliore fuit**, 'was equivalent to a success': cp. 'pro sepulchris' 4. 38, 2 (and note there); also 'pro firmato stetit magistratus eius ius' (Liv. 4. 7, 3), and other places from Plaut., Sall., Liv. here cited by Nipp. and Dr.; in which such an expression is nearly equivalent to a simple adj., subst., or adv.

7. **in modum latrocinii**, 'in brigand (or guerilla) fashion': so 'latrocinii modo' (Liv. 3. 61, 13; 8. 34, 10), 'pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis' (Sall. Jug. 97, 5).

ut cuique sors aut virtus. Nipp. would refer these words to the previous clause; but 'sors' appears naturally to answer to 'temere,' 'virtus' to 'proviso.' The latter word is nowhere else used in the sense of 're ante provisa,' but may have been formed on the analogy of the Ciceronian 'improviso.' Nipp. follows Lips. in reading 'provisu,' for which word cp. c. 6, 3; 12, 2; 1. 27, 2, etc.

9. **pervicacia**, 'stubbornness': cp. 4. 29, 5, etc.

10. **imperatoris**, used here of the legatus, Ostorius.

excisi aut. Either this (Faern.) or 'excissi aut' (suggested by Halm: cp. 2. 25, 4, etc.), appears to be the true reading of the Med. 'excisia ut.' Most older edd. read 'ut . . . excisi, ut . . . traiecti,' others, after Lips., 'excisi et.' On the removal of the Sugambri see 2. 26, 3, and note. For 'Sygambri' (Med. here), the form of the name there given in the first Med. MS. is read. By 'Gallias,' the Gallic provinces are meant, out of which the 'Germaniae' were formed; the left bank of the Rhine being still called 'Gallica ripa' (1. 57, 3).

12. **avaritia**, 'through the cupidity,' causal abl.

14. **ceteras.** Nipp. points out that several were already with them; so that this must mean others who had not hitherto taken part.

taedio curarum: cp. 'fato aut taedio occidit' (H. 5. 10, 2). For 'vita concedere' cp. 1. 3, 3, and note.

15. **tamquam**, 'on the ground that': cp. 3. 72, 4, and note.

ducem haud spernendum etsi non proelium, at certe bellum absumpsisset.

40. At Caesar cognita morte legati, ne provincia sine rectore 1
foret, A. Didium suffecit. is propere vectus non tamen integras
res invenit, adversa interim legionis pugna, cui Manlius Valens
praeerat, auctaque et apud hostes eius rei fama, quo venientem
ducem exterrerent, atque illo augente audita, ut maior laus
compositi vel, si duravissent, venia iustior tribueretur. Silures id 2
quoque damnum intulerant lateque persultabant, donec adcursu
Didii pellerentur. sed post captum Caratacum praecipuus scientia 3
rei militaris Venutius, e Brigantum civitate, ut supra memoravi, fidusque diu et Romanis armis defensus, cum Cartimanduam reginam matrimonio teneret; mox orto discidio et statim bello

3. **rectore**, used of a legatus in 2. 4, 4, etc., also of commander of forces, as in H. 1. 87, 3, etc.

4. **A. Didium**, see on c. 15, 1. The date of his appointment is generally taken to be 805, A.D. 52, and he would appear to have held it for rather more than five years (see 14. 29, 1, and note).

vectus, so used of passage by sea in 11. 14, 2.

integras, i.e. in the state in which the death of Ostorius left them.

5. **Manlius Valens**, apparently the same who is mentioned as legatus of a newly raised legion in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 1. 64, 7), also as attaining the consulship in his ninetieth year (849, A.D. 96), which was also the year of his death (Dio, 67. 14, 5). Dio calls him 'C. Valens,' but is corrected by an inscription which Borghesi (Œuvres, vi. 159) shows is to be read 'C. Antistio Vetere, T. Manlio Valente cos.'

6. **auctaque et**, etc. If 'audita' is taken as abl. abs. (with 'fama'), it would signify the report which reached Rome, and some such word as 'Romae' (which Ritt. inserts) or 'in urbe,' to answer to 'apud hostes,' seems required; also the accumulation of ablatives absolute is very awkward. By reading 'est' for 'et' (with Nipp. and Dr.), the latter difficulty is avoided, but the former remains; and it seems best either to read 'aeque' for 'atque' (with Heins.), or to suppose (with Jacob) that 'et' and 'atque' answer to each other, as perhaps in Dial. 14, 3 ('et sermo . . . atque id ipsum delectat'), and Suet. Cl. 21 ('et tophina ac lignea'), and that 'illo augente' answers to 'apud hostes'; the sense being as if the words ran thus 'auctaque . . . fama et apud hostes, et mox ab illo dum auget audita,' i.e. it was magnified both in the enemy's quarters, and also through his own exaggeration (in his despatches) of the news which reached him (on his arrival).

8. **compositi**, nom. pl.; the participle being equivalent to an abstract noun (Introd. I. v. § 55 b, 1); 'that their pacification might be the greater credit': cp. 'servatus gloria maior ero' (Ov. Her. 12, 76). The next clause puts the other alternative, 'if they held out in resistance (cp. 2. 76, 4; 4. 18, 2), there might be the more excuse.' Nipp. and Dr. follow Lips. in reading 'compositis,' to be taken as dat. (='compositis rebus'), from which 'res' is supplied as subject of 'duravissent.' It would seem however easier with that reading to take 'compositis' (with 'iis' supplied) as a concise abl. abs. (='si compositi essent').

9. **persultabant**: cp. 11. 9, 1.

11. **Venutius**: see H. 3. 45, 1. The restoration of 'e Brigantum' for the Med. 'euigantum' is made certain from the mention of Cartimandua (c. 36, 1), and from the Histories (l. l.). No other source gives any clue to the mention which had already been made of him in the Annals; but we infer that he was one of those princes who had made terms with the Romans in the campaigns of Plautius.

13. **discidio**, 'a divorce' (2. 86, 2; 11. 30, 5, etc.). In the Histories (l. l.) it is stated that the wealth and prosperity which flowed in to her from her service to the Romans in the betrayal of Caratacus, led her to reject Venutius, and to take in his stead his 'armiger,' Vellocatus,

4 etiam adversus nos hostilia induerat. sed primo tantum inter
ipsos certabatur, callidisque Cartimandua artibus fratrem ac pro-
5 pinquos Venutii intercepit. inde accensi hostes, stimulante
ignominia, ne feminae imperio subderentur, valida et lecta armis
6 iuventus regnum eius invadunt. quod nobis praevisum, et missae
auxilio cohortes acre proelium fecere, cuius initio ambiguo finis
7 laetior fuit. neque dispari eventu pugnatum a legione, cui Caesius
Nasica praeerat; nam Didius, senectute gravis et multa copia
honorum, per ministros agere et arcere hostem satis habebat.
8 haec, quamquam a duobus pro praetoribus plures per annos
gesta, coniunxi, ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent:
ad temporum ordinem redeo.
1 41. Ti. Claudio quintum Servio Cornelio Orfito consulibus

so as to make herself in fact sole ruler; but that the nation took the side of the injured husband, and that she was reduced 'in extremum discrimen.'

1. **hostilia induerat**: cp. 'hostiles spiritus induisse' (H. 4. 57, 3); also 1. 69, 2 (and note), and c. 13, 1.

4. **ne feminae imperio subderentur.** This seems inconsistent with what is elsewhere said of British institutions in this respect, and though probably a slip of judgment, may embody a more correct view (see 14. 35, 1, and note). Dr. would take 'feminae' to mean 'the woman' (the individual Cartimandua); Nipp. lays stress on the idea of subjection against their will, as implied in 'subderentur;' Jacob thinks that a woman's rule, if not contrary to their institutions, would yet seem ignominious in contrast to that of a distinguished soldier like Venutius.

lecta armis iuventus. 'Armis' is abl. of respect, and 'lecta' has the force of 'praestans' or 'insignis': cp. 'tot millia armatorum lecta equis virisque' (H. 3. 55, 2). 'Iuventus' is in apposition to 'hostes,' which is the proper subject of 'invadunt,' but 'iuventus' is used as a collective noun with plural verb in Liv. 21. 7, 7: see Madv. 215 a; Roby 1434; Nipp. here.

5. **praevisum.** This verb is used for 'providere' in the sense of 'to anticipate' in 14. 55, 1; H. 4. 15, 4; 5. 12, 2.

6. **initio ambiguo**, etc. In the Histories nothing is said of the employment of a legion, and the auxiliary forces are stated, after sundry doubtful battles, to have accomplished no more than the rescue of Cartimandua herself, leaving Venutius master of the situation ('regnum Venutio, nobis bellum relictum'). The Brigantes were still in arms under him in 822, A. D. 69, and, notwithstanding their partial reduction by Cerialis in the time of Vespasian (Agr. 17, 2), were still hardly subdued, and appear to have destroyed the Ninth legion (see Introd. p. 131, 3), in the time of Hadrian (see Juv. 14, 196, and Mayor ad loc.).

8. **nam**, explaining the absence of Didius himself.

multa copia honorum, abl. of quality (Introd. i. v. § 29), not dependent on 'gravis.'

10. **duobus.** Med. here inserts 'ostrio (Ostorio) didioque,' which all edd. (after Freinsh.) omit or bracket as a gloss.

plures per annos, during eleven years, 800–811, A. D. 47–58 (see 14. 29, 1).

11. **haud perinde**, 'not as much as they should': cp. 2. 88, 4, and note. Med. has here 'proinde,' but those who (as Nipp.), follow the MSS. where 'proinde ac' or 'quam' are read (see c. 60, 3; 13. 21, 3, and notes), have here accepted the emendation of Put., and have altered similar passages in the first Med. (4. 17, 1; 6. 7, 4).

13. **Servio Cornelio Orfito.** This person is mentioned again in 16. 12, 3, and appears to have perished in the last years of Nero (H. 4. 42, 1). The name is written in full as here in some inscriptions (Or. 714, 725 = C. I. L. vi. 1. 353, 1984), and as 'Orphitus' in the Antian Kalendar (Henzen 6445). Nipp. follows Ritt. in bracketing 'Orfito' here on the ground that it is not the habit of Tacitus to give three names: cp. c. 7, 4, and note.

virilis toga Neroni maturata, quo capessendae rei publicae habilis
videretur. et Caesar adulationibus senatus libens cessit, ut vicen- 2
simo aetatis anno consulatum Nero iniret atque interim designatus
proconsulare imperium extra urbem haberet ac princeps iuventutis
appellaretur. additum nomine eius donativum militi, congiarium 3

1. **maturata**, 'was hastened.' He had only just completed his thirteenth year (see c. 25, 3); and there appears to be no known instance previously (nor even afterwards, except those of Commodus and Caracalla), in which the toga virilis was assumed before the completion of the fourteenth year. See the full collection of facts on the subject in Marquardt, Privatl. 128 foll.

capessendae rei publicae. This phrase is used of imperial functions in 11. 24, 1; but probably here, as in 16. 28, 8, of political life, and with reference to the quasi-magistracy on which Nero at once entered (cp. 'capessere magistratus' in 13. 29, 3; Agr. 6, 1).

habilis, with gerundive dat., as with gerund in Plin. N. H. 34. 15, 43, 149: cp. the use with 'inhabilis' (3. 43, 3); 'idoneus' (1. 23, 5); 'aptus' (3. 31, 6).

2. **vicensimo aetatis anno.** The same privilege, with similar exemption from passing through the lower magistracies, and also the title of 'principes iuventutis,' had been granted to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the grandsons and adopted sons of Augustus (see 1. 3, 4). In the case of other members of the imperial house, or those connected with it by marriage, it had been thought sufficient privilege to permit them to become quaestors five years before the legal age, and to pass on to the praetorship and consulship at a corresponding period (see 3. 29, 1, and note; Momms. Staatsr. i. p. 576). Tiberius and his brother Drusus had thus become consuls in their twenty-ninth or thirtieth year, Germanicus and Drusus the son of Tiberius at about their twenty-seventh. The cases of Galba and Vitellius show that ordinary citizens of distinguished or favoured families might become consuls in their thirty-fifth, or even thirty-third year, which Mommsen (1. p. 574) takes to be the 'aetas legitima' at this period.

3. **interim.** This is probably taken closely with 'designatus,' and does not imply that he was to lay down his proconsular power on becoming consul.

4. **proconsulare imperium extra urbem.** On this power, as given to others than the princeps, see Introd. i. vi. p. 82. The limitation 'extra urbem' also expressed in the subsequent gift of the same power to M. Aurelius (Vit. 6, 6), distinguishes it from that of the princeps himself, which was valid even within the pomerium (Introd. i. vi. p. 69). Mommsen remarks (Staatsr. ii. 788, 1) that this power, as lying outside the ordinary course of magistracies, would have no 'aetas legitima,' and could be entered on at once. It is never recorded on inscriptions of this period, whether as held by the princeps or by others.

princeps iuventutis. On this title, see 1. 3, 4, and note. It is given to him (as well as that of 'cos. design.') on medals (Eckh. vi. 261; Cohen, i. pp. 284–286) and inscriptions (Or. 726, etc.). In that on the triumphal arch of Claudius, belonging to this year (see on c. 38, 1), he is also recorded as member of all the four great priestly colleges (Wilm. 899 E = C. I. L. vi. 1. 921): another (C. I. L. vi. 1. 1984) shows him to have been also chosen in this year as one of the 'sodales Augustales' (see 1. 54, 1). Also the Arvales offered on June 28 (probably in this year) prayers and vows on his behalf (Henzen 7419 = C. I. L. vi. 1. 2034).

5. **additum.** The datives 'militi' and 'plebei' do not depend on this: cp. 14. 3, 7.

donativum . . . congiarium. The first of these is always specially used of largess to soldiers (c. 69, 3; 14. 11, 1, and often in Hist.). The word does not occur in the earlier books of the Annals; but such gifts, which may probably have been called by that name, were made by Augustus and Tiberius, and it is used of those of Gaius by Suet. (Cal. 46). On 'congiaria' to the people see 3. 29, 3; 13. 31, 2, and notes, and the list of such in Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 138. By 'nomine eius,' it is meant that the gifts were really from Claudius (cp. 2. 42, 1); who had given a 'congiarium' in his own name after his triumph (Dio, 60. 25, 7). Suet. states (Ner. 7) that Nero himself

4 plebei. et ludicro circensium, quod adquirendis vulgi studiis
edebatur, Britannicus in praetexta, Nero triumphali veste travecti
sunt: spectaret populus hunc decore imperatorio, illum puerili
5 habitu, ac perinde fortunam utriusque praesumeret. simul qui
centurionum tribunorumque sortem Britannici miserabantur,
remoti fictis causis et alii per speciem honoris; etiam libertorum
6 si quis incorrupta fide, depellitur tali occasione. obvii inter se
7 Nero Britannicum nomine, ille Domitium salutavere. quod ut
discordiae initium Agrippina multo questu ad maritum defert:
sperni quippe adoptionem, quaeque censuerint patres, iusserit
populus, intra penates abrogari: ac nisi pravitas tam infensa
8 docentium arceatur, eruptura in publicam perniciem. commotus his quasi criminibus optimum quemque educatorem

announced these gifts, as well as a public parade ('decursio'), attested also by coins (Eckh. vi. 271; Cohen, i. 284–286).

1. **ludicro circensium.** These games would be extraordinary ('votivi'). On the gerundive dative of purpose cp. Introd. i. v. 22 b.

2. **triumphali.** The Med. text 'triumphalium' is retained in the older edd., and by Rup., Walth., Ritt., and Jacob, and would mean such a dress as 'triumphales' (persons who had triumphed or had received 'triumphalia ornamenta') were entitled to wear. The correction 'triumphali' (adopted by Or., Halm, Nipp., Dr.) is supported by 1. 15, 4, and is no doubt right; for the 'vestis triumphalis' was not confined to 'triumphales,' but was worn by the chief magistrates of the Republic on certain solemn occasions, and after their example by the princeps (13. 8, 1); whence it is called below 'habitus imperatorius,' and was no doubt assumed by Nero as a mark of his 'imperium proconsulare' (see Momms. Staatsr. i. 417; ii. 1142, 1149); though its use within the city would seem to have been hardly warranted in his case.

3. **spectaret,** expressing the thought of Agrippina and her party ('let the people see'). The omission both of the verb of speaking and of an indication of the speaker may be somewhat paralleled by 1. 10, 4, etc., and explained as an effort at rhetorical effect. Those who think it too harsh read 'ut' after 'sunt' (with Bezzenb.) or in place of 'sunt' (with Rup.).

4. **perinde,** 'correspondingly': cp. 'ut viseret agros cultaque ab incultis notaret et perinde dominos laudaret castigaretque' (Liv. 27. 8, 18); 'Mithridates ingenti corpore, perinde armatus' (Sall. H. 2. 47 D, 56 K, 3. 34 G). In a similar passage in H. 2. 97, 4, Med. has 'proinde.'

6. **et alii,** i. e. 'the majority on false charges, and some on pretence of promotion': cp. c. 56, 4; 1. 63, 7 (and note). The officers spoken of would belong to the praetorian cohorts.

7. **tali occasione,** 'by taking such opportunity as the following.' That the words have this reference is shown by the concluding sentence ('commotus his,' etc.).

8. **Nero Britannicum,** etc. 'Nero saluted Britannicus by name, the latter saluted him as Domitius' (ignoring the adoption). Suet. speaks (Ner. 7) as if it had been a slip of the tongue ('quod se post adoptionem Ahenobarbum ex consuetudine salutasset'); but even a boy of ten years old could hardly have forgotten a change of name of a full year's standing; and certainly four years later Britannicus had a lively sense of his position (13. 15, 3).

10. **quae iusserit populus.** The people were supposed by a fiction to have voted the 'lex curiata' (c. 26, 1), which had been preceded by a decree of the senate (c. 25, 3).

12. **eruptura,** 'there would be an outbreak': a general subject is supplied from 'pravitas tam infensa docentium.'

13. **his quasi criminibus,** 'these hinted charges,' thus inferred from the conduct of Britannicus.

filii exilio aut morte adficit datosque a noverca custodiae eius inponit.

42. Nondum tamen summa moliri Agrippina audebat, ni 1
praetoriarum cohortium cura exsolverentur Lusius Geta et Rufrius Crispinus, quos Messalinae memores et liberis eius devinctos credebat. igitur distrahi cohortes ambitu duorum et, 2
si ab uno regerentur, intentiorem fore disciplinam adseverante uxore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrum Afranium, egregiae militaris famae, gnarum tamen cuius sponte praeficeretur. suum quoque fastigium Agrippina extollere altius: 3
carpento Capitolium ingredi, qui honos sacerdotibus et sacris

1. **exilio aut morte.** Recent edd. read 'aut' (with Petersen) for Med. 'ac,' with a force as in 3. 24, 2; 6. 9, 1 ('some with exile, some with death'). Dio states (60. 32, 5) that Sosibius (see 11. 1, 2) suffered the latter penalty, and adds, *κἀκ τούτου παραδοῦσα αὐτὸν οἷς ἤθελεν, ἐκάκου ὅσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὔτε τῷ πατρὶ συνεῖναι οὔτε ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προϊέναι εἴα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδέσμῳ τρόπον τινὰ φυλακῇ εἶχεν.* For her former treatment of him see c. 26, 2.

4. **cura,** so used of this command in 13. 20, 2, and of military command generally in 2. 78, 1, etc.: cp. 'curabat' in 1. 31, 2. On Lusius Geta see 11. 31, 1, on Rufrius Crispinus 11. 1, 3. Med. has here 'Rufius,' but in a majority of places (13. 45, 4; 15. 71, 8; 16. 17, 1) 'Rufrius.' In Suet. Ner. 35, both forms occur in leading MSS.; and both are recognised as Roman names in inscriptions.

6. **ambitu,** 'rivalry in courting the soldiers.' On the usual partition of this command between two praefects see 1. 24, 3, and note; and for other instances, 14. 51, 5; H. 1. 46, 1; 2. 92, 1, and the particulars given in Momms. Staatsr. ii. 867, 2; Hirschfeld, Unters. 219, foll.

8. **uxore,** perhaps used (as Pfitzn. suggests) with some bitterness, as the matter was so wholly beyond her sphere.

Burrum Afranium. The cognomen (read incorrectly in most of the old edd. as 'Burrhus,' after some of the inferior MSS.) is an old synonym for 'Rufus' (Fest.); and either 'Burrus' or 'Purrus' is the form used by Ennius for 'Pyrrhus' (Cic. Or. 48, 160). This officer held the command till his death (14. 51, 1). Nothing is known of his previous service, but he appears to have suffered the loss or mutilation of a hand (13. 14, 5). On the question of his identity with the person mentioned in Jos. Ant. 20. 8, 9, as a former instructor of Nero, see Introd. p. 50, 3.

9. **gnarum tamen,** etc., i. e. knowing that he was Agrippina's nominee, and acknowledging the obligation. On the genit. with 'sponte' cp. 2. 59, 3, and note.

10. **fastigium,** 'dignity'; so 'muliebre fastigium' (1. 14, 3); also 2. 84, 2; 4. 40, 7, etc., Liv. 2. 27, 6, etc.

11. **carpento,** etc. We find from Dio (60. 33, 2) that she procured a decree from the senate *καρπεντίῳ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι χρῆσθαι.* A similar privilege, extended from that of vestals (see next note), had been given to Messalina (Id. 60. 22, 2), who was drawn in such a carriage in the triumph of Claudius (Suet. Cl. 17), and, as a posthumous honour, to the effigies of the elder Agrippina and Antonia (Suet. Cal. 15; Cl. 11). The honour is commemorated in medals of Agrippina, from which the form of the 'carpentum,' a two-wheeled carriage with an ornamented cover, is known to us (see Marquardt, Privatl. 735). A similar privilege, in the case of men, was allowed only to magistrates and priests, and to them on solemn occasions only (see Momms. Staatsr. i. 394, foll.).

sacerdotibus. This right does not appear to have extended to all priests: cp. lex Iul. municip. 62 'quibus diebus virgines Vestales, regem sacrorum, flamines plostreis in urbe sacrorum publicorum P. R. causa vehi oportebit' (see also Liv. 1. 21, 4). The pontifex appears also to have thus gone in procession: cp. 'dum Capitolium Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex' (Hor. Od. 3. 30, 8). The privileges of the vestals formed in many

antiquitus concessus venerationem augebat feminae, quam imperatore genitam, sororem eius qui rerum potitus sit et coniugem
4 et matrem fuisse, unicum ad hunc diem exemplum est. inter quae praecipuus propugnator eius Vitellius, validissima gratia, aetate extrema (adeo incertae sunt potentium res) accusatione
5 corripitur, deferente Iunio Lupo senatore. is crimina maiestatis et cupidinem imperii obiectabat; praebuissetque aures Caesar, nisi Agrippinae minis magis quam precibus mutatus esset, ut accusatori aqua atque igni interdiceret. hactenus Vitellius voluerat.
1 **43.** Multa eo anno prodigia evenere. insessum diris avibus Capitolium, crebris terrae motibus prorutae domus, ac dum latius

points (such as the use of a lictor, etc.) the model for those granted to the wives or mothers of emperors (see 4. 16, 6, etc.).

sacris, used of objects of worship, especially images, such as the Palladium in the temple of Vesta (Liv. Epit. 19), probably also of the Penates of Rome (see on 15. 41, 2). So Varro (L. L. v. 47) explains the Via Sacra to be 'qua sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in arcem.'

1. **imperatore.** Her father Germanicus had received this title (cp. 1. 58, 9, and note). She was also sister of Gaius, wife of Claudius, and mother of Nero. In ancient times a distinction of similar character was recorded of the Lacedaemonian Lampido (Plat. Alcib. 1. 124 A) and of the Pisistratid Archedike (Thuc. 6. 59, 3).

4. **Vitellius**: see on 11. 2, 4, etc.

5. **adeo incertae**, etc. On the use of parentheses in Tacitus see Introd. i. v. § 82. Nipp. notes that they precede the clause to which they relate, as in 1. 39, 7; 79, 2; 4. 55, 6; 14. 59, 4, etc., as also in Livy and other authors.

6. **corripitur**: 'is brought to trial': cp. 2. 28, 4, etc.

maiestatis. This law has been for some time practically dormant (see 14. 48, 3, and note).

8. **ut accusatori**, etc. Nipp. notes the irony of contrast, as in 11. 2, 4. On similar punishments of accusers cp. 4. 31. 7; 36, 5; 6. 7, 1, etc.

9. **aqua atque igni interdiceret.** This sentence (cp. 3. 23, 2, etc.) was one of 'exilium' involving loss of property, but less severe than 'deportatio in insulam,' as allowing some choice of residence.

hactenus, 'this and no more' (implying that had he chosen to press for the penalty of death, it would have been inflicted): cp. such uses of the word in 14. 3, 2; 51, 3; 15. 60, 4; etc., also 'hactenus meminerint ut querantur' (Pl. Ep. 7. 31, 6), 'utimam hactenus' (Suet. Dom. 16).

10. **prodigia.** In the earlier Books of the Annals no such portents are noticed, even where recognition of them might have been expected (compare 1. 76, 1, with Dio, 57. 14, 7); but from this point the mention of such is not unfrequent: see Introd. i. 12, n. 14: 22, n. 1. In most cases (c. 64, 1; 14. 32, 1; 15. 7, 3; 47, 1) the supposed ominous reference is shown, or is obvious in itself; here none is indicated, and the famine which might have been supposed to be foreshadowed is itself viewed as another portent. Tacitus may have supposed that they found their fulfilment in the Eastern troubles (c. 44, foll.), or in the danger threatening the imperial house through the adoption of Nero. Pliny mentions another prodigy in this year (N. H. 2. 31, 99): 'trinos soles . . . nostra aetas vidit, divo Claudio principe, consulatu eius, Cornelio Orfito collega.'

diris avibus, 'birds of ill omen'; so 'dirasque diem foedasse volucres' (Luc. 1, 558): cp. 'importunaeque volucres' (Verg. G. 1, 470). The sight of an owl in daytime was especially ominous: cp. 'tristia mille locis Stygius dedit omina bubo' (Ov. M. 15, 791). Other birds of ill omen are mentioned in Hor. Od. 3. 27, 1, foll.

11. **terrae motibus**: earthquakes are mentioned also in 758, 768, and 812, A. D. 5, 15, 59 (Dio, 55. 22, 5; 57. 14, 7; Eus. Chron.).

dum latius metuitur, 'as the panic spread'; cp. 'altius metuens' (4. 41, 1).

metuitur, trepidatione vulgi invalidus quisque obtriti; frugum
quoque egestas et orta ex eo fames in prodigium accipiebatur.
nec occulti tantum questus, sed iura reddentem Claudium circum- 2
vasere clamoribus turbidis, pulsumque in extremam fori partem
vi urguebant, donec militum globo infensos perrupit. quindecim 3
dierum alimenta urbi, non amplius, superfuisse constitit, magnaque
deum benignitate et modestia hiemis rebus extremis subventum.
at hercule olim Italia legionibus longinquas in provincias com- 4
meatus portabat, nec nunc infecunditate laboratur; sed Africam
potius et Aegyptum exercemus, navibusque et casibus vita populi
Romani permissa est.

44. Eodem anno bellum inter Armenios Hiberosque exortum 1
Parthis quoque ac Romanis gravissimorum inter se motuum
causa fuit. genti Parthorum Vologeses imperitabat, materna 2

1. **obtriti.** The plural is thus used after 'quisque' in 1. 44, 3; 14. 18, 2; H. 4. 25, 5; 27, 4. The crowded state of the streets at all times, and the liability to a crush on occasion of any obstruction, are noted in Sen. Clem. 1. 6, 1.

2. **in prodigium.** The prep. expresses the direction which the interpretation took: cp. 1. 14, 3, and note.

3. **questus,** sc. 'fuere.'

iura reddentem. On the judicial functions personally exercised by the princeps see Introd. i. vi. p. 74; on the character of Claudius in respect of his discharge of them see Introd. p. 37.

circumvasere, a rare verb, found here alone in Tacitus, but also in Liv. and Pl. mai.: the subject is supplied from the context. Suetonius (Cl. 18) adds some details to the account of this tumult, and also mentions the measures taken by Claudius to relieve the dearth, and privileges given to private ship-owners. Formerly, the popular cry for bread had expressed itself by clamour at theatres and other public gatherings (see 6. 13, 1, etc.).

5. **globo,** often so used of soldiers massed together to force a way: cp. 2. 11, 4, and note.

quindecim dierum. On the still greater scarcity of corn at the death of Gaius, and the measures of relief taken by Claudius, see Introd. pp. 24, 25; and on other famines during this period see Friedl. i. 29, foll.

7. **modestia,** here alone thus used. Columella speaks (2. 9) of the 'clementia' of winter, Pliny (N. H. 6. 20, 23, 71) of 'aquarum modestia': so we have 'saevitia annonae' (2. 87, 1), 'segnitia maris' (H. 3. 42, 3), etc.

8. **at hercule,** emphasizing a contrast, as in 1. 3, 5, etc.

legionibus, a generally adopted correction of Ern. for Med. 'regionibus.'

9. **infecunditate,** a word found also in Sall. H. 3. 1 D, 90 K, 5 G., also in Col. and Pl. mai. Italy is held by Pliny (N. H. 37. 13, 77, 201) to have the greatest natural advantages of any country in the world; and the decay of its produce is ascribed by Varro (R. R. 2, 3) to the preference by the peasantry of an idle life in Rome, by Pliny (N. H. 18. 6, 7, 35) to the 'latifundia' and the vicious system of slave labour, which was also spreading in the provinces, by Horace (Od. 2. 15, 1) and others (e.g. Quint. Decl. 13) to the land swallowed up by parks and villas, by Lucan (7, 399, foll.) to the general demoralisation consequent on the civil wars. Cp. Introd. i. vii. pp. 86, 93; Schiller, p. 492, foll.

Africam . . . et Aegyptum. On the corn supply from these and other sources see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 233, foll., Friedl. i. 29, Mayor on Juv. 8, 117. Josephus (B. I. 2. 16, 4) makes Herod Agrippa say that Rome was supported by Egypt for four months in the year, and by Africa for eight; but the latter estimate may probably be exaggerated.

10. **exercemus**: cp. 11. 7, 4, and note.

navibusque, etc. Compare the strong expressions of Tiberius in 3. 54, 6.

14. **Vologeses.** It has been thought

origine ex paelice Graeca, concessu fratrum regnum adeptus;
Hiberos Pharasmanes vetusta possessione, Armenios frater eius
3 Mithridates optinebat opibus nostris. erat Pharasmani filius
nomine Radamistus, decora proceritate, vi corporis insignis et
4 patrias artes edoctus, claraque inter accolas fama. is modicum
Hiberiae regnum senecta patris detineri ferocius crebriusque
5 iactabat, quam ut cupidinem occultaret. igitur Pharasmanes
iuvenem potentiae promptum et studio popularium accinctum,
vergentibus iam annis suis metuens, aliam ad spem trahere et
Armeniam ostentare, pulsis Parthis datam Mithridati a semet
memorando: sed vim differendam et potiorem dolum, quo
6 incautum opprimerent. ita Radamistus simulata adversus patrem
discordia tamquam novercae odiis impar pergit ad patruum,
multaque ab eo comitate in speciem liberum cultus primores

(see Nipp.'s note) that Tacitus is here antedating the accession of this king, and that it did not take place till the following year; but Prof. Gardner has shown (see note on c. 14, 8) that the evidence derived from coinage does not necessitate any such view. On the other hand, the later date given by some to his accession is fully consistent with the time at which he first actually intervenes (c. 50, 1).

1. **fratrum**, Tiridates (c. 50, 1) and Pacorus (15. 2, 1).

2. **Pharasmanes . . . Mithridates**: see 11. 8, 1, and notes.

3. **erat . . . filius**, 'there was a son.' Nipp. illustrates this force of 'erat' from c. 49, 1; 13. 45, 1; 14. 40, 1; also 'Cibryatae sunt fratres quidam Tlepolemus et Hiero' (Cic. Verr. 4. 13, 30).

5. **patrias artes**, 'the accomplishments of his countrymen,' riding, archery, etc. (2. 2, 5): 'clara fama,' abl. of quality.

modicum . . . detineri. The analogous expression, 'quod inmensam pecuniam longa senecta detineret' (14. 65, 1), suggests that 'detineri' here means 'was being kept from him.' 'Modicum' is not a mere epithet, but adds the thought that the kingdom thus kept from its proper heir was small and worthless, when that heir would have energy to extend it. This seems better than to take the word (with Prof. Holbrooke) to mean that it was too small to be divided, or to take 'modicum detineri' (with Orelli and Dr.) only to mean 'was restricted from expansion.'

6. **ferocius**, 'too boldly': cp. 'linguae feroces' (H. 1. 35, 2).

8. **potentiae promptum**, 'ready to grasp power' (cp. 1. 48, 3; 4. 46, 4; 11. 32, 1; 15. 45, 4): so Orelli and Ritt., after Lips., for the old reading 'promptae' (Med. 'pmte'), which they regard as an error of assimilation, but which Halm and Dr. retain, and which could be taken as a kind of genit. of quality describing his circumstances (Introd. i. v. § 34), 'one who had power ready to his hand,' by reason of his popularity. But the following clause 'et . . . accinctum' appears, from the conjunction introducing it, to introduce a new ground of fear rather than (as would thus be the case) to explain the words above, and we should certainly expect some allusion to his 'cupido' as well as to his facilities. Pfitzn. takes the Med. text less well to mean that his father's old age had brought power close to his hand. Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 551) would read (with Freinsh.) 'inpotentiae promptae' (cp. his suggestion on 4. 43, 4), thinking that the first syllable of the former word was overlooked after 'iuvenem'; and Nipp. (after Faern.) departs further from Med. in reading 'properum' (cp. 4. 59, 5; 11. 26, 4; 14. 7, 2).

accinctum, 'armed': cp. c. 25, 2; 11. 28, 1 (and notes); also 'eloquentiam, qua accinctus' (Dial. 5, 5).

9. **vergentibus**: cp. 2. 43, 1, and note.

10. **a semet**, see 6. 32, 5; 33, 1.

14. **in speciem liberum cultus**, 'treated as a son.' 'In' expresses result (Introd. i. v. 60 b), and 'species' does not imply hypocritical pretence; the sense being

Armeniorum ad res novas inlicit, ignaro et ornante insuper
Mithridate.

45. Reconciliationis specie adsumpta regressusque ad patrem, 1
quae fraude confici potuerint, prompta nuntiat, cetera armis
exsequenda. interim Pharasmanes belli causas confingit: proe- 2
lianti sibi adversus regem Albanorum et Romanos auxilio vocanti
fratrem adversatum, eamque iniuriam excidio ipsius ultum iturum;
simul magnas copias filio tradidit. ille inruptione subita territum 3
exutumque campis Mithridaten compulit in castellum Gorneas,
tutum loco ac praesidio militum, quis Caelius Pollio praefectus,
centurio Casperius praeerant. nihil tam ignarum barbaris quam 4
machinamenta et astus oppugnationum: at nobis ea pars militiae
maxime gnara est. ita Radamistus frustra vel cum damno 5
temptatis munitionibus obsidium incipit; et cum vis neglegeretur,
avaritiam praefecti emercatur, obtestante Casperio ne socius rex,

merely 'ita ut e liberis eius videretur': cp. 'puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi' (Liv. 1. 39, 4). He was already, or became, son-in-law of Mithridates as well as nephew (c. 46, 1).

1. **ornante**, a correction of Lips. for Med. 'orante': cp. 'ornat Phraaten' (6. 32, 1). Nipp. notes that these words refer to the time while he was sowing sedition, the former words ('multa . . . cultus') to his treatment on his first arrival.

6. **regem Albanorum.** On this people see 2. 68, 1, and note. The war here alluded to is unknown: in 6. 33, 2 they are spoken of as allied with Pharasmanes.

7. **ultum iturum.** For this phrase cp. 4. 73, 6, and note, and similar phrases in 4. 1, 2; 66, 2, etc.

9. **exutumque campis**, 'driven from the open country': cp. 'hostem exuere sedibus' (13. 39, 3), and many other metaphorical uses of the verb (see note on 1. 69, 2). The alteration to 'castris' (Haase) is needless.

Gorneas. This place was probably one of the strong fortresses, the γαζοφυλάκια of the kingdom, spoken of in Strab. 11. 14, 6, 529. Kiepert (cited in Momms. Hist. v. 381; E. T. ii. 48) notes that its site is identified by the name (Garhni), still given to some ruins nearly east of Erivan.

10. **militum**, sc. 'Romanorum.' That Mithridates had been aided by Roman troops in reducing rebel strongholds, has been mentioned in 11. 9, 1. 'Praefectus' probably stands for 'praefectus cohortis' (as in c. 39, 5).

11. **Casperius**, mentioned again as a centurion in 15. 5, 2, and thought by Nipp. to be probably the Casperius Niger of H. 3. 73, 3.

praeerant. Most other edd. retain the Med. 'praeerat'; but this hardly seems to be one of the cases in which a singular verb can stand.

ignarum . . . gnara = 'ignotum . . . nota' (cp. 2. 13, 1; 1. 5, 4, and notes). Several edd. (Haase, Ritt., Nipp., Jacob) bracket 'at . . . est' as an interpolation. Besides being a somewhat superfluous remark in the mouth of a Roman, the clause is awkwardly worded, as 'ea pars militiae' does not in strict sense refer to 'astus oppugnationum,' but to an implied knowledge of the corresponding tactics of defence. On the other hand, the clause cannot be a gloss, but is either genuine or a deliberate forgery; and Doed. may be right in thinking that to explain the failure with so great disparity of numbers, not only the incapacity of the besiegers, but the notable skill of the besieged, requires mention. The defence of the juxtaposition of 'ignarum' and 'gnara,' given by Joh. Müller (Beitr. 4, 11, foll.), seems hardly needed.

14. **obsidium**, 'a blockade.'

neglegeretur, 'was despised': cp. the similar use of 'spernere' in c. 5, 2; 6. 42, 2.

15. **emercatur**: cp. c. 14, 1, and note.

ne Armenia donum populi Romani scelere et pecunia verterentur.
6 postremo quia multitudinem hostium Pollio, iussa patris Rada-
mistus obtendebant, pactus indutias abscedit, ut, nisi Pharas-
manem bello absterruisset, Ummidium Quadratum praesidem
Suriae doceret quo in statu Armenia foret.
1 **46.** Digressu centurionis velut custode exsolutus praefectus
hortari Mithridaten ad sanciendum foedus, coniunctionem fratrum
ac priorem aetate Pharasmanen et cetera necessitudinum nomina
referens, quod filiam eius in matrimonio haberet, quod ipse
2 Radamisto socer esset: non abnuere pacem Hiberos, quamquam
in tempore validiores; et satis cognitam Armeniorum perfidiam,
nec aliud subsidii quam castellum commeatu egenum: ne dubia

1. **verterentur**: so most edd. after Ern. Med. has 'pecuniā uterentur,' probably a corruption of 'pecunia ūterentur'; the older texts read 'venderentur' (with inferior MSS.), 'averterentur,' and 'mutarentur.' The verb would be used for 'everterentur,' as in 2. 42, 4 (where see note), and the term would apply not strictly to Armenia, but to the Roman authority as exercised in giving that kingdom to Mithridates.

3. **obtendebant**: cp. 11. 17, 4, etc.

abscedit, sc. 'Casperius.'

4. **absterruisset**, with simple abl., as in Hor. S. 2. 5, 83.

Ummidium Quadratum. Med. has here 'tūmidiū' (usually read as 'T. Umidium,' but Ritt. thinks the 't' repeated from the end of the preceding word), and in other places (13. 8, 2; 9, 3, 14. 26, 4) reads the name with one 'm.' In Jos. Ant. 20. 6, 2; B. I. 2. 12, 6, it has been read as Νουμίδιος. His full name and offices are given in an inscription (Or. 3128, Wilm. 1139), 'C. Ummidio C. f. Ter(entina tribu) Durmio Quadrato, cos., xv vir s. f., leg. Ti. Caesaris Aug. prov. Lusit., leg. D. Claudi in Illyrico, eiusd. et Neronis Caesaris Aug. in Syria, procos. Cypri, q(uaestori) divi Aug. et Ti. Caesaris Aug., aed. cur., pr(aetori) aer(arii), x vir stlit. iud., curat. tabular. publicar., praef. frumenti dandi ex S. C.' The inscription shows that his quaestorship belongs to the last year of Augustus and first of Tiberius (767, A. D. 14); his praetorship was in 771, A. D. 18 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 1496, Henzen 7419 d γ), his tenure of Lusitania in 790, A. D. 37 (Or. 3665); he was probably cos. suff. under Gaius, or early under Claudius, and succeeded Cassius (c. 11, 4) in Syria, which he held till his death in 813, A. D. 60 (14. 26, 4). Some further particulars about him are noted by Nipp. and in Lehmann (pp. 248, 249). For further account of him as governor of Syria see c. 54, 5, etc.

praesidem. It is noted by Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 240, 3) that the use of this term for the legatus of a province begins after the first century, being found in Tacitus (cp. 6. 41, 1), Pliny (Pan. 70), and often in Suet., after whose date it appears on inscriptions, etc., and becomes the regular term: cp. Macer (Dig. 1. 18, 1), 'praesidis nomen generale est, eoque et proconsules et legati Caesaris, et omnes provincias regentes, licet senatores sint, praesides appellantur.'

7. **coniunctionem fratrum**, 'the tie of brotherhood,' i. e. that brothers should agree, and the younger should give way to the elder. The other 'titles of connection' ('necessitudinum nomina') are explained in the context.

11. **in tempore**, 'at present.' The phrase seems to be nowhere else so used (cp. c. 50, 4, etc.). Nipp. compares the use of 'in loco' in 1. 63, 7.

perfidiam, the treason incited by Radamistus (c. 44, 5).

12. **commeatu.** The Med. 'commeatū' has been sometimes read as 'commeatuum' (which would give a bad homoeoteleuton), and may possibly be a corruption of 'commeatus,' but an abl. with 'egenus' is found in 15. 12, 1.

ne dubia tentare . . . mallet: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., after Sirker, for Med. 'ne dubitare . . . malle.' Ritt. prefers 'tenere' to 'tentare'; most other edd. follow Ryck. in reading 'dubitaret' (after

tentare armis quam incruentas condiciones mallet. cunctante ad 3
ea Mithridate et suspectis praefecti consiliis, quod paelicem
regiam polluerat inque omnem libidinem venalis habebatur,
Casperius interim ad Pharasmanen pervadit, utque Hiberi
obsidio decedant expostulat. ille propalam incerta et saepius 4
molliora respondens, secretis nuntiis monet Radamistum obpugna-
tionem quoquo modo celerare. augetur flagitii merces, et Pollio 5
occulta corruptione inpellit milites, ut pacem flagitarent seque
praesidium omissuros minitarentur. qua necessitate Mithridates 6
diem locumque foederi accepit castelloque egreditur.

47. Ac primo Radamistus in amplexus eius effusus simulare 1
obsequium, socerum ac parentem appellare; adicit ius iurandum,
non ferro, non veneno vim adlaturum. simul in lucum propin- 2
quum trahit, provisum illic sacrificii paratum dictitans, ut dis
testibus pax firmaretur. mos est regibus, quotiens in societatem 3
coëant, implicare dextras pollicesque inter se vincire nodoque
praestringere: mox ubi sanguis in artus *se* extremos suffuderit,

G.), omitting 'quam,' retaining 'malle,' and taking 'armis' as an abl. of comparison, defended (hardly appositely) from Hor. Sat. 2. 8, 79 ('nullos his mallem ludos spectasse'), and supposing that a copyist ignorant of the construction had confused it by inserting 'quam.'

1. **incruentas**: cp. 'pacem incruentam' (2. 46, 2); 'res incruentas' (13. 37, 6), etc.

3. **in omnem libidinem venalis**, 'one who could be bought over to any wickedness.' 'Libido' has this general sense in 13. 31, 5, as also 'licentia' in 15. 20, 3. The force of 'in' is similar in 1. 28, 7; 4. 51, 3, etc.

5. **et saepius molliora**, 'and usually pacific': cp. 'ac saepius' (c. 7, 6).

6. **monet . . . celerare**: cp. 11. 1, 2, and note. For the use of 'celerare' cp. 2. 5, 2, and note.

9. **omissuros**: so all recent edd., after Freinsh., on the analogy of 4. 51, 3; 14. 33, 4. Med. has 'ammis.' (at the end of a line); most older edd. follow G. in reading 'praesidio abituros.'

qua necessitate, causal abl. (Introd. i. v. § 30).

11. **effusus**, 'rushing into his embrace.' 'Effundi' is used in a middle or reflexive sense of giving way to a feeling (1. 11, 5; 54, 3; 4. 8, 3; H. 2. 80, 3), and 'effusus' of the feeling thus indulged in, as 'effusae clementiae' (6. 30, 3), 'amplexu effusissimo' (Petron. 139).

14. **sacrificii paratum**: so most modern edd., after Pflugk; Ritt. prefers 'apparatum' (cp. 2. 69, 3; H. 3. 56, 1); but 'paratus' is used for it in 13. 17, 1 (cp. 'occulti paratus sacri' Liv. 10, 41, 3). The Med. text 'sacrificium imperatum' might be taken to mean 'that the sacrifice which had been ordered was there made ready,' but would hardly suit the description of the rite contemplated. Other emendations are cited by Halm and Ritt.

15. **mos est**, etc. Another Armenian prince is described by Val. Max. (9. 11, extr. 3) as thus ratifying an alliance; a similar practice is noted among Medes (Hdt. 1. 74, 6) and Scythians (Id. 4. 70, 1; Lucian, Tox. 37), and has been observed among savage races in modern times. A wild tale was current that the Catilinarians sealed their compact by drinking human blood in wine (Sall. Cat. 22, 1).

in societatem coëant, 'meet to form alliance': so 'in amicitiam coëant' (Verg. Aen. 7, 546); 'coëant in foedera dextrae' (Id. 11, 292); 'ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant' (Suet. Aug. 32). The subjunctive here is that of action often repeated (Introd. i. v. § 52).

17. **se extremos suffuderit.** Orelli and Halm follow Jac. Gron. in inserting

levi ictu cruorem eliciunt atque invicem lambunt. id foedus
4 arcanum habetur quasi mutuo cruore sacratum. sed tunc qui
ea vincla admovebat, decidisse simulans genua Mithridatis invadit
ipsumque prosternit; simulque concursu plurium iniciuntur catenae
5 ac compede, quod dedecorum barbaris, trahebatur; mox quia
6 vulgus duro imperio habitum, probra ac verbera intentabat. et
erant contra qui tantam fortunae commutationem miserarentur;
secutaque cum parvis liberis coniunx cuncta lamentatione com-
7 plebat. diversis et contectis vehiculis abduntur, dum Pharasmanis
iussa exquirerentur. illi cupido regni fratre et filia potior animus-
que sceleribus paratus; visui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficeret.
8 et Radamistus, quasi iuris iurandi memor, non ferrum, non
venenum in sororem et patruum expromit, sed proiectos in
9 humum et veste multa gravique opertos necat. filii quoque
Mithridatis, quod caedibus parentum inlacrimaverant, trucidati
sunt.

1 **48.** At Quadratus cognoscens proditum Mithridaten et regnum
ab interfectoribus optineri, vocat consilium, docet acta et an

'se' where it may most easily have dropped out; Ritt. inserts it after 'extremos.' Most others (after Heins.) correct the Med. text by omitting 'in'; some read 'se effuderit' (after G.). The verb expresses the collection of blood in the extremities thus tied.

2. **arcanum**, 'mystical': so 'arcana sacra' (G. 18, 3), 'arcanus terror' (Id. 40, 5). Haase reads 'aeternum.'

3. **decidisse.** The omission of 'se' is so common in Tacitus, and the meaning so suggested by the distinctive 'ipsum' following, that the alternative explanation of Walther and Orelli ('decidisse vincula') seems very improbable.

4. **concursu plurium**, abl. abs. = 'pluribus concurrentibus.'

5. **compede**: so all edd. for Med. 'compedes,' after Lips., who notes that a distinction appears to be drawn between 'catenae' (on the hands) and the still greater indignity of being dragged along with shackles on the feet; also that the custom of 'custodia militaris' made chains seem less disgraceful to a Roman than a barbarian.

mox quia, etc. With this text 'vulgus' is supplied again as subject of 'intentabat.' Nipp. and others read 'moxque' (after G.). On the harsh rule of Mithridates cp. 11. 9, 3.

6. **intentabat**, used with similar zeugma in 3. 36, 1.

7. **contra**: so most edd. (with G.). Med. has 'e contra,' whence Baiter reads 'e contrario' (cp. H. 1. 88, 4), and notes other omissions of final syllables in this MS.

11. **visui tamen consuluit**, 'he spared his eyes the sight' of a brother's execution: cp. 'aspectui pepercit' (15. 61, 7), 'Nero subtraxit oculos' (Agr. 45, 2), and the use of 'consulere alicui' (='parcere') in 3. 16, 5; 46, 4; 11. 36, 3, etc.

ne = 'ita ut non': cp. 11. 15, 1.

13. **sororem**, the wife of Mithridates (see c. 46, 1).

proiectos in humum, 'thrown down to the ground': the idea seems really not distinguishable from that where the locative 'humi' is used, as in H. 2. 64, 2 ('proiectum humi iugulavit').

17. **Quadratus**: see c. 45, 6. This whole narrative shows that the legatus of Syria was the superior officer of all commanders of troops in Cappadocia and other eastern provinces: see Marqu. Staatsv. i. 209.

cognoscens, aoristic present: cp. 'praemonenti' 11. 35, 3 (and note).

18. **consilium.** The persons usually thus consulted by a governor were all

ulcisceretur consultat. paucis decus publicum curae, plures tuta 2
disserunt: omne scelus externum cum laetitia habendum; semina
etiam odiorum iacienda, ut saepe principes Romani eandem
Armeniam specie largitionis turbandis barbarorum animis prae-
buerint: poteretur Radamistus male partis, dum invisus, infamis, 3
quando id magis ex usu quam si cum gloria adeptus foret. in
hanc sententiam itum. ne tamen adnuisse facinori viderentur et 4
diversa Caesar iuberet, missi ad Pharasmanen nuntii, ut abscederet
a finibus Armeniis filiumque abstraheret.

49. Erat Cappadociae procurator Iulius Paelignus, ignavia 1
animi et deridiculo corporis iuxta despiciendus, sed Claudio

senators present, and sometimes others with them (see Sall. Jug. 62, 4; 104, 1).

1. **tuta disserunt**, 'advocate a safe course' (to let things alone): cp. 'bona libertatis . . . disserere' (1. 4, 2).

2. **cum laetitia habendum**, 'must be received with joy': cp. 'civiliter habuit' (4. 21, 2); 'nec cum . . . odio . . . nomen . . . habebatur' (15. 28, 2, where see note). Nipp. adds 'gravius aequo habuere' (Sall. Cat. 51, 11), 'aegre habuit' (Liv. 5. 5, 7). On the general sentiment cp. G. 33, 2.

3. **ut saepe**, etc., 'as Roman princes have often thrown Armenia before the barbarians for a bone of contention under colour of a gift'; i.e. had set up some prince (see 2. 3, 4; 4. 1; 56, 3; 6. 32, 5; 11. 8, 1) who, as their nominee, would be unpopular, and could never be leader of a powerful and united nation. Armenia is called 'donum populi Romani' (c. 45, 5), and, in a certain sense, is said to belong to the empire (13. 34, 4).

5. **dum invisus.** 'Dum' has the force of 'dummodo,' and 'esset' is supplied (Introd. i. v. § 39); the ellipse being, as Dr. points out, made less harsh by the following 'foret.' This seems better than to suppose (with Jacob) that 'poteretur' is repeated.

6. **ex usu**, 'in accordance with our interest': cp. 'ex suo usu' (6. 42, 3); also 4. 5, 6; 11. 8, 5, and notes (so in Cic., Ter., Pl. mai.).

adeptus. Nipp. alters this to 'depulsus,' with the meaning that it was better that he should reign hated and dishonoured than become a hero with his people through being expelled by the Romans. The rhetorical contrast is better; but there seems to be no need for so violent a change.

7. **itum.** The phraseology of the Roman senate (3. 23, 2, etc.) is here applied to a 'consilium' (§ 1) of officers.

adnuisse, with dative, as in 15. 6, 2; H. 2. 4, 3; also 'adnuite legibus' (Sall. H. 1. 41, 25 D, 45 K, p. 141. G.), 'adnue coeptis' (Verg. G. 1, 40).

et diversa Caesar iuberet. This sentence is logically subordinate, and might have been expected to be in abl. abs. ('while Caesar ordered them to act otherwise'); so 'neque enim hic . . . certa dominorum domus et ceteri servi' ('while the rest are slaves'), H. 1. 16. 11. In the nearly parallel passage in 1. 79, 1, where 'idque' has the force of 'et ne id,' the second clause gives the consequence of the first. See Joh. Müller, Beitr. 4. p. 19.

9. **Armeniis.** Ritt. considers this an error of assimilation ('Armenius' not being used adjectively in Tacitus), and reads 'Armeniae.'

10. **Cappadociae procurator.** This province had been organised under Tiberius (2. 56, 4, and note), and was held by procurators till the time of Vespasian, who gave it a legionary force and a legatus of consular rank (Suet. Vesp. 8). Its tenure by Corbulo was an exceptional arrangement (see 13. 8, 2, and note).

Paelignus: so all recent edd. for Med. 'Pelignus,' after an emendation of Halm on Cic. Vat. 15, 36.

ignavia: so most recent edd. for Med. 'ignavi,' which the old edd. retain. The loss of 'a' before 'animi' is extremely probable; the supposition of Ritt., that the termination has been assimilated to that of 'animi,' and that 'ignavus' should be read, hardly less so. The ablative would be causal.

11. **deridiculo**, 'absurdity,' i. e. defor-

perquam familiaris, cum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum
2 iners otium oblectaret. is Paelignus auxiliis provincialium con-
tractis tamquam reciperaturus Armeniam, dum socios magis
quam hostes praedatur, abscessu suorum et incursantibus barbaris
praesidii egens ad Radamistum venit; donisque eius evictus ultro
regium insigne sumere cohortatur sumentique adest auctor et
3 satelles. quod ubi turpi fama divulgatum, ne ceteri quoque ex
Paeligno coniectarentur, Helvidius Priscus legatus cum legione
4 mittitur, rebus turbidis pro tempore ut consuleret. igitur propere

mity; so used substantively, with nearly similar meaning, in 3. 57, 3; 6. 2, 2, and in Plautus.

1. **conversatione scurrarum**: so nearly all edd., after Lips., for the Med. 'privatis olim c̄ūsationes ('conversationes') curaret.' The emendation is confirmed by the description in Suet. (Cl. 5) of the former life of Claudius (see Introd. p. 20). 'Conversatio,' in the sense of 'intercourse,' occurs in G. 40, 4, Dial. 9, 6, and in other writers of the period.

2. **otium oblectaret.** The expression occurs in Dial. 10, 3, and the epithet 'iners' may be illustrated from 13. 42, 4. Buffoons and such persons were a constant adjunct to the imperial household (see Friedl. i. p. 134); and another instance of such a person attaining a considerable position is that of Vatinius (see 15. 34, 3).

is Paelignus. The repetition of the name is perhaps a gloss (cp. 4. 10, 2, and note), but may be supposed (with Nipp.) to be for contemptuous emphasis, or because Claudius was the immediately preceding subject.

auxiliis provincialium. Nipp. rightly points out that these were the disembodied militia of the province; the 'cohortes alaeque' of 13. 8, 2 having been apparently stationed there later. Such irregular levies in other provinces are mentioned in H. 1. 68, 2; 2. 58, 2; 3. 5, 5. Cappadocia would thus appear to have been at this time an 'inermis provincia' (as were most of those under procurators), depending for military support, when needed, upon Syria (see below, on § 3).

3. **tamquam**, with future participle, like ὡς, as in 6. 36, 1 (where see note).

4. **abscessu**, causal abl., as also in 6. 8, 2. The departing force was probably the cohort under Pollio, of which no more is heard.

5. **ultro**, i. e. not only does not prevent him, but even, etc.

6. **regium insigne**, the tiara and diadem: see 2. 56, 3.

cohortatur, with inf. (see Introd. i. v. § 43), as apparently elsewhere only in Bell. Al. 21, 1 ('cohortando suos . . . contendere'). The same construction is used with 'dehortor' (3. 16, 5), and oftener with 'hortor' (see 11. 16, 3, and note).

auctor, 'authoriser.' The addition 'ac satelles' appears to be, as Prof. Holbrooke notes, a stroke of irony.

7. **turpi fama.** The dishonour attaching to the fact reported is here transferred to the report itself; cp. 'moesta fama' (H. 2. 46, 1), 'atroces nuntii, sinistra ex urbe fama' (Id. 1. 51, 8).

ne ceteri, etc., 'lest all Romans should be judged from the standard of Paelignus.' Cp. the use of 'coniectare' in 1. 32, 7 ('militares animos ultius coniectantibus'), and the phrases 'ex rumore,' 'ex vero statuere' (3. 69, 3; 4. 43, 4).

8. **Helvidius Priscus.** This cannot be the famous person of that name, who had not yet been quaestor (see on 16. 28, 2), as the 'legati legionum' were senators of praetorian rank or in a position to become so (see Introd. i. vii. p. 105). Another of the name is mentioned five years later as trib. pleb. (13. 28, 5); the name of an unknown 'C. Helvidius Priscus' occurs in an inscription perhaps of about this date (Henzen 6432); and one 'Helvidia Priscilla' was wife of a procurator of this time (Hirschf. Unters. p. 300).

9. **mittitur**, sc. 'a Quadrato': the Syrian were the only legions in the East.

pro tempore, 'according to occasion': cp. 3. 1, 4, and note.

montem Taurum transgressus moderatione plura quam vi composuerat, cum rediret in Suriam iubetur, ne initium belli adversus Parthos existeret.

50. Nam Vologeses casum invadendae Armeniae obvenisse 1
ratus, quam a maioribus suis possessam externus rex flagitio
optineret, contrahit copias fratremque Tiridaten deducere in
regnum parat, ne qua pars domus sine imperio ageret. incessu 2
Parthorum sine acie pulsi Hiberi, urbesque Armeniorum Artaxata

1. **Taurum.** His route from Syria through Commagene to Cappadocia would pass over part of this chain.

2. **rediret.** Halm retains the Med. text (cp. 13. 15, 3; H. 2. 46, 2); most others read, with inferior MSS., 'redire.'

4. **Nam Vologeses.** This Parthian intervention would not seem to have taken place before 806, A.D. 53; as the renewed Parthian occupation of Armenia, after the ensuing winter and the events of c. 51, is not reported in Rome till after the death of Claudius (13. 6, 1).

casum, 'opportunity,' as in c. 28, 1, etc.

5. **a maioribus suis.** In recent times Vonones (2. 4, 3) and Arsaces son of Artabanus (6. 31, 2) had been at least nominal kings of Armenia, and Parthians had ruled it during the captivity of Mithridates (see on 11. 8, 1); but the expression here points rather to the Arsacid kings of the second and first century B. C. (see Dict. of Biog. i. p. 361), who claimed to be of the same stock as the Parthian royal race.

7. **ne qua pars domus,** etc., 'that no member of his family might be without a dominion.' The other brother, Pacorus, held Media (15. 2, 1).

incessu, 'invasion': cp. 4. 24, 2.

8. **Artaxata et Tigranocerta.** On the former city, see 2. 56, 3, and note. Tigranocerta was founded by Tigranes I, with a population swept together from desolated Greek cities and from an invasion of Cappadocia (Strab. 11. 14, 15, 532; 12. 2, 9, 539). It was soon afterwards nearly destroyed by Lucullus (Strab. l. l. Plut. Luc. 29, 511), and had not recovered in Strabo's time. It was evidently on the extreme southern frontier of Armenia (Plin. N. H. 6. 9, 10, 27), and is even spoken of as in Mesopotamia (Strab. 12. 539); and Lucullus, marching from Pontus, is stated to have crossed both the Euphrates and Tigris to reach it (Plut. Luc. 24). Its site is however a vexed question, and many of the statements of ancient authors are not easy to reconcile. Tacitus, who may probably be following Corbulo, gives one very definite statement, that it was thirty-seven miles from Nisibis (15. 5, 2), and places it on the Nicephorius, described by him as a considerable stream (15. 4, 3), and given by Pliny (N. H. 6. 27, 31, 129) as a chief tributary of the upper Tigris; but all the principal branches of that river flow into it from the north and at considerably greater distance from Nisibis than that specified. Again, the statement of Strabo (11. 12, 4, 522; 16. 1, 23, 747) that it lay at the foot of Mt. Masius, in a similar position to that of Nisibis, is inconsistent with Pliny's statement (6. 9, 10, 26) that it was 'in excelso.' Egli (see pp. 303–306), supposing that the city was built to command the Bitlis pass, places it at Sert, on the Bitlis-Su. In this view, as also in those which place it at Diarbekir, or other sites in that region, the data furnished by Tacitus and Strabo are wholly departed from. Others (see the dissertations of Mommsen and Kiepert in Hermes ix. 1875, pp. 129–149) had placed it at Tell-Abad or some other place within the basin of the Tigris on the northern side of Masius; where the distance from Nisibis answers fairly to that given above, but the streams seem too inconsiderable to suit the description of the Nicephorius. More recently, Professor Sachau, travelling in the country in 1879, 1880 (see the summary of his treatise given by Mr. Tozer in 'Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society,' ii. p. 237), found considerable remains at Tell-Ermen, a little S.W. of Mardin, just thirty-seven miles from Nisibis, and on a river. This site would agree with all that is said by Strabo and Tacitus, but would wholly depart from Pliny's connection of the Nicephorius with the Tigris (see note on 15. 4, 3), and from his description of the position as on a

3 et Tigranocerta iugum accepere. deinde atrox hiems seu parum
provisi commeatus et orta ex utroque tabes perpellunt Vologesen
4 omittere praesentia. vacuamque rursus Armeniam Radamistus
invasit, truculentior quam antea, tamquam adversus defectores et
5 in tempore rebellaturos. atque illi, quamvis servitio sueti,
patientiam abrumpunt armisque regiam circumveniunt.

1 **51.** Nec aliud Radamisto subsidium fuit quam pernicitas
2 equorum, quis seque et coniugem abstulit. sed coniunx gravida
primam utcumque fugam ob metum hostilem et mariti caritatem
toleravit; post festinatione continua, ubi quati uterus et
viscera vibrantur, orare ut morte honesta contumeliis captivitatis
3 eximeretur. ille primo amplecti adlevare adhortari, modo virtutem
4 admirans, modo timore aeger, ne quis relicta poteretur. postremo
violentia amoris et facinorum non rudis destringit acinacen vulne-

height (see above). The Tell Ermen site is now adopted by Kiepert in his maps (see that appended to Momms. Hist. v.).

1. **atrox hiems**, that of the year following the invasion (§ 1).

2. **tabes**, 'pestilence,' as in H. 5. 3, 1, etc.

perpellunt, an old correction for 'percellunt': cp. 'perpulit' (for 'perculit') 11. 29, 2 (and note).

3. **omittere praesentia**, 'to abandon affairs on the spot': cp. 1. 30, 5, and note.

4. **defectores**: cp. 11. 8, 5, and note.

5. **in tempore rebellaturos.** Med. has 'bellaturos'; but subsequent edd. have generally followed Rhen. in supposing that 're' has been lost after 'tempore.' A similar correction should probably be made in the passage of Sallust (H. 1. 18 D, 20 K, 19 G), which is here evidently imitated ('ferocia regis Mithridatis in tempore bellaturi'). For 'in tempore' ('at a fit time') cp. 1. 19, 2, and note.

6. **patientiam abrumpunt.** This verb is used poetically of breaking a tie (cp. 'fas omne abrumpit' Verg. Aen. 3, 55), so of breaking faith (H. 4. 60, 4), hence here of breaking off a habit: cp. 'abruptis voluptatibus' (H. 4. 64, 5), 'abrumpi dissimulationem' (11. 26, 1), 'pacem . . . abrumpunt' (15. 2, 2).

regiam, at Artaxata, on the Araxes (c. 51, 4).

8. **seque et**: cp. 1. 4, 1, and note. The wife spoken of may be the daughter of Mithridates (c. 46, 1) or another.

abstulit, so used by poets of flight in the air or other rapid motion: cp. 'auferebantur' (4. 73, 3), 'e conspectu terrae ablati' (Liv. 29. 27, 6), etc.

9. **utcumque**, with 'toleravit' ('endured somehow'): cp. 2. 14, 4. The expression here closely resembles Curt. 8. 2, 34 ('arduum . . . iter primo utcumque tolerabant'); and both appear to have followed Livy 29. 15, 1 ('quae . . . utcumque tolerata essent').

10. **ubi quati**, etc. Heins. considers that the last syllable of 'quatitur' has here been lost, which is not in itself improbable; but such use of the historical inf. is Tacitean (Introd. i. v. § 46 c), though the following finite verb is usually in the imperf. (as in 11. 37, 3, etc.). On the anastrophe of 'ubi' cp. 4. 10, 2, and parallel cases given in Introd. i. v. § 78, and by Nipp. here.

12. **adlevare**, probably to be referred to the suppliant attitude suggested by 'orare' (cp. c. 19, 1); the supposition being that she had dismounted and thrown herself before him in entreaty.

13. **violentia**, causal abl., coordinated for variety with an adj., as elsewhere with a participle: cp. 2. 1, 2; 22, 2; 4. 72, 1, etc.

14. **facinorum**, probably here taken in a somewhat neutral sense ('acts of violence'): cp. c. 31, 7; 3. 21, 1, etc.

acinacen. This Persian name for the short sabre used by them and other nations (cp. 'Medus acinaces' Hor. Od. 1. 27, 5) is often used by Hdt. Curtius (7. 4, 19; 8. 3, 4) gives a Latin accus.

ratamque ripam ad Araxis trahit, flumini tradit, ut corpus etiam
auferretur: ipse praeceps Hiberos ad patrium regnum pervadit.
interim Zenobiam (id mulieri nomen) placida in eluvie spirantem 5
ac vitae manifestam advertere pastores, et dignitate formae haud degenerem reputantes obligant vulnus, agrestia medicamina adhibent cognitoque nomine et casu in urbem Artaxata ferunt; unde publica cura deducta ad Tiridaten comiterque excepta cultu regio habita est.

52. Fausto Sulla Salvio Othone consulibus Furius Scriboni- 1
anus in exilium agitur, quasi finem principis per Chaldaeos scru-

'acinacem,' which the older edd. read here (after G.).

1. **ripam ad Araxis.** On the anastrophe cp. 3. 72, 2, etc. The Araxes (Erasch), a southern tributary of the Cyrus (Kur), passes under the walls of Artaxata (13. 39, 8).

etiam, with 'corpus,' 'that even her dead body might be rescued from the enemy.'

2. **Hiberos ad patrium regnum pervadit.** Many alterations have been proposed (see Halm, Comm. Crit.) to amend the construction; and there is much to be said for the view of Ritt. and Heräus, that 'Hiberos' is a gloss; the country being sufficiently indicated by 'ad patrium regnum.' The passages cited in support of such an apposition from 4. 67, 1 ('Capreas se in insulam abdidit'), and H. 4. 32, 2 ('adlatis Geldubam in castra nuntiis'), are not strictly parallel, for in neither of them is there any ambiguity; whereas 'Hiberos pervadit' would naturally mean that he passed through the Hiberians, and imply that the 'patrium regnum' lay beyond them.

3. **in eluvie:** so Halm, after Madv. (Adv. Crit. ii. p. 551), for Med. 'inluvie,' for which J. F. Gron. had read 'eluvie' (without 'in'): cp. 'eluvie maris' in 13. 57, 2, and 'in proxima eluvie' (so read after Gron. for MSS. 'alluvie'), in Liv. 1. 4, 5, for the dead water or overflow by the river's side, as also in Curt. 5. 4, 26. 'Inluvies' is elsewhere used four times by Tacitus, always in the sense of 'squalor' (e.g. 1. 24, 4).

4. **manifestam,** with genit., as in 2. 85, 3, where see note.

advertere = 'animadvertere,' as in 2. 32, 5; 4. 54, 2, etc.

dignitate, abl. expressing the reason for their supposition.

5. **degenerem,** 'of low birth,' as in c. 62, 2; 6. 42, 4, etc.

7. **Tiridaten.** It is implied that he had recovered Armenia. The events in this chapter appear to be those spoken of in 13. 6, 1, and cannot in that case have taken place before 807, A. D. 54. See on c. 50, 1.

cultu regio habita, 'was treated in the style of a queen': cp. 'eodem quo ceteros cultu' (H. 1. 88, 2).

9. **Fausto Sulla Salvio Othone.** The former, fully called Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix in a military diploma (C. I. L. iii. 2. p. 844), and apparently in the Acta Arvalium (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2037), where the name is now mutilated, was son of one of the same name (cos. suff. in 784, A. D. 31), and was husband of Antonia, daughter of Claudius (Suet. Cl. 27). He is mentioned again in 13. 23, 1; 47, 1; and was put to death by Nero in 815, A. D. 62 (14. 57, 6). The other consul is L. Salvius Otho Titianus, the brother of the emperor Otho, and is often mentioned in the Histories. He also was an Arval from 810 to 822, A. D. 57-69 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2038-2051), and was proconsul of Asia, with Agricola as his quaestor (Agr. 6, 2), in 816-817, A. D. 63-64 (see Nipp. here and Andresen on Agr. l. l.). Sulla was still in office, after Otho had been succeeded by L. Salvidienus Rufus Salvianus (C. I. L. iii. l. l.). Barea Soranus appears also to have been cos. suff. during part of this year (c. 53, 2).

Furius Scribonianus. On his father see below, on his grandfather see 2. 52, 5, and note.

10. **quasi finem principis . . . scrutaretur.** On this offence see 3. 22, 2, and note; on the use of 'finem' for 'mortem' cp. 1. 4, 2; 6. 25, 1, etc.; on the use of 'quasi' ('on the ground that'), and the

taretur. adnectebatur crimini Vibia mater eius, ut casus prioris
2 (nam relegata erat) inpatiens. pater Scriboniani Camillus arma
per Delmatiam moverat; idque ad clementiam trahebat Caesar,
3 quod stirpem hostilem iterum conservaret. neque tamen exuli
longa posthac vita fuit: morte fortuita an per venenum extinctus
esset, ut quisque credidit, vulgavere. de mathematicis Italia
4 pellendis factum senatus consultum atrox et inritum. laudati
dehinc oratione principis qui ob angustias familiares ordine
senatorio sponte cederent, motique qui remanendo inpudentiam
paupertati adicerent.

1 **53.** Inter quae refert ad patres de poena feminarum quae servis coniungerentur; statuiturque, ut ignaro domino ad id prolapsae in servitute, sin consensisset, pro libertis haberentur.

similar use of 'ut' below, see Introd. i. v. § 67.

1. **Vibia**; so apparently to be read for Med. 'uiuia,' as 'Vibius' for 'uiuius' in 14. 28, 3: other MSS. and old edd. read 'Iunia' or 'Vinia.' Pliny records (Ep. 3. 16, 9) the indignant reply of Arria to her for surviving her husband, but does not give her name. He adds that she saved herself by giving information.

2. **pater Scriboniani Camillus.** He was consul in 785, A.D. 32 (see 6. 1, 1, and note). On his conspiracy see Introd. p. 11. His full name and that of his son were the same, but are here varied to avoid repetition, as in other instances: see Introd. i. v. § 86.

3. **Delmatiam.** On this province see 4. 5, 5, and note.

ad clementiam trahebat, 'was setting to the credit of his clemency': 'trahere' has the force of 'interpretari,' as in 1. 62, 3 (where see note), etc.

4. **iterum.** He might have put him to death for his father's crime, as had been done to the children of Seianus (5. 9, 1); he might again put him to death now for his own offence.

5. **morte fortuita**, etc. Here, as in 14. 9, 1, an anacoluthon results from the attempt to combine in one sentence two distinct assertions; (1) that the cause of his death was uncertain; (2) that the reports of it spread by people were determined by their prepossessions. We should have expected the first part to end with some such words as 'parum constitit.' For other instances of defects arising from effort at brevity see Introd. i. v. § 92.

6. **de mathematicis**, etc. For other such decrees see 2. 32, 5, and note, Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 93, 2.

7. **atrox et inritum**, 'severe and yet futile': for the sense of 'atrox' cp. 5. 3, 4; 6. 2, 1, etc.; for the use of 'et' with the force of 'et tamen' cp. 1. 13, 2, and note.

8. **ob angustias**, i. e. from no longer possessing the senatorial census: see 1. 75, 5, and note.

9. **motique.** A similar expulsion of those who neglected to take the hint to retire voluntarily had taken place four years previously (see 11. 25, 5, and note), and perhaps another in the year before that (Dio, 60. 29, 1). It is not necessary to suppose that the censorship of Claudius was still in force (see on 11. 13, 1), as such power of revising the list of senators rested at all times with the princeps: see 2. 48, 3; Introd. i. vi. pp. 71, 72.

11. **feminarum**, etc. The case is that of free women who entered into concubinage with the slave of another person. The decree appears to have received some modification from Vespasian, to whom Suetonius (who describes it very inaccurately) erroneously assigns it (Vesp. 11), and was afterwards relaxed by Hadrian, but is always called 'senatus consultum Claudianum,' and was well known to jurists under that title (see Gaius 1. 84–91; Ulp. Fr. xi. 11; Paul Rec. Sent. ii. 21), till its abolition by Justinian (Codex vii. 24).

13. **in servitute**, i. e. should become the slaves of that slave's master: 'haberentur' is here supplied in the sense of 'tenerentur'. According to Gaius (1.

Pallanti, quem repertorem eius relationis ediderat Caesar, 2
praetoria insignia et centiens quinquagiens sestertium censuit
consul designatus Barea Soranus. additum a Scipione Cor- 3
nelio grates publice agendas, quod regibus Arcadiae ortus
veterrimam nobilitatem usui publico postponeret seque inter
ministros principis haberi sineret. adseveravit Claudius con- 4
tentum honore Pallantem intra priorem paupertatem subsistere.
et fixum est aere publico senatus consultum, quo libertinus 5

§ 160), this ensued only when the connection took place 'invito et denuntiante domino,' and what ensued when he was merely ignorant is not stated.

pro libertis haberentur, 'should be treated as his freedwomen' (and subjected to the disabilities of such): for the two senses of 'haberentur' cp. those of 'habebat' in 2. 44, 3. Gaius (i. 84) represents this case somewhat differently, 'poterat ipsa ex pactione libera permanere, sed servum procreare,' and adds that, according to the ordinance of Hadrian, if the mother remained free, the child was to be free.

1. **repertorem**: cp. 'novi iuris repertor' (2. 30, 3).

2. **praetoria insignia.** On the gift of such senatorial distinctions to persons who could not become senators see on 11. 38, 5. That the freedmen of Claudius were allowed to be present with him in the senate is seen from Dio, 60. 16, 3.

centiens quinquagiens. This appears to be the largest of such money gifts on record. For others see 11. 4, 5; 16. 33, 4; H. 4. 42, 5.

3. **Barea Soranus.** An inscription giving one of this family as cos. suff. in 779, A.D. 26 (Grut. 235, 10), would show that their gentile name was Marcius. It is strange that such a decree should have been proposed by one bearing the character ascribed to him in 16. 21, 1; 23, 1. The elder Pliny, in an allusion to the decree (N. H. 35. 18, 58, 201), describes it as passed 'iubente Agrippina'; and it must be supposed that she put pressure on Barea, who as cos. design. had to speak first (cp. 3. 22, 6, and note). Other instances of such subserviency of senators to freedmen are given in Friedl. i. 88.

Scipione Cornelio: see 11. 2, 5, etc.

4. **regibus Arcadiae ortus.** 'Pallas' was his mere slave name in the household of Antonia (see on 11. 29, 1): on his freedom he had probably taken the name 'M. Antonius Pallas,' found as a family name in an inscription probably belonging to the second century (Wilm. 1362). Scipio here imagines for him a descent from Pallas, the mythical ancestor of Evander and eponymus of the original Pallanteum on the Palatine Hill (Verg. Aen. 8, 54; Paus. 8. 3, 1; 43, 5). On the fondness for such mythical pedigrees see Friedl. i. 214, foll.

6. **contentum honore.** Pliny describes to Montanus (Ep. 7. 29) the emotions with which he had read that inscription on the tomb of Pallas within the first milestone on the via Tiburtina: 'Huic senatus ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos ornamenta praetoria decrevit et sestertium centies quinquagies, cuius honore contentus fuit.'

8. **aere publico**: cp. 11. 14, 5. Here the words of Pliny (see next note) explain the phrase.

senatus consultum. In another letter (8. 6), Pliny says that the sight of the inscription cited above had given him the curiosity to inspect the decree, which he quotes at length with a bitter running commentary. It appears to have accumulated compliments upon him, to have urged that he should be pressed to wear the golden ring, to have expressed thanks to Caesar for having mentioned his name and allowed them to testify their gratitude, 'ut Pallas, cui se omnes pro virili obligatos fatentur, singularis fidei, singularis industriae fructum meritissime ferat'; adding that they could not but wish to show their feeling by augmenting his means, and only forbore to press that portion of the decree (notwithstanding his reluctance) in deference to the expressed wish of Caesar, recording their desire to vote the sum; and enacting that, in order with the utmost publicity to hold up to public example the 'spectatissima fides atque innocentia' of Pallas, this decree should be engraved on bronze and

sestertii ter miliens possessor antiquae parsimoniae laudibus cumulabatur.

1 **54.** At non frater eius, cognomento Felix, pari moderatione
agebat, iam pridem Iudaeae inpositus et cuncta malefacta sibi
2 inpune ratus tanta potentia subnixo. sane praebuerant Iudaei
speciem motus orta seditione, postquam * * * cognita caede
eius haud obtemperatum esset, manebat metus ne quis prin-
3 cipum eadem imperitaret. atque interim Felix intempestivis
remediis delicta accendebat, aemulo ad deterrima Ventidio

set up 'ad statuam loricatam Divi Iulii' (in the Forum Iulii). The date of the speech of Caesar on which the decree is grounded is given as 10 Kal. Feb. (Jan. 23).

1. **ter miliens**, 300 million HS., equivalent to about 2½ millions sterling of our money; a sum to which the gift proposed would have been a trifling addition. Narcissus is stated (Dio, 60. 34, 4) to have had even as much as 400 million HS., the largest on record of all the great fortunes of the age: see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 56; Friedl. i. 83, etc. For the expression 'antiquae parsimoniae' cp. 3. 52, 2, and note.

3. **Felix.** He also, like his brother, bore the name Antonius: see H. 5. 9, 5, and an inscription (C. I. L. v. 1. 34 = Henzen 5404) 'pronepoti Antoni Felicis.' According to Suidas and Zon. 6. 15, 6, he was also called 'Claudius,' which is possible, as in the case of Callistus (see on 11. 29, 1). Suetonius mentions him (Cl. 28) among the most influential freedmen 'quem cohortibus et alis provinciaeque Iudaeae praeposuit, trium reginarum maritum.' Of these wives, one was Drusilla, daughter of Herod Agrippa I. (Jos. Ant. 20. 7, 2: cp. Acts 24, 4); another, a granddaughter of Antonius and Cleopatra, was also called Drusilla, unless Tacitus (H. 5. 9, 5) has confused her with the above; the third is unknown. Besides what is said of him in the Acts, we have in Josephus (Ant. 20. 6 and 7; B. I. 2. 12) a full account of the events here mentioned by Tacitus, but with important differences (see below).

pari moderatione, ironical. In H. 5. 9, 5, Tacitus says of him 'per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit.'

4. **iam pridem.** This expression agrees with the view that he was contemporary with, not successor to, Cumanus (see below), whose appointment dates from 801, A.D. 48 (Jos. Ant. 20. 5, 2).

5. **inpune** (sc. 'futura'), used as predicate: cp. 1. 72, 3, and note.

tanta potentia, that of his brother Pallas.

6. **postquam.** The occasion was evidently that of the command of Gaius to erect his effigy in the temple (see Introd. pp. 8, 18). Tacitus had no doubt given an account of it in its proper place, and would here have alluded to it in a few words which have dropped out, and which may have been similar to those in H. 5. 9, 4; whence Haase would supply 'postquam a C. Caesare iussi erant effigiem eius in templo locare, et quamquam' (see next note).

7. **haud obtemperatum esset.** The subjunct. would evidently depend on some such word as 'quamquam' ('though, on news of his death, the command was not executed'); to the word following which it is very possible that a scribe skipped from 'postquam.' Ritt. less well places the lacuna between 'Iudaei' and 'speciem,' and then reads (after 'seditione') 'post quam cum cognita,' etc. It is very possible that another lacuna followed, as it is strange to find the intermediate rule of Agrippa, and the procuratorships of Fadus and Alexander, altogether ignored.

9. **remediis**, apparently penal measures of some kind.

delicta accendebat. Jacob appears rightly to take this in a pregnant sense, 'iras accendebat et delicta augebat.' Cp. 'accendebat haec' (1. 67, 7), 'incendebat haec' 1. 23, 1.

Ventidio Cumano. The latter name is inserted from the margin of Med.; the text having a lacuna after 'Ventidio.' Josephus places the appointment of Cumanus in 801, A.D. 48, makes him sole governor, and ascribes to his rule the

Cumano, cui pars provinciae habebatur, ita divisis, ut huic Galilaeorum natio, Felici Samaritae parerent, discordes olim et tum contemptu regentium minus coercitis odiis. igitur raptare 4 inter se, immittere latronum globos, componere insidias et aliquando proeliis congredi, spoliaque et praedas ad procuratores referre. hique primo laetari, mox gliscente pernicie cum arma 5 militum interiecissent, caesi milites; arsissetque bello provincia, ni Quadratus Suriae rector subvenisset. nec diu adversus Iu- 6 daeos, qui in necem militum proruperant, dubitatum quin capite poenas luerent; Cumanus et Felix cunctationem adferebant,

troubles set down by Tacitus to the joint government. He makes Felix not sent out until Cumanus was recalled and banished in 805, A.D. 52 (20. 7, 1), and relates no actions by him as governor till the time of Nero. Dean Milman, and other writers on Jewish history, have generally followed the authority of Josephus, who should certainly have been the better informed as to events which took place when he was fifteen years old and living at Jerusalem. His account is further confirmed by the fact that we have no record at other times of any such division of this province between two Roman governors, but always of a single procurator, residing at Caesarea, and governing all parts of Palestine not under native princes. On the other hand, it is difficult to suppose Tacitus wholly misinformed on such a point as that of the conduct of Quadratus towards these two persons. It is not perhaps impossible to reconcile the accounts by supposing Felix to have held at this time some subordinate position in Samaria; but there is no evidence for such a supposition.

1. **cui . . . habebatur.** On this dat. see Introd. i. v. § 18; on the sense of 'haberi' ('to be governed') cp. 1. 1, 1, and note.

ita divisis, sc. 'provincialibus,' supplied from the sense. Nipp. thinks this inadmissible, and reads 'divisae,' after J. F. Gron.

2. **Galilaeorum . . . Samaritae.** Tacitus need not be taken to say that these were the only districts under each procurator, but may have only intended to mention the part where they came into collision. If Felix had Samaria, it would be natural to suppose that he had also Judaea, and that Cumanus had other northern and eastern districts with Galilee. Josephus, who makes no mention of any distinct governorship of Galilee, most distinctly relates action taken by Cumanus as governor of Judaea (Ant. 20. 5, 3) and of Samaria (Id. 20. 6, 1).

discordes olim. It may be assumed that Galilaean Jews had the national feeling against Samaritans.

3. **raptare,** so used in 4. 23, 1: cp. 'rapi' (13. 6, 1).

4. **immittere latronum globos,** repeated from 2. 64, 6. Josephus (l. l.) makes this a retaliating act of the Galilaeans and other Jews for the molestation by the Samaritans of those going up from Galilee to Jerusalem to festivals, for which justice had been refused by Cumanus. Suidas, who confuses Galilaeans with Christians, says of Claudius *στασιασάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Χριστιανῶν, ἄρχοντα ἐπέστησεν αὐτοῖς Κλαύδιον Φήλικα, κελεύσας αὐτῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι τούτους.*

componere = 'struere': cp. 13. 47, 3; H. 4. 14, 2; 5. 22, 1, etc.

6. **arma militum.** Josephus (20. 6, 1) speaks of Cumanus as leading out four cohorts of foot and an 'ala' of horse against the Jews.

8. **adversus Iudaeos** = 'de Iudaeis.' This prep. sometimes has the sense of 'towards' or 'in respect of': cp. 'lentae adversum imperia aures' (1. 65, 4), 'necessitudo adversum nepotem' (3. 29, 2), 'adversus praesentem formidinam mollitus' (15. 63, 1), and several other instances more or less approaching to this meaning cited here by Nipp. Josephus states (20. 6, 2) that Quadratus heard the case at Samaria, and ordered the Jews taken by Cumanus to be crucified; and that after another investigation held at Lydda, he executed four leaders of the Jews, and sent the high priest and the captain of the temple in bonds to Rome; after which he entered Jerusalem, but found it quiet.

10. **cunctationem adferebant,** 'their

quia Claudius causis rebellionis auditis ius statuendi etiam de
7 procuratoribus dederat. sed Quadratus Felicem inter iudices
ostentavit, receptum in tribunal, quo studia accusantium deter-
rerentur; damnatusque flagitiorum quae duo deliquerant Cu-
manus, et quies provinciae reddita.

1 **55.** Nec multo post agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus
Clitarum cognomentum, saepe et alias commotae, tunc Troxo-
bore duce montes asperos castris cepere atque inde decursu
in litora aut urbes vim cultoribus et oppidanis ac plerumque
2 in mercatores et navicularios audebant. obsessaque civitas
Anemuriensis, et missi e Suria in subsidium equites cum prae-
fecto Curtio Severo turbantur, quod duri circum loci peditibus-
que ad pugnam idonei equestre proelium haud patiebantur.
3 dein rex eius orae Antiochus blandimentis adversum plebem,

case embarrassed him.' Joh. Müller (see Nipp.'s note) points out that 'quia' does not explain why Quadratus was embarrassed, but why he had to deal with these persons also; thus it has the force of 'quippe.'

1. **ius . . . dederat.** Irrespectively of such special commission, the legatus of Syria appears to have had some authority over these procurators; but L. Vitellius, when he superseded Pilate and sent him to Rome (Jos. Ant. 18. 4, 2), had a position above that of an ordinary legatus (6. 32, 5).

4. **damnatus . . . Cumanus.** Josephus (20. 6, 2, 3) makes Quadratus send Cumanus, and a tribune named Celer, as well as certain Samaritans, to be tried at Rome, where they would have been acquitted through the influence of the freedmen, had not the young prince Agrippa induced Agrippina to put pressure upon Claudius, whereby the Samaritans were put to death, Cumanus was banished, and Celer sent back to be executed at Jerusalem. For the accus. with 'delinquere' cp. 6. 9, 1; 13. 31, 5; 14. 3, 7.

7. **Clitarum:** see 6. 41, 1, and note. It is plain from the narrative there and here that they belonged to the mountainous districts and not to the plain; so that 'agrestium' must be taken to mean 'wild tribes': the same persons appear to be meant who are called 'Eleutherocilices' in Cic. Att. 5. 20, 5, etc.

Troxobore: so Med. here, but at the end of the chapter 'Troxoboro,' which Heins. thinks the correct form. Other variations are found in inferior MSS. and old edd.

8. **castris**, abl.; the phrase being a novelty for 'castra in montibus ponere.'

9. **cultoribus.** The datives have the same force as the accus. with prep. in the following clause; the change being merely for variety (Introd. i. v. § 91, 4): cp. 'fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus' (4. 2, 1), 'memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur' (4. 9, 2), and many other instances in Dr., Synt. und Stil, § 105.

plerumque, 'often': cp. 14. 53, 5, and note.

10. **civitas Anemuriensis.** The town Anemurium on the coast is mentioned in Plin. N. H. 5. 27, 22, 93, and the promontory of the same name in Strab. 14. 5, 3, 669; both are represented by the cape and castle Anamur, the most southerly point of Asia Minor, opposite Cyprus.

11. **e Suria.** Cilicia was perhaps no longer part of that province (see on 13. 8, 4), but had probably to depend on it for troops (see 6. 41, 1).

12. **duri . . . loci**, explained by 'montes asperos' above: 'durus' is so used of rough ground generally; cp. 'duris . . . rubetis' (Ov. M. 1, 105), etc.

14. **Antiochus.** Antiochus Epiphanes IV, restored by Gaius to Commagene, once the kingdom of his father (see on 2. 42, 7), and further enriched with this portion of Cilicia (Dio, 59. 8, 2), was afterwards deposed by him and restored

fraude in ducem cum barbarorum copias dissociasset, Troxobore paucisque primoribus interfectis ceteros clementia composuit.

56. Sub idem tempus inter lacum Fucinum amnemque Lirim 1 perrupto monte, quo magnificentia operis a pluribus viseretur, lacu in ipso navale proelium adornatur, ut quondam Augustus structo trans Tiberim stagno, sed levibus navigiis et minore copia

by Claudius (Id. 60. 8, 1). He is afterwards mentioned as rendering service to Rome in the East (13. 7, 1; 37, 2; 14. 26, 3), and to Vespasian in the civil war and against the Jews (H. 2. 81, 1; 5. 1, 4), and is there called richest of all the dependent kings. In 825, A.D. 72, he was deposed on a charge of disaffection, and spent the rest of his life at Rome (Jos. B. I. 7. 7, 1), and his kingdom from that time became permanently a province. We have on coins his portrait and those of his wife Iotape and his sons Epiphanes and Callinicus: see Visc. Ic. Gr. pl. 48, 4–7.

2. **composuit**, as in c. 40, 2, etc.

3. **inter lacum Fucinum**, etc. This lake (Celano) had no visible or sufficient natural outlet, and its sudden changes of level (see Strab. 5. 3, 13, 240) caused much loss to agriculturists. An emissary to connect it with the Liris by piercing the intervening height (Monte Salviano) had been contemplated by the dictator Caesar (Suet. Jul. 44), but never executed. Claudius undertook it with a view to increase the area of cultivable land, and to make the river more navigable (Dio, 60. 11, 5). The work was one of vast expense and difficulty (Pl. N. H. 36. 15, 24, 124), and employed 30,000 men for eleven years (Suet. Cl. 20); the length being apparently about three English miles and the material hard limestone rock. A drawing and description of its 'emissarium' is given in Dict. of Ant. s. v. Nero appears to have allowed it to become blocked (Plin. l. l.); it was restored by Hadrian (Vit. 22), but appears to have become useless in Dio's time (μάτην δὲ δὴ ἐδαπανήθη). In modern times it has been taken up by a French company in 1865, and completed by Prince Torlonia in 1874, and is said to have brought 40,000 acres of land into cultivation and to have made a pestilential district healthy. It is plain that the two opening ceremonies described here and in c. 57 must be separated by an interval of time. Nipp. thinks that the eleven years of Suet. (794–805, A.D. 41–52) are reckoned to the final completion, and that the ceremony here vaguely dated ('sub idem tempus': cp. 11. 8, 1) belongs to an earlier year.

4. **quo . . . viseretur**, explanatory of the following sentence.

5. **adornatur**; cp. 'adornavit naves' (1. 47, 5). Jacob seems rightly to note that the word so used implies some more important or showy preparation than would be expressed by 'instruere.'

6. **trans Tiberim**; so Halm, Nipp., Dr., Ritt., for Med. 'cis,' which Nipp. thinks may be 'ās,' which again may represent 'trans' (the 'tr' being lost in the ending of 'structo'). The correction is confirmed by the account in Mon. Anc. iv. 43; 'navalis proeli spectaclum populo de[*di tr*]ans Tiberim in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum.' Orelli and Jacob read 'circa' (after C. T. Zumpt), which is used by Suet. in relating the event (Aug. 43) in words otherwise nearly identical with the 'Monumentum.' Other suggestions are 'uls' and 'secus' (see Momms. on Mon. Anc.).

levibus navigiis. In Mon. Anc. it is stated that 'triginta rostratae naves triremes a[*ut birem*]es, plures autem minores inter se conflixerunt. Q[*uibus in*] classibus pugnaverunt praeter remiges millia ho[*minum tr*]ia circiter.' Triremes could only be classed with 'levia navigia' in comparison with the 'quadriremes' of Claudius.

minore copia. It is stated by Dio (60. 33, 3), that on this occasion two fleets contended, called Sicilian and Rhodian, each of fifty ships; whence Orelli follows Lips. in here inserting 'c' before 'triremes.' Suet. states (Cl. 21) that each squadron consisted of twelve triremes; which might possibly be reconciled with Dio by supposing (with Ritt.) that the fleet was made up to 100 by smaller ships which could be brought there and removed. It seems hardly possible to suppose that all the ships were triremes and quadriremes, which would probably have had to be built on the spot and would be of no use afterwards; but the number of men given, as compared with

2 ediderat. Claudius triremes quadriremesque et undeviginti hominum milia armavit, cincto ratibus ambitu, ne vaga effugia forent, ac tamen spatium amplexus ad vim remigii, gubernantium artes,
3 impetus navium et proelio solita. in ratibus praetoriarum cohortium manipuli turmaeque adstiterant, antepositis propugnaculis, ex quis catapultae ballistaeque tenderentur. reliqua lacus classiarii
4 tectis navibus obtinebant. ripas et colles montiumque edita in modum theatri multitudo innumera complevit, proximis e municipiis et alii urbe ex ipsa, visendi cupidine aut officio in principem.
5 ipse insigni paludamento neque procul Agrippina chlamyde aurata praesedere. pugnatum quamquam inter sontes fortium

that in the seafight of Augustus, presupposes a very large fleet of some kind. On the use of 'copia' cp. 2. 52, 4, and note.

2. **ratibus.** A continuous platform of rafts is intended, such as would prevent their escaping at uncertain points ('vaga effugia'), and leave them no landing point but that at which they embarked.

3. **ad,** 'suitable for': cp. 'pontibus pedestrem ad pugnam' (c. 57, 2); 'ad explicandas . . . turmas' (13. 38, 5). The usage resembles that in which the idea of such a participle as 'spectans' is supplied: cp. 11. 23, 3, and note. Nipp. compares also the use of 'adversus' in H. 5. 12, 2.

5. **antepositis**: cp. 1. 50, 6. These 'propugnacula' ('outworks') are thus described by Dio: *τεῖχός τε περὶ αὐτὴν (τὴν λίμνην) ξύλινον κατεσκεύασε καὶ ἴκρια ἔπηξε.* These precautions were considered needful in the presence of 19,000 armed men of desperate character ('sontes' § 5).

6. **tenderentur,** 'might be directed,' against any who tried to escape.

reliqua lacus, etc. It appears that these naval gladiators are here called 'classiarii' (the usual term for marine soldiers), and are spoken of as 'occupying the rest of the lake with decked ships' ('tectis navibus' = *ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις*). Professor Holbrooke, however, thinks that an additional guard is meant consisting of ships manned by marines, to command the parts of the lake where there were no rafts.

7. **montiumque edita.** This expression is repeated from 4. 46, 1, and most recent edd. follow Heräus in inserting 'que.' Nipp. and some others read 'ac' (before 'montium'), with G. Dio here closely follows Tacitus (*πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον ἤθροισεν*).

9. **et alii**: cp. c. 41, 5, and note.

officio, 'by way of attention': cp. 3. 1, 2; 'per officium' (1. 24, 4). 'Aut' has the force of 'alii' . . . 'alii,' as in 1. 55, 2, etc.

10. **ipse,** etc. According to Dio, Nero was similarly dressed: *ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ὅ τε Νέρων στρατιωτικῶς ἐστάλησαν, ἡ δὲ Ἀγριππῖνα χλαμύδι διαχρύσῳ ἐκοσμεῖτο.* The 'chlamys' (cp. Verg. Aen. 4, 137) was a Greek garment, nearly the same with the 'paludamentum' (see Plin. below, and Momms. Staatsr. i. 432, 5), and the epithet given to it by Dio and Tacitus is to be explained by Pliny, who, speaking as an eye-witness (N. H. 33. 3, 19, 63), describes her as 'indutam paludamento aureo textili sine alia materia.' Garments of similar material are recorded as worn by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 19) and by Elagabalus (Vit. 23, 3).

11. **sontes.** Dio says that they were *θανάτῳ καταδεδικασμένοι.* Such an amount of criminals may probably represent the sweepings of the provinces as well as of Rome and Italy; but even on this supposition the number, as Friedländer remarks (ii. 324), is suggestive of iniquitous condemnations.

fortium virorum animo. Suet. gives a different story; that when Claudius answered their salutation ('have imperator, morituri te salutant') with 'aut non,' they took it as a pardon and refused to fight; that his first thought was to massacre them all, but that afterwards by himself going round, and threatening or encouraging them in an undignified manner, he forced them to fight.

virorum animo, ac post multum vulnerum occidioni exempti sunt.

57. Sed perfecto spectaculo apertum aquarum iter. incuria 1
operis manifesta fuit, haud satis depressi ad lacus ima vel media.
eoque, tempore interiecto, altius effossi specus, et contrahendae 2
rursus multitudini gladiatorum spectaculum editur, inditis
pontibus pedestrem ad pugnam. quin et convivium effluvio 3
lacus adpositum magna formidine cunctos adfecit, quia vis
aquarum prorumpens proxima trahebat, convulsis ulterioribus
aut fragore et sonitu exterritis. simul Agrippina trepidatione 4
principis usa ministrum operis Narcissum incusat cupidinis ac
praedarum. nec ille reticet, inpotentiam muliebrem nimiasque 5
spes eius arguens.

58. D. Iunio Q. Haterio consulibus sedecim annos natus Nero 1

1. **post multum vulnerum**: on this unusual genit. see Introd. i. v. § 32 a.

4. **haud satis depressi**, 'which had not taken a sufficiently low level': cp. 15. 42, 2; also 'saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso' (Cic. Verr. 5. 27, 68), 'quo depressius aestivos specus foderint' (Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 9, 2). The old edd. had inserted 'et' after 'iter,' and placed a full stop after 'fuit,' so as to take 'depressi' with 'specus.'

ad lacus ima vel media, 'to the lowest, or even the medium depth of the lake': so Pfitzn., Burnouf, Louandre, etc. Most others take 'media' to mean 'the middle' of the lake, making it explanatory of 'ima'; the greatest depth being presumably in the centre. Following this interpretation, Nipp. would seem to be right in bracketing 'vel media' as a gloss.

5. **eoque**, 'and therefore,' the reading of all edd. for Med. 'eo quo.'

specus, 'the tunnel,' apparently pl. for sing., as only one appears to have been made.

6. **inditis pontibus**, pontoons having been placed on the water left in the lake: so 'castella rupibus indita' (4. 46, 5).

7. **quin et.** Two sentences are here combined for conciseness; the sense being as if the participle were a finite verb, followed by the relative pronoun. For 'adpositum' ('laid out near') cp. 'superpositum convivium' (15. 37, 3). 'Effluvium' is used for an 'efflux' in Vell. 2. 120, 4; Pl. N. H. 7. 51, 52, 171.

8. **quia vis aquarum**, etc. The rush of water carried away the wood work nearest to it, giving a shock to the more distant parts, and frightening those on them. The combination of such a word as 'exterrita' with 'proxima' and 'ulteriora' is rightly explained by Walth., who notes that such terms (like 'omnia,' etc.) denote places and all things or people belonging to them. Med. has 'exterriti'; the 's' having been lost before 'simul.'

10. **fragore et sonitu.** Dr. notes this and 'auspicium et praesagium' (15. 74, 2) as apparently the only instances in the Annals of a coupling of synonyms. In the earlier works several instances are found (Synt. und Stil, § 242).

11. **usa**, 'taking advantage of': cp. 'utendum inclinatione' (1. 28, 4), 'uti necessitate' (16. 11, 1). According to Suet. (33), Claudius himself was 'paene submersus.'

Narcissum. He was obnoxious to her as having supported a rival (c. 2, 1), and now becomes her pronounced enemy (c. 65, 2).

cupidinis, 'of covetousness': the word is so used apparently only here and in 13. 50, 4; 16. 14, 3. Dio (60. 33, 6) states a belief that Narcissus had even caused this catastrophe to prevent a scrutiny of the work. The enormous wealth that he had accumulated is noted on c. 53, 5.

12. **inpotentiam**, 'imperiousness': cp. 1. 4, 5; 4. 57, 4; 5. 1, 5, and notes.

14. **D. Iunio Q. Haterio.** The full names are given in Phlegon Mir. 7

Octaviam Caesaris filiam in matrimonium accepit. utque studiis honestis *et* eloquentiae gloria enitesceret, causa Iliensium suscepta, Romanum Troia demissum et Iuliae stirpis auctorem Aeneam aliaque haud procul fabulis vetera facunde exsecutus
2 perpetrat, ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur. eodem oratore Bononiensi coloniae igni haustae subventum centiens sestertii largitione. reddita Rhodiis libertas, adempta saepe

ὑπατευόντων Δέκμου Ἰουνίου Σιλανοῦ Τορκουάτου καὶ Κοΐντου Ἁτερίου Ἀντωνίνου. The former is one of the great-great-grandsons of Augustus (see Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 144). His death is mentioned in 15. 35, 2, and further alluded to in 16. 8, 1; 12. 3. The other, the 'Haterius Antoninus' of 13. 34, 3, was son of D. Haterius Agrippa (see 2. 51, 2, and note). It is suggested by Nipp. that his surname may have been taken from Antonia, who was probably his great-great-aunt.

sedecim. He had really just entered his sixteenth year: see note on c. 25, 3.

1. **Octaviam**: see c. 3, 2. As Nero had become her adoptive brother, she is stated to have been adopted into another family before her marriage (Dio, 60. 33, 2).

2. **et eloquentiae.** Most edd. insert the conjunction (after G.); but such an asyndeton is not impossible. The next words are read in Med. 'gloriae nitesceret,' whence the old edd. had 'gloria nitesceret'; but 'enitescere' is thus used (cp. 11. 7, 7, and note).

Iliensium. On the Ilium of Roman times see 2. 54, 2, and note.

3. **Romanum,** the Roman people: so 'Samnis,' 'Paenus,' etc., in Livy.

demissum, 'descended'; only here so used in prose, from Verg. (G. 3. 35; Aen. 1. 288) and Hor. (Sat. 2. 5, 63).

4. **haud procul,** 'not far removed from'; here used adjectively, as 'palam' (11. 22, 1) and others (see Introd. i. v. § 66).

vetera: so all edd., after Rhen. for Med. 'uera' (the common error of omission of a syllable). There seems no reason to think it a gloss, with Haase.

exsecutus, 'having detailed': cp. 'exsequi sententias' 3. 65, 1 (and note). The eloquence was no doubt that of Seneca (see 13. 3, 2).

5. **perpetrat,** 'achieves the result': only here with 'ut'; in 14. 11, 2, with 'ne.'

omni publico munere solverentur. Ilium had always been a privileged city. The Romans had stipulated for its freedom in concluding alliance with one of the Seleuci (Suet. Cl. 25), and had added to its territory at the conclusion of the war with Antiochus (Liv. 38. 39, 10); Sulla had given it freedom (App. Mithr. 61) besides restoring it; Julius Caesar had confirmed to it the ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀλειτουργησία once bestowed by Alexander (cp. Strab. 13. 1, 26, 593, and 27, 595), which still continued when Strabo wrote. The words in Suet. Cl. 25 ('tributa in perpetuum remisit') would show that it had again become tributary, or it may have been that its immunity still had some reservations which were now swept away (Momms. Staatsr. iii. 682, 3), perhaps (as Nipp. suggests) the liability to furnish recruits to the army. It is stated at a later time (Dig. 27. 1, 17, 1), that its 'plenissima immunitas' included also 'tutelae excusatio, scilicet eorum pupillorum, qui Ilienses non sint.'

eodem oratore, abl. abs. = 'eodem orante.' These words apply to all the three decrees mentioned, though Suet. (Ner. 7) mentions him only as proposing the two former, that for Rhodes (as also the speech for Ilium) in Greek, and that for Bononia in Latin. Suet. also states that he made these speeches before Claudius as consul, i.e. two years before this date: Lehmann would date the speeches in three successive years (pp. 348, 359, 367).

6. **Bononiensi coloniae.** The Latin colony of Bononia in Cisalpine Gaul (Bologna) was established in 565, B.C. 189 (Liv. 37. 57, 7; Vell. 1. 15, 2). It appears to have then taken that name, as Livy mentions it seven years earlier (33. 37, 3) by its Etruscan name of Felsina.

haustae, so used of destruction by fire in 3. 72, 4 (where see note), etc., and in other metaphorical senses (Introd. i. v. § 74, 7).

7. **reddita Rhodiis libertas**: so

aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerant aut domi seditione deliquerant; tributumque Apamensibus terrae motu convolsis in quinquennium remissum.

59. At Claudius saevissima quaeque promere adigebatur 1
eiusdem Agrippinae artibus, quae Statilium Taurum opibus inlustrem hortis eius inhians pervertit accusante Tarquitio Prisco. legatus is Tauri Africam imperio proconsulari re- 2
gentis, postquam revenerant, pauca repetundarum crimina, ceterum magicas superstitiones obiectabat. nec ille diutius 3
falsum accusatorem, indignas sordes perpessus, vim vitae suae

Halm, Nipp., and Jacob. for Med. 'redditur' (which others retain); the 'r' being supposed to have been repeated from 'Rhodiis.' The Rhodians had gained a privileged position as allies of Rome in the Macedonian and Mithridatic wars ('bellis externis'), but had been deprived of their freedom by Claudius nine years before this date for having crucified Roman citizens (Dio, 60. 24, 4). The island was finally reduced to a province by Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 8). For further particulars see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 191, 4, 5. An epigram ascribed to Antiphilus (Anth. Pal. ix. 178) commemorates Nero's patronage on this occasion: *Ὡς πάρος Ἀελίου, νῦν Καίσαρος ἁ Ῥόδος εἰμὶ Νᾶσος, ἴσον δ' αὐχῶ φέγγος ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων. Ἤδη σβεννυμέναν με νέα κατεφώτισεν ἀκτίς, Ἅλιε, καὶ παρὰ σὸν φέγγος ἔλαμψε Νέρων. Πῶς εἴπω; τίνι μᾶλλον ὀφείλομαι; ὃς μὲν ἔδειξεν Ἐξ ἁλός· ὃς δ' ἤδη ῥύσατο δυομέναν.* Rhodian coins also exist, with apparently a head of Nero as the Sun (Eckh. ii. 605).

2. **Apamensibus.** Several cities were named after Apama, the wife of Seleucus Nicator. The one here meant is Ἀπαμεία Κίβωτος, in Phrygia, close to Celaenae, on the Marsyas, a branch of the upper Maeander. Its position on the road of traffic gave it commercial importance second only to that of Ephesus (Strab. 12. 8, 15, 577), but it had often suffered from earthquakes (Id. 579). Its site has been identified with that of Denier, near Ishekli. For other instances of such remission of tribute on similar grounds and for similar periods see 2. 47, 1, and note. We may suppose the remission of what was due to the 'aerarium' to have been granted, as on other occasions (c. 63, 3; 4. 13, 1, etc.), through this form of a decree of the senate 'auctore principe.'

4. **At Claudius.** The odious function forced on him is here contrasted with the popular part assigned to Nero. On the inf. after 'adigo' cp. 4. 29, 3, and note.

5. **eiusdem.** The last mention of her was in c. 57, 4; but it is here implied that Nero's action (c. 58) was due to her.

Statilium Taurum. This person, son of the consul of 769, A.D. 16 (2. 1, 1), was himself consul in 797, A.D. 44 (Dio, 60. 23, 1; Henzen, Insc. 5214, 6445), and is to be distinguished from Statilius Taurus Corvinus, who was consul in 798, A.D. 45 (Dio, 60. 25, 1), and who conspired against Claudius (Suet. Cl. 13, Phleg. de Mir. 6). It has been thought that these were brothers, and that Statilia Messalina, wife of Nero (see on 15. 68, 5), was their sister. Lehmann (p. 122) makes them cousins and Statilia the daughter of Statilius Corvinus.

6. **hortis eius inhians**: cp. 11. 1, 1.

Tarquitio Prisco, subsequently himself convicted of extortion (14. 46, 1).

9. **ceterum**, 'but especially': cp. 'pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus . . . insederunt' (G. 43, 2); a sense nearly akin to that of 'revera autem' (see 1. 10, 1, and note).

magicas superstitiones: see 2. 27, 2, and note.

nec ille = 'et ille non': cp. c. 7, 3; 2. 40, 6, and note.

10. **indignas sordes.** This reading, adopted generally by recent edd., is founded on that of Heins. ('indignasque sordes'), for Med. 'indigna sortes'; 'sordes' being used for the condition of an accused person in 4. 52, 4 (where see note), etc. Other corrections proposed are 'indigna sortis,' 'indignas artes,' etc.

vim . . . attulit. This course was constantly taken to save confiscation of

4 attulit ante sententiam senatus. Tarquitius tamen curia ex-
actus est, quod patres odio delatoris contra ambitum Agrip-
pinae pervicere.

1 **60.** Eodem anno saepius audita vox principis, parem vim
rerum habendam a procuratoribus suis iudicatarum ac si ipse
2 statuisset. ac ne fortuito prolapsus videretur, senatus quoque
3 consulto cautum plenius quam antea et uberius. nam divus
Augustus apud equestres, qui Aegypto praesiderent, lege agi

property (see 6. 29, 1), which nevertheless was often enforced. In this case we may suppose that the charge broke down altogether, as the accuser was punished.

1. **tamen**, notwithstanding the admission of guilt implied in suicide.

curia exactus. On such power of expulsion by judicial sentence, belonging to the senate, see 4. 31, 8, and note. Tarquitius must have been restored by Nero, so as to become proconsul of Bithynia (14. 46, 1).

3. **pervicere**, so with accus. in 14. 14, 3: cp. 'quae evicerant' (c. 60, 5). The construction is akin to the cognate accus. (cp. Madv. 229, Roby, 1094). The 'odium' was no doubt partly or mainly due to his having accused a person to whom he had stood in so close a relation (cp. 1. 74, 1, and note).

5. **rerum . . . a procuratoribus . . . iudicatarum.** It should be remembered that it is the civil jurisdiction in fiscal causes that is here spoken of. The words used would apply to procurators of all ranks and grades (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 414, foll.); but the highest class, those who governed the lesser Caesarian provinces, as they clearly had the criminal, may be presumed to have had also the civil jurisdiction of any provincial governor. Those of the second rank, who held in each Caesarian province a position answering to that of the quaestor under a senatorial proconsul, may probably have acquired at this time most of the great power of extortion and practical independence of the legatus which we find them soon afterwards possessing (see 14. 32, 7; Agr. 9, 5; 15, 2; Plut. Galb. 4). But the regulations now made went evidently to confer a definite jurisdiction not only on these, but also on procurators of the third rank, those charged with the supervision of the private estates of the princeps (on which see Hirschfeld, Unters. 25, foll.), and with the collection of fiscal dues in senatorial, or indeed in any provinces, or in Italy. The powers of these had been hitherto very limited (see 4. 15, 3, and note); and fiscal or other suits between the princeps and individuals had been on the footing of 'causae privatae' (see 4. 6, 7, and note); the procurator being only a prosecutor, not a judge (Dio, 57. 28, 5).

6. **prolapsus**, sc. 'in eam sententiam': the verb is used of hasty speech or action (1. 31, 3, etc.). Suet. (Cl. 12) represents Claudius as pressing the senate in the matter ('ut rata essent quae procuratores sui in iudicando statuerent, precario exegit').

7. **plenius . . . et uberius**, i.e. by extending the powers of procurators and more fully defining them. Nothing is known as to the terms of this decree; but at a later date the civil jurisdiction of the procurator in cases between the fiscus and private persons was concurrent with, and practically superseded, that of the proconsul; as is seen from the advice of Ulpian (Dig. i. 16, 9), cited on 4. 15, 3.

8. **equestres.** The use of this word as a substantive can be defended from 13. 10, 3, and from analogous uses of other words (Introd. i. v. § 4 a); so that the corrections 'equites illustres' (Schmidt), 'equites R.' (Baiter), appear needless.

qui Aegypto praesiderent. The 'praefectura Aegypti' and 'praefectura praetorio' were the most important offices open to knights (see Introd. i. vii. p. 88). The former corresponded fully to the position of the legatus of an important province, involving command of two legions, and other troops (Id. pp. 99, 104). It is to be observed that even these, the highest of the imperial praefects, are pointedly distinguished here from 'magistratus Romani' properly so called, as consuls, praetors, proconsuls, and only acquire jurisdiction by a special ordinance.

decretáque eorum proinde haberi iusserat, ac si magistratus
Romani constituissent; mox alias per provincias et in urbe
pleraque concessa sunt, quae olim a praetoribus noscebantur.
Claudius omne ius tradidit, de quo totiens seditione aut armis 4
certatum, cum Semproniis rogationibus equester ordo in possessione iudiciorum locaretur, aut rursum Serviliae leges senatui iudicia redderent, Mariusque et Sulla olim de eo vel praecipue
bellarent. sed tunc ordinum diversa studia, et quae evicerant 5

1. **proinde . . . ac si.** This is probably the Med. text (where it is read 'prode'), and is that of the oldest edd., and is retained by Nipp. Halm and most other recent edd. have followed G. in reading 'perinde,' which is so used in c. 12, 2. In this, as in several cases (see 13. 21, 3, and note), it seems best, in spite of the frequent confusion of the two words in their abbreviated forms, to follow the MS., on the supposition that Tacitus intentionally varied his expressions. 'Proinde ac si' is also found in Cic. (Att. 3. 13, 1) and in Caesar (B. C. 3. 1, 5).

2. **alias per provincias**, etc., i.e. to the procurators governing provinces (see note above), and to equestrian praefecti at Rome, as the 'praefectus praetorio,' 'annonae,' 'vigilum.' With 'concessa sunt,' 'equitibus' would be supplied. The 'praefectus urbi,' who was a senator of the highest rank (see 6. 10, 3, etc.), would not here be included, though he also had no position among the magistrates of the Republic.

3. **praetoribus.** From the mention of the provinces as well as Rome, Nipp. rightly concludes that the term is used not only of praetors at Rome, but also of the provincial governors (see 1. 74, 1, and note).

noscebantur='cognoscebantur': cp. 6. 9, 7, and other uses of simple verbs for compound (Introd. i. v. § 40).

4. **tradidit**, sc. 'equestribus' or 'procuratoribus.' There is evidently, as Mommsen has noted (Staatsr. ii. 981, 2), a confusion of thought in the whole of this passage. The privilege at issue in the contests of knights and senators under the Republic was that of furnishing the jurors in the criminal 'quaestiones perpetuae'; the question now dealt with is that of the jurisdiction of an individual procurator, usually of equestrian rank, without jurors, in civil actions between the princeps and individuals. On the old controversy, Tacitus can hardly be said to express a sympathy; but we have the evident animus of a senator as regards the position of individual knights, and the rise of that order, with the decay of the senate, under the empire (see Introd. i. vii. p. 88).

5. **Semproniis**, pl. for sing.; the reference being to the law of C. Gracchus in 632, B.C. 122, not to previous proposals (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 530, 1).

6. **Serviliae**, also pl. for sing., as only the law of the consul Servilius Caepio (648, B.C. 106) can here be meant, which by other accounts (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 531, 2) gave a share rather than the full possession of the 'iudicia' to the senate; whereas the law of Servilius Glaucia, a few years later, virtually restored this privilege to the knights (see Long, on Cic. Verr. p. 51). Nipp. thinks that both these laws are here referred to, and that some words like 'vel adimerent' have been lost after 'redderent.'

7. **Marius et Sulla.** It is a great exaggeration to describe this question as one of the chief points at issue in this struggle; nor does there appear to be any further foundation for it than the fact that Sulla, in his dictatorship, restored the 'iudicia' to the senate (cp. 11. 22, 9). Tacitus omits notice here of other laws, especially the 'lex Aurelia' of 684, B.C. 70 (Vell. 2. 32, 3; Cic. Verr. 2. 2, 71, 174, etc.; Momms. l. l. 532), by which jurors were chosen from the senate, the knights, and the 'tribuni aerarii,' and of the final constitution of the 'iudicia' by Augustus (Introd. i. vii. p. 87).

8. **sed tunc**, etc., 'but the contests then were those of classes, and the results extorted were for the advantage of the whole order' (of senators or knights), as contrasted with the subsequent ascendancy of individuals. For the accus. with 'evicerant' (which Halm reads after Heins.)

publice valebant. C. Oppius et Cornelius Balbus primi Caesaris
6 opibus potuere condiciones pacis et arbitria belli tractare. Matios
posthac et Vedios et cetera equitum Romanorum praevalida
nomina referre nihil attinuerit, cum Claudius libertos, quos rei
familiari praefecerat, sibique et legibus adaequaverit.
1 **61.** Rettulit dein de inmunitate Cois tribuenda, multaque
super antiquitate eorum memoravit: Argivos vel Coeum Lato-
nae parentem vetustissimos insulae cultores; mox adventu
Aesculapii artem medendi inlatam maximeque inter posteros

cp. c. 59, 4, and note. Most edd. retain the Med. 'vicerant,' and some less well take 'quae' (sc. 'studia') as nom.

1. **C. Oppius et Cornelius Balbus.** On the latter see 11. 24, 4, and note. He probably became a knight soon after receiving the civitas; and it is his position in this rank, not his subsequent career as senator and consular, that is alluded to. Cicero in his letters often speaks of him and Oppius, and gives a joint letter from them to him (Att. 9. 7, A), as well as others from Balbus separately (Att. 8. 15 A; 9. 7 B; 13 A). From these sources and others we gather that, besides their importance as Caesar's financial agents during his absence in Gaul, they were also his confidants in his overtures to Pompeius; which, with the influence which they must have had after his victory, will explain the allusion here to 'condiciones pacis,' etc.

2. **Matios . . . Vedios**, rhetorical plurals (cp. 1. 10, 3). C. Matius is also often mentioned by Cicero, who preserves a well-known and excellent letter from him (ad Fam. 11. 28). He is generally taken to be the same as the 'C. Matius ex equestri ordine, divi Augusti amicus' of Pl. N. H. 12. 2, 6, 13, and the author (called 'Cn. Matius') mentioned in Gell. 15. 25, etc. Tacitus appears to do him great injustice in thus ranking him with Vedius Pollio (on whom see 1. 10, 4, and note).

3. **cetera**, such names as Maecenas, Sallustius Crispus (3. 30, 3), and Seianus.

4. **nihil attinuerit**, 'it would be unimportant.'

libertos. The context would show that only the lowest rank of procurators (see above on § 1) are here meant. Many, or most of these, and some even of the highest procurators under Claudius (as Felix), were freedmen; but it must be an exaggeration (cp. Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1022, 2) to speak as if all of them were such (see 13. 1, 3). There is also great exaggeration in saying 'sibique et legibus adaequaverit'; no other jurisdiction being here given to procurators than that in fiscal causes, and this, as can hardly be doubted, and as would appear from Dig. 49. 14, 47, etc. (see Marquardt, i. 414, 415), subject to appeal to the princeps. Tacitus is no doubt thinking with indignation of the independent attitude of procurators towards the proconsul or legatus: see above on § 1, and the advice given by Seneca (Nat. Quaest. 4. Praef. 1) to Lucilius, 'si continere id intra fines suos volueris, nec efficere imperium quod est procuratio.'

rei familiari. It is noted by Hirschfeld (Unters. 4) that this term (cp. 4. 15, 3; 13. 1, 3) and 'res suae' (4. 6, 5: cp. Orat. Claud. ii. 2; Suet. Vit. 2, etc.) appear to be earlier expressions than 'fiscus'; though the latter term is used by Tacitus in speaking of the time of Tiberius (see Introd. p. 28, 4).

6. **Cois.** On the island of Cous see 2. 75, 2, and note; on its temple of Asklepios see 4. 14, 1, and note.

7. **Argivos**, the Epidaurians (Hdt. 5. 99, 4), who were not strictly Argives, but a mixed people, as is stated by Strabo (8. 6, 15, 374) on the authority of Aristotle.

Coeum. The legend that Coeus, one of the Titans (sons of Uranus and Gaea), was father of Leto (Latona) by his sister Phoebe, is given in Hes. Theog. 404–406. The name is here restored by Lips., after Mercer, for Med. 'cum.'

8. **adventu Aesculapii.** The legend of the personal visit of Asklepios to this island is not recorded elsewhere; but the worship here as in other places appears to have been introduced from Epidaurus, its original seat.

9. **posteros**, the Asklepiadae (cp. Plat. Rep. 405 D, etc.), who existed as a caste

eius celebrem fuisse, nomina singulorum referens et quibus
quisque aetatibus viguissent. quin etiam dixit Xenophontem, 2
cuius scientia ipse uteretur, eadem familia ortum, precibusque
eius dandum, ut omni tributo vacui in posterum Coi sacram
et tantum dei ministram insulam colerent. neque dubium 3
habetur multa eorundem in populum Romanum merita socias-
que victorias potuisse tradi: set Claudius, facilitate solita quod 4
uni concesserat, nullis extrinsecus adiumentis velavit.

62. At Byzantii data dicendi copia, cum magnitudinem 1

of physician priests here and at other sanctuaries of the god. Among the physicians of Cos the most famous was the great writer Hippocrates.

1. **nomina . . . referens.** This parenthetical participial clause, depending on so distant a verb as 'memoravit,' has here the unusual adjunct of a dependent sentence in oratio obliqua ('et . . . viguissent'). No strictly parallel instance seems quoted; but the parenthesis *εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν . . . διώκεται* in Thucyd. 1. 136, 6, is nearly similar. In Cic. de Nat. De. 1. 7, 17, 'me intuens' is interposed in the midst of oratio recta, as are similar clauses in Thuc. 1. 87, 2; 137, 7: see Nipp. and Dr.

2. **quin etiam,** etc. After a pedantic recital of the legendary history of the island, Claudius gives here, by the way, the real ground on which he rested the request.

Xenophontem. This physician, credited afterwards with having poisoned his master (c. 67, 2), was honoured by the islanders as their benefactor, and a Coan medal at Paris, with a young beardless head and inscribed ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ, is thought to represent him (Visc. Ic. Gr. Pl. 33, 1). An inscription (C. I. L. vi. 8905) calls him in full 'C. Stertinius Xenophon,' thus identifying him with one of the two Stertinii mentioned as physicians in Plin. N. H. 29. 1, 4, 8; the other being there called Quintus. In the 'Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique,' vol. v. (1881), pp. 468–476 (for suggesting the reference to which I am indebted to Mr. E. L. Hicks), M. Marcel Dubois has collected all the evidence respecting him and the family of the Asclepiadae to which he belonged. It is gathered from various inscriptions that his father was named Heracleitus and his grandfather Xenophon, that another of his brothers, Ti. Claudius Cleonymus, and an uncle, Ti. Claudius Philinus, were also Roman citizens and 'tribuni militum,' that he himself had filled a similar post, and that of praef. fabrum, in the British war, and had there gained decorations, that he was *ἀρχιατρὸς τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν*, and had been secretary 'ab epistulis Graecis,' and filled priestly offices in his native island, which paid honour to his memory as *ἥρωι τῷ τᾶς πατρίδος εὐεργέτᾳ*.

3. **familia,** the Asklepiadae.

5. **ministram.** Prof. Holbrooke notes that this is probably a translation of *νεωκόρος* (cp. Acts 19, 35, etc.).

neque dubium habetur: so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'haberetur,' which may have been a false assimilation to 'colerent.' Ritt. prefers 'habebatur,' as expressing the belief of that time.

6. **multa . . . merita.** They had supported Roman interests as early as 564, B.C. 190 (Liv. 37, 16, 2), had resisted those who would have drawn them to the side of Perseus (Polyb. 30. 7, 9), and had joined Rome in the great Mithridatic war (Plut. Luc. 3, 493), and rendered the service mentioned in 4. 14, 3.

7. **facilitate solita,** etc. The proper position of the relative is before these words. Claudius, with his usual compliance ('facilitas'; cp. 11. 28, 3), had really asked the sacrifice of this portion of state revenue to please Xenophon alone, and did not even (as might have been expected) disguise his real motive, by bringing forward their services to Rome as additional pretexts.

9. **At Byzantii.** The 'at' draws a contrast with the previous sentence. They had to plead their own cause, and therefore made the most of their services to Rome. Byzantium had undergone many vicissitudes of dependence or subjection from the time of Darius Hystaspes and during the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. In the time of Demosthenes it was

2 onerum apud senatum deprecarentur, cuncta repetivere. orsi a foedere quod nobiscum icerant, qua tempestate bellavimus adversus regem Macedonum, cui ut degeneri Pseudophilippi vocabulum inpositum, missas posthac copias in Antiochum, Persen, Aristonicum, et piratico bello adiutum Antonium memorabant, quaeque Sullae aut Lucullo aut Pompeio obtulissent, mox recentia in Caesares merita, quando ea loca insiderent, quae transmeantibus terra marique ducibus exercitibusque, simul vehendo commeatu opportuna forent.

a free city connected by friendship with Athens (de Cor. 254, foll.); afterwards in B.C. 220–219 they had been reduced to great straits in a war with the Rhodians and Prusias of Bithynia (Polyb. 4. 38–52). For its vicissitudes under Rome see below.

1. **apud senatum.** The city, though called 'Thraecia urbs' in 2. 54, 2, belonged not to the Caesarian province of Thrace, but to the then senatorial province of Bithynia, as is seen from Pliny's correspondence with Trajan (Ep. 43, 44). The senate considers such requests from its own provinces, as in 1. 76, 4; or those on the right of asylum, etc. (3, 60–63, etc.).

cuncta repetivere, 'recounted their whole history,' i. e. that of their relations with Rome: for this use of 'repetere' cp. 3. 24, 2, and note.

2. **a foedere quod . . . icerant.** Most edd. adopt this reading (from some inferior MSS.) for Med. 'iecerant' (which could not be defended from 11. 9, 4; see note there): cp. 'icta . . . foedera' (4. 55, 8). Ern. would read 'fecerant' here and 'faciunt' in 11. 9, 4. We see hence that Byzantium had originally joined Rome as a 'civitas foederata'; in the time of Cicero it is certainly a 'civitas libera' (de Prov. Cons. 4. 7) and apparently 'immunis,' but had been shamefully plundered by the proconsul L. Piso (Cic. l. l. cp. in Pis. 35, 86); the present passage shows that it was certainly at this time tributary, as would also be probable from 2. 54, 4. It is called a free state in Plin. N. H. 4. 11, 18, 46, but lost its freedom under Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 8).

3. **ut degeneri,** 'as one meanly born' (cp. c. 51, 5, and note). According to Livy (Epit. 49) he was 'Andriscus quidam, ultimae sortis homo, Persei regis se filium ferens, et mutato nomine Philippus vocatus.' Further particulars are there given of the account circulated by himself respecting his origin. He gained possession of Macedonia for about a year, and defeated the praetor Iuventius, but was conquered and taken prisoner by Q. Caecilius Metellus in 606, B.C. 148 (Id. Epit. 50).

4. **posthac,** to be taken with 'memorabant,' in distinction to 'orsi.' The two first of these wars were prior to, that with Aristonicus subsequent to, the war with the Pseudophilippus (see notes on 3. 62, 1; 4. 55, 2).

5. **Antonium.** The son of the orator and father of the triumvir is meant, who received an 'infinitum imperium' against the pirates in 680, B.C. 74 (Cic. Verr. ii. 2. 3, 8; Vell. 2. 31, 2), but appears to have been wholly unsuccessful. He was spoken of as 'Creticus' (Plut. Ant. 1, 915), apparently in derision, from a defeat, in which he lost his life, three years later (Liv. Ep. 97).

6. **quaeque,** etc. These services would be those rendered in the Mithridatic wars (Cic. de Prov. Cons. l. l.); they may also have assisted Pompeius against the pirates.

7. **recentia**; among these would be their services in the Thracian and Bosporan wars (c. 63, 3).

quando, etc., explaining how their position enabled them to render such important service.

insiderent, best taken from 'insideo,' which probably also takes an accus. in 4. 5, 5.

8. **transmeantibus terra marique,** i. e. not only to those passing by sea from the Aegean to the Euxine, but also to those who travelled by land through Thrace and across the Bosporus to Asia. 'Transmeare' occurs here alone in Tacitus (Dr.), but is found in Varr. and Pl. ma. and afterwards in Appul. etc.

9. **commeatu,** dative; see note on 3. 30, 4.

63. Namque artissimo inter Europam Asiamque divortio By- 1
zantium in extremo Europae posuere Graeci, quibus Pythium
Apollinem consulentibus, ubi conderent urbem, redditum ora-
culum est, quaererent sedem caecorum terris adversam. ea 2
ambage Chalcedonii monstrabantur, quod priores illuc advecti,
praevisa locorum utilitate, peiora legissent. quippe Byzantium
fertili solo, fecundo mari, quia vis piscium inmensa, Pontum
erumpens et obliquis subter undas saxis exterrita, omisso
alterius litoris flexu hos ad portus defertur. unde primo 3
quaestuosi et opulenti; post magnitudine onerum urguente
finem aut modum orabant, adnitente principe, qui Thraecio

1. **artissimo divortio.** The abl. appears to be local (Introd. i. v. § 25), but might be absolute. Dr. notes that 'divortium' is nowhere else used precisely in this sense. It has the sense of a watershed in Cic. and Liv., and that of a bifurcation of roads in the latter.

2. **Graeci,** probably Megareans; but the authorities on this point are late and conflicting (see Ruperti's note). The date is given in Eus. Chron. as B.C. 657; and the colonists are said to have found on the site an earlier town called Lygos (Pl. N. H. 4. 11, 18, 46).

Pythium Apollinem consulentibus. Tacitus appears here to follow Strab. 7. 6, 2, 320. Herodotus (4. 144, 2) makes the saying a remark of the Persian general Megabazus.

5. **ambage,** 'riddle': cp. 6. 46, 6, etc.

Chalcedonii. The site of this city is occupied by a village, still known by its Greek name, but called Kadikioi by the Turks, near Scutari. It was founded by Megareans (Strabo, l. l.) seventeen years before the colonisation of Byzantium (Hdt. l. l.).

6. **praevisa** = 'prius visa.' The sense differs from that in other passages (cp. c. 40, 6, and note), as it here means what was before their eyes to see, but which they had not noticed.

7. **fertili solo, fecundo mari,** ablatives of quality (Introd. i. v. 29): cp. 'urbem magnifico ornatu' (1. 9, 6).

quia vis piscium, etc. Recent edd. mostly follow Ruperti and Bach in reading 'inmensa' (cp. 'inmensam vim mortalium' 4. 62, 3) for the Med. 'in meta.' Others, with Lips., read 'innumera'; Ritt. reads 'in meatu Ponti.' The words are closely imitated from what appears to be a statement of the same fact in Sall. H. 3. 41 D, 53 K, 40 G ('qua tempestate ex Ponto vis piscium erumpit'); and it is possible that 'Ponto' should be read here, though the accus. can be defended from Verg. Aen. 1. 580 ('erumpere nubem') and Val. Fl. 5, 466 ('nebulamque erumpit'), and from analogous uses of other verbs (Introd. i. v. § 12 c). The substance of what is stated appears mainly to follow Arist. H. A. 8. 15 (13); Strab. 7. 6, 2, 320, and Pl. N. H. 9. 15, 20, 50, whence it appears that the chief shoals are those of the πηλαμύς or 'thynnus.' The latter adds that the harbour of Byzantium (called Κέρας by Strabo from the similarity of its ramifications to those of a stag's horn) had already in his time the name of 'the Golden Horn,' from the wealth thus flowing into it, which Strabo says was the source, not only of the prosperity of the city, but also of considerable revenue to Rome. Other notices of this trade are collected by Prof. Mayor on Juv. 4, 42.

8. **obliquis saxis.** Strabo and Pliny speak of a particular rock as scaring the fish away from the Asiatic side by its dazzling white colour. The true cause was probably to be found in the set of the current; but in modern times both sides of the strait are said to abound in fish (see Orelli's note).

10. **quaestuosi,** 'rich'; so used of persons in 13. 35, 3: cp. 'gens . . . navigiorum spoliis quaestuosa' (Curt. 4. 7, 19). In Cic. and Pl. ma. it has the sense of 'covetous.'

11. **'finem aut modum,'** 'remission or abatement.'

Thraecio, etc. The Bosporan war is that of which the latter part is related above (c. 15–21). The addition of 'recens'

Bosporanoque bello recens fessos iuvandosque rettulit. ita tributa in quinquennium remissa.

1 **64.** M. Asinio M'. Acilio consulibus mutationem rerum in deterius portendi cognitum est crebris prodigiis. signa ac tentoria militum igni caelesti arsere. fastigio Capitolii examen
2 apium insedit. biformes hominum partus et suis fetum editum,
3 cui accipitrum ungues inessent. numerabatur inter ostenta deminutus omnium magistratuum numerus, quaestore, aedili, tribuno ac praetore et consule paucos intra menses defunctis.

(on which cp. c. 18, 2; 2. 21, 1, etc.) is against referring the Thracian war (with Orelli) to that of Poppaeus Sabinus twenty-seven years before (4. 46, foll.): Nipp. appears to be right in taking it of some hostilities at the time when Thrace became a province (cp. H. 1. 11, 3); which according to Eus. Chron. took place in 799, A.D. 46 (the error that it did not take place till the time of Vespasian is shown in Marq. Staatsv. i. 157, 6, to rest on a probably false reading in Suet. Vesp. 8, copied in Eutr. 7, 19).

1. **rettulit**, 'brought the fact before the senate.'

2. **tributa . . . remissa**: cp. c. 58, 2, and note.

3. **M. Asinio, M'. Acilio.** These names are given in Suet. Cl. 45 as Asinius Marcellus, Acilius Aviola: Med. has here 'masilinio macilio,' the names being restored from Suet. and other evidence. On the former see 14. 40, 3. The latter is thought to be the son of the person mentioned in 3. 41, 2, and is shown by Ephesian coins (Eckh. ii. 519) to have been proconsul of Asia in 818–819, A.D. 65–66 (the head of Poppaea being represented on one coin, that of Statilia Messalina on another). Nipp. also takes him to be identical with the Acilius Aviola mentioned in Front. Aq. 102, as 'curator aquarum in' 827–850, A.D. 74–97.

4. **crebris prodigiis**: see above c. 43, 1, and note. Suet. (Cl. 46) and Dio (60. 35, 1) mention some of these, and add others, especially a comet, which is attested by Pliny (N. H. 2. 25, 23, 92).

signa, etc. No locality is mentioned. The 'ignis' may have been lightning, or (as Nipp. thinks) the phenomenon called St. Elmo's fire. Similar prodigies are noted in 15. 7, 5.

5. **fastigio**, 'on the pediment.' There seems no reason to read 'fastigium,' with Nipp.; inasmuch as, though the perf. would appear here to be that of 'insido,' not 'insideo' (see the use of the two verbs in Tacitus, as shown in Gerber and Greef's Lex.), and though the former verb elsewhere (some twenty-five times) takes an accus. in Tacitus (except perhaps in 4. 67, 5), the dative is certainly supported from Vergil (Aen. 6, 708), and perhaps from several other passages.

examen apium. The swarming of bees in any unusual place was generally regarded as a portent by Romans (Cic. de Har. Resp. 12, 25; Liv. 21. 46, 2; 24. 10, 11; 27. 23, 3; Verg. Aen. 7, 64). Pliny thinks (N. H. 11. 17, 18, 55) that the haruspices were wrong in always treating it as a sign of evil, as it had sometimes clearly portended good.

6. **biformes.** This word is an epithet of Ianus (Ov. F. 1, 89), also of Hermaphroditus (Id. M. 4, 387); so that it could be used here either of 'bicipites' (cp. 15. 47, 2) or androgyna (cp. Liv. 31. 12, 6). Nipp. takes it to refer to half-human, half-bestial forms, which is the more common use of the word.

fetum editum. Tacitus can hardly have written so negligently as to add this clause, without any verb of speaking, after several previous sentences of direct narration. It is perhaps possible to suppose, with Madvig (Adv. ii. 552), that the Med. 'ediditum' is a corruption of 'editum esse creditum,' or that some such verb as 'memorabant' (cp. 2. 47, 2) has dropped out before 'numerabatur.'

7. **inessent**, subjunct. as stating matter of report.

8. **aedili**; so read generally for Med. 'aelidi'; such an abl. of 'aedilis' being found in Dig. 18. 6, 13 ('cum aedili . . . actionem'): Ritt. reads the more usual 'aedile,' which he considers, on the authority of Charis. (p. 96. P.), to be the only correct form.

9. **defunctis.** None of these are

sed in praecipuo pavore Agrippina, vocem Claudii, quam 4
temulentus iecerat, fatale sibi ut coniugum flagitia ferret,
dein puniret, metuens, agere et celerare statuit, perdita prius
Domitia Lepida, muliebribus causis, quia Lepida minore An-
tonia genita, avunculo Augusto, Agrippinae sobrina prior ac
Gnaei mariti eius soror, parem sibi claritudinem credebat. nec 5
forma aetas opes multum distabant; et utraque inpudica,
infamis, violenta, haud minus vitiis aemulabantur, quam si qua
ex fortuna prospera acceperant. enimvero certamen acerrimum, 6
amita potius an mater apud Neronem praevaleret: nam Lepida
blandimentis ac largitionibus iuvenilem animum devinciebat,
truci contra ac minaci Agrippina, quae filio dare imperium,
tolerare imperitantem nequibat.

65. Ceterum obiecta sunt, quod coniugem principis devo- 1
tionibus petivisset quodque parum coercitis per Calabriam
servorum agminibus pacem Italiae turbaret. ob haec mors 2

known; the consul must have been a 'suffectus,' as both those given above are known to have been living later.

1. **praecipuo**, 'especial,' as distinct from the general alarm inspired in all by the omens.

2. **iecerat**, 'had let drop': cp. 1. 10, 7, and note. Suet. (Cl. 43) gives this saying in somewhat different words, and adds expressions showing an intention to restore Britannicus to his proper position: see also Dio, 60. 34, 1.

4. **Domitia Lepida**: see 11. 37, 4, and note (here restored from the context for Med. 'domitiale').

minore, apparently an error of the writer for 'maiore': see 4. 44, 3, and note.

5. **avunculo**, 'great uncle,' as in 2. 43, 6, etc. The construction is abl. abs., but is by some taken as in 3. 76, 1. On this and the other relationships here mentioned see Introd. i. ix. pp. 140, 147.

sobrina prior, 'first cousin once removed,' the intermediate grade between 'sobrini' and 'consobrini.' Vertran. would read 'sobrina propior,' which is the term used for this degree of relationship in Dig. 38. 10, 10, 16.

6. **Gnaei**. Ritt. would insert 'Domitii,' but the name can be taken as supplied from 'Domitia.' On Gnaeus Domitius see 4. 75, 2, and note.

7. **aetas**. This point has an important bearing on the question of the age of Domitia's daughter Messalina (see Introd. p. 42, 4).

8. **haud minus**, etc., 'they were rivals no less in their vices than in their gifts of fortune.'

9. **enimvero**, laying stress on the strongest point of rivalry: see c. 34, 2, etc. Lepida had taken the boy into her house in his infancy when his father died and his mother was in exile (Suet. Ner. 6), and had evidently been in the closest intimacy with him ever since that time (see Introd. p. 49).

12. **dare**, sc. 'quibat,' supplied from 'nequibat': so 'potest' is supplied from 'non potest' in 13. 56, 3; 'expertus' from 'inexpertus' in H. 1. 8, 2; 'licebit' from 'non licebit' in Cic. Ac. Post. 41, 126.

14. **obiecta sunt**. The trial appears to have been before Claudius personally, who may, as Schiller thinks, have sat as head of the family (cp. 13. 32, 3). The expression 'mors indicta' points to an autocratic rather than a judicial decree. Nero appeared himself as a witness against her (Suet. Ner. 7).

devotionibus: see 2. 69, 5, and note.

15. **parum coercitis**, etc. It would seem that she had gangs of turbulent slaves on her estates in those parts who caused troubles similar to those described in 4. 27, 1, foll.

indicta, multum adversante Narcisso, qui Agrippinam magis
magisque suspectans prompsisse inter proximos ferebatur cer-
tam sibi perniciem, seu Britannicus rerum seu Nero poteretur;
verum ita de se meritum Caesarem, ut vitam usui eius inpen-
3 deret. convictam Messalinam et Silium; pares iterum accusandi
causas esse, si Nero imperitaret; Britannico successore nullum
principi metum: at novercae insidiis domum omnem convelli,
maiore flagitio quam si inpudicitiam prioris coniugis reticuisset.
4 quamquam ne inpudicitiam quidem nunc abesse Pallante a-
dultero, ne quis ambigat decus, pudorem, corpus, cuncta regno

2. **suspectans**: cp. 1. 5, 1, and note.

prompsisse, 'to have stated': cp. 1. 6, 6; 2. 33, 2; 6. 7, 1; 15. 60, 4, etc.: so in Plaut., Liv., etc.

3. **seu Britannicus**, etc. He had destroyed the mother of the first (11. 29, foll.), and opposed the mother of the second (c. 2, foll.), and had nothing to hope from either, but owed all to Claudius, and would risk all to frustrate Agrippinas' plots against him.

5. **pares iterum**, etc. Walther and others have endeavoured in vain to extract a good meaning from the Med. text; and the simplest alteration is that of Halm, here given, who adopts, with Madvig (Adv. ii. 552), from Ferrarius the reading 'metum' for 'meritum.' The sense is thus taken to be that, if the succession is to be secured to Nero ('si Nero imperitaret'), he and Agrippina will be sure to hasten it by the murder of Claudius, and there are as good grounds for accusing them as for accusing Messalina and Silius of a similar design. On the other hand, if they were got rid of and Britannicus were the recognised successor, Claudius (whom it was the especial object of Narcissus to save) had nothing to fear, for the boy's youth made it his interest and that of his partisans that Claudius should live as long as possible; but Agrippina was bent on uprooting the whole family including Claudius himself. What is here unsatisfactory is the interpretation of 'si Nero imperitaret,' which in its only natural meaning ('if Nero were to become emperor') spoils the sense (the chief object of an accusation being to prevent his becoming so), and which may probably have been a blundering marginal note interpolated into the text. Orelli and others have gone further, and bracketed all the words 'si Nero . . . successore' as two glosses explanatory of 'seu Britannicus rerum seu Nero poteretur,' and explained the sense to be that another such plot as that of Messalina and Silius was on foot, but that Claudius had no fears (did not see his danger). But this view, as well as that of Freinsh., who brackets all the words 'si Nero . . . at,' and of Nipp., who brackets 'pares . . . esse' and 'Britannico successore' (retaining the Med. 'meritum'), appear to overlook the needfulness of some mention of Britannicus in context with 'novercae insidiis,' and also the stress laid on 'principi'; the point being that Narcissus, though he had little to hope from either successor, desired to preserve Britannicus instead of Nero, with a view to the safety of Claudius.

8. **maiore flagitio**, best taken as abl. abs. ('while the outrage was greater than it would have been,' etc.).

reticuisset. The subject of this is Narcissus himself, who had brought the facts to the knowledge of Claudius (11. 29, 2, foll.).

9. **quamquam**, 'however.' Nipp. notes that it is so used at the beginning of a sentence only here and in G. 17. 4; Dial. 28, 3; 33, 5.

Pallante adultero (abl. abs.): see c. 25, 1; 14. 2, 4.

10. **ne quis ambigat**, 'so that none can doubt.' The sentence runs as if 'Agrippinam quoque inpudicam esse' had preceded; and 'eam' is supplied as the subj. of 'habere.' It does not seem necessary to insert 'eam' (with Ritt.), or to read 'haberi' (with Grotius). 'Ambigere' takes an accus. and infin. in 6. 28, 8; H. 4. 49, 2; as do other verbs expressing doubt, in negative sentences (Introd. i. v. § 44).

viliora habere. haec atque talia dictitans amplecti Britannicum, 5
robur aetatis quam maturrimum precari, modo ad deos, modo ad ipsum tendere manus, adolesceret, patris inimicos depelleret, matris etiam interfectores ulcisceretur.

66. In tanta mole curarum valetudine adversa corripitur, 1
refovendisque viribus mollitia caeli et salubritate aquarum Sinuessam pergit. tum Agrippina, sceleris olim certa et ob- 2
latae occasionis propera nec ministrorum egens, de genere veneni consultavit, ne repentino et praecipiti facinus proderetur; si lentum et tabidum delegisset, ne admotus supremis Claudius et dolo intellecto ad amorem filii rediret. exquisitum 3
aliquid placebat, quod turbaret mentem et mortem differret.

2. **maturrimum.** This superl. adj. is ἅπ. εἰρ. The adv. 'maturrime' (though also rare) is found in Cic., Caes., and Sall.

3. **adolesceret.** The idea of a verb of speech is implied in 'precari,' or in 'tendere manus.'

4. **matris etiam,** etc., i. e. let him, if he will, take vengeance also on Narcissus himself. Compare the similar sentiment expressed afterwards by Agrippina herself (13. 14, 4).

5. **corripitur,** sc. 'Narcissus.' Most of the older edd. follow inferior MSS. in inserting 'Claudius,' which must have been an erroneous gloss, as the death of Claudius took place at Rome in the Palatium. Dio states (60. 34, 4) that Narcissus suffered from gout, and that the springs of Sinuessa were a specific for that complaint: Pliny (N. H. 31. 2, 4, 8) gives them a different virtue ('sterilitatem feminarum et virorum insaniam abolere produntur)'; Strabo (5. 3, 6, 234) only notes them as useful πρὸς νόσους ἐνίας.

7. **Sinuessam,** now Mandragone, on the coast, just north of the mouth of the Vulturnus. The hot springs were at a short distance from the town, at a place called 'Aquae Sinuessanae' (H. 1. 72, 5; Liv. 22. 13, 10, etc.), and still called 'Bagni.'

sceleris certa, 'resolved on poisoning'; for this specific sense of 'scelus' see 1. 5, 1 (and note); for that of 'certus' and its use with similar genit. see 4. 34, 2, and note, and other instances here given by Nipp. In 1. 27, 3, etc. the construction is the same, but the sense different.

oblatae occasionis. For the genit. with 'properus' cp. 4. 59, 5; 11. 26, 4, and notes); for that with 'egens' ('deficient in respect of'), 4. 20, 4, and note. The opportunity seized was that afforded by the removal of the vigilance of Narcissus. The words of Dio would either mean that she or that Claudius had sent him to Sinuessa.

9. **consultavit.** From this verb the idea of 'metuens' is supplied with the following clauses: cp. 1. 47, 2.

repentino et praecipiti, 'sudden and instantaneous' (C. and B.): so 'praeceps et strenuum remedium' (Curt. 3. 14, 2). Such poison is called 'rapidum' in c. 67, 3; 13. 15, 3; 'velocissimum et praesentaneum' in Suet. Ner. 33.

10. **tabidum,** 'causing slow decay' (cp. 'tabida . . . lues' Verg. Aen. 3, 137), the 'venenum lentum atque tabificum' of Suet. Tib. 73. A full account of Roman proficiency in poisoning is given by Prof. Mayor on Juv. 1, 70.

admotus supremis, 'when brought near to his end,' i. e. when he felt it approaching. For 'supremis' cp. 3. 49, 1; 6. 50, 3.

11. **ad amorem,** etc. Tacitus does not seem to accept the story given by Suet. (Cl. 43) and Dio (60. 34, 1), that Claudius had already shown signs of returning affection for Britannicus.

12. **turbaret:** cp. 'turbata mens' (13. 3, 6). The purpose was to affect his mind so as to make him unconscious that he was being poisoned. It is noticeable that no clear trace of such a plan appears in the subsequent narrative of his end.

4 deligitur artifex talium vocabulo Locusta, nuper veneficii dam-
5 nata et diu inter instrumenta regni habita. eius mulieris ingenio
paratum virus, cuius minister e spadonibus fuit Halotus,
inferre epulas et explorare gustu solitus.

1 **67.** Adeoque cuncta mox pernotuere, ut temporum illorum
scriptores prodiderint infusum delectabili cibo boleto venenum,
nec vim medicaminis statim intellectam, socordiane an Claudii

1. **vocabulo Locusta.** On the use of 'vocabulum' for proper names cp. 1. 8, 4; 2. 6, 5, etc. The name of this person is written thus in the MSS. of Tacitus and in the fragment of Turnus, a satirist contemporary with Juvenal (see Mayor on Juv. 1, 71); but in Suet. and Juvenal (Mayor) it is read 'Lucusta,' and the name 'Nonia Lucusta' occurs in an inscription (I. R. N. 6044). The scholiast on Juv. states that she was a native of Gaul.

2. **diu . . . habita,** 'long retained as one of the tools of despotism.' She was again employed to poison Britannicus (13. 15, 4), continued all through the time of Nero (Suet. 33. 47), and was put to death by Galba (Dio, 64. 3, 4).

ingenio, 'inventiveness'; used bitterly of criminal skill in 14. 3, 5; 15. 42, 1; H. 3. 38, 1: cp. 'magnitudo sceleris omnia ingenia superat' (Sall. Cat. 51, 8).

3. **Halotus.** This person also survived Nero, and was promoted by Galba to a wealthy procuratorship (Suet. Galb. 15).

4. **explorare gustu;** so used in 13. 16, 2 of the office of 'praegustator,' which is found as a distinct title in inscriptions as early as the time of Augustus (C. I. L. vi. 9005; Wilm. 234) and Tiberius (Orelli 2993); another taster of Claudius is mentioned, named Bucolas (Henzen 6337 = Wilm. 1243); and another inscription (C. I. L. vi. 9003) shows them to have formed in the time of Claudius a collegium under a procurator. The custom is found in the old Medo-Persian Empire (Xen. Cyr. 1. 3, 9), and in other monarchies, such as that of Hiero (Ath. 4. 71, 171 б). Athenaeus (l. l.) says ἐκάλουν καὶ τοὺς προγεύστας ἐδεάτρους, ὅτι προήσθιον τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν. Pliny gives an anecdote (N. H. 21. 3, 9, 12) of the precautions in this respect taken by Antonius against Cleopatra.

5. **temporum illorum scriptores,** 'contemporary writers': cp. 'scriptores . . . eorundem temporum' (2. 88, 1). On the chief writers thus referred to, see Introd. i. iii. pp. 10–13. The authorities appear to have told the story with several discrepancies (see Suet. Cl. 44); and it is worthy of note that Josephus (Ant. 20. 8, 1) declines to affirm with certainty that he was poisoned at all, saying only λόγος ἦν παρά τινων.

6. **infusum,** sc. 'ab Haloto' (c. 66, 5). Suet. states that some accounts made it the act of Agrippina herself.

delectabili cibo boleto. Med. has 'leto' (the first syllable having been lost in 'cibo'); the older edd. read (after G.) 'boletorum.' Orelli brackets 'boleto,' thinking that here and in 6. 23, 4 (where see note), an explanatory gloss has been added where Tacitus had used only a general descriptive term. Ritt. would bracket 'delectabili cibo' as a gloss; thinking 'delectabilis' (found elsewhere only a few times in later authors) not good Latin. Nipp. follows Wurm. in omitting 'cibo,' as a corruption arising from a repetition of the first syllable of 'boleto,' and takes 'delectabili boleto' to mean an especially choice mushroom, referring to the statement in Dio, 60. 34, 3, that one mushroom only, the best and finest in the dish, was poisoned. That the poison was administered in this way is affirmed by a consensus of authorities: see Suet. Cl. 44; Ner. 33; Dio, l. l.; Plin. N. H. 22. 22, 46, 92; Martial, 1. 21, 4; Juv. 5, 147; 6, 620 (the two latter authors confirming the account in Dio by speaking of a single 'boletus'); and the witticism of Nero, that mushrooms were 'deorum cibus,' is given by Suet. and Dio. Only Tacitus and Suet. (see below on § 3) speak of any further subsequent administration of poison. The mushroom is thought to have been one of a kind common in Italy and known by the names of 'agaricus Caesareus,' 'agaricus aurantiacus,' and 'amanita Caesaris': see Lenz, 'Botanik der alten Griechen und Römer,' p. 753.

7. **intellectam,** sc. 'a consciis.' If

vinolentia; simul soluta alvus subvenisse videbatur. igitur 2
exterrita Agrippina et, quando ultima timebantur, spreta praesentium invidia, provisam iam sibi Xenophontis medici conscientiam adhibet. ille tamquam nisus evomentis adiuvaret, 3
pinnam rapido veneno inlitam faucibus eius demisisse creditur, haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum praemio.

68. Vocabatur interim senatus votaque pro incolumitate 1

however the following words are so read as to make the 'socordia' that of Claudius himself, it is possible, with Merivale, to take these words to mean that its effect was not felt: cp. 'intellecto magis ac magis . . . vulnere' (Stat. Theb. 11, 546).

socordiane, etc. The poison was intended to affect the mind rather than the life (c. 66, 3), but was expected to do this at once. The fact that no effect was perceived might have been due to the dulness of those watching for it, or to his drunkenness, whereby the real condition of the brain could not be known. The reading above is that of some of the oldest edd. and of Halm, Nipp., and Dr., among moderns: Med. has 'socordiane an Claudii ui an uinolentia,' which Pich. defends, but which has been generally taken to contain an error of repetition. Ritt. omits the first 'an' and takes 'ui' to be the corruption of some abbreviation of 'incertum'; while most others follow Rhen. in the somewhat more violent omission of the first 'an' and 'ui'; in both of which readings 'socordia' is taken of the stupefaction of Claudius by surfeit. That excess in eating and drinking was supposed to impede the action of poison appears from Liv. 26. 14, 5. The account in Dio, following one of the versions given by Suet., states that he at once collapsed and was carried off and died the same night, adding that he had been so often carried off intoxicated that no suspicion was excited in the guests.

1. **soluta alvus,** etc. The same result is mentioned in the case of Britannicus (13. 15, 6).

2. **et quando,** etc. Here 'et' couples 'exterrita' to the abl. abs. It would hardly seem that an antithesis is intended between 'ultima' and 'praesentium'; for the former can hardly be taken, with Louandre, etc., in the sense of 'future consequences,' but must rather mean 'the uttermost penalties': cp. 'ultimum supplicium' (3. 49, 4); 'extrema' (5. 5, 2); 'novissima expectabat' (6. 50, 8).

spreta praesentium invidia, 'defying the infamy of the present.' The original plan (see above) appeared to have failed, and in her panic she falls back on that of instantaneous poison; as the exposure to which she thus became more liable (c. 66, 2), however it branded her with infamy, would bring no danger when the end was gained. The prevalence of reports (§ 1), and still more the jest of Nero (see note on § 1), show how little attempt was made at concealment.

3. **provisam . . . conscientiam,** 'the already secured complicity': for 'provisam' cp. 2. 14, 2, etc., for 'conscientia' 2. 40, 3, etc. Xenophon (on whom see c. 61, 2) is not charged by the other accounts with any share in the deed; but the vast fortune amassed by him and his brother (see Plin. N. H. 29. 1, 4, 8) tells against their character, and has been thought to represent in part the wages of this crime.

4. **nisus evomentis,** 'the natural effort to vomit.' That Claudius often availed himself of this resource of Roman gluttony, and was often thus assisted in it, is stated in Suet. Cl. 33. The detail of the poisoned feather is given by Tacitus alone: Suet., who notes that all the circumstances were reported with much variation, speaks of those who state that a second dose had to be administered as saying either that it was given in a restorative after the exhaustion of vomiting, or in the form of a clyster.

5. **faucibus** = 'per fauces': on such uses of the local abl. to express direction see Introd. i. v. § 25.

6. **summa scelera,** etc., 'that the first steps in the greatest crimes were attended with danger, the completion with reward'; i.e. that prompt action was the safest course.

principis consules et sacerdotes nuncupabant, cum iam exa-
nimis vestibus et fomentis obtegeretur, dum quae forent fir-
2 mando Neronis imperio componuntur. iam primum Agrippina,
velut dolore victa et solacia conquirens, tenere amplexu
Britannicum, veram paterni oris effigiem appellare ac variis
3 artibus demorari, ne cubiculo egrederetur. Antoniam quoque
et Octaviam sorores eius attinuit, et cunctos aditus custodiis
clauserat, crebroque vulgabat ire in melius valetudinem prin-
cipis, quo miles bona in spe ageret tempusque prosperum ex
monitis Chaldaeorum adventaret.

1 **69.** Tunc medio diei tertium ante Idus Octobris, foribus
palatii repente diductis, comitante Burro Nero egreditur ad

2. **fomentis.** These would be external applications to restore warmth to the body. Jacob aptly compares 'si condoluit . . . frigore corpus . . . fomenta paret' (Hor. Sat. 1. 1, 80–82).

dum . . . componuntur, 'while arrangements are being made' (cp. 'componunt' 3. 40, 3). Orelli, Halm, and Dr. here follow a suggestion of Ern. in reading 'quae forent'; Med. has 're (with 's' added later above) forent' (with dots by a later hand under the word); MS. Agr. has 'quae res forent,' other MSS. and the old edd. generally 'res firmando' (without 'forent'). Heins. reads 'quae e re'; Ritt. prefers 'e re quae' on grounds of euphony; Andresen and Nipp. read 'reliqua firmando.' For the dependence of 'dum' on 'cum' Dr. compares 'cum . . . afferrent, dum . . . redderent' (Dial. 1. 3).

3. **iam primum,** 'in the first place': cp. 4. 6, 2; 14. 31, 3; Verg. Aen. 8, 190.

4. **dolore victa.** Halm here follows Heins. in reading 'evicta,' but Nipp. and others seem to be right in retaining the Med. as above. Jacob points out that 'evictus,' when thus used, means 'prevailed upon,' 'forced to give way' (c. 25, 3; 1. 57, 5; 4. 57, 5; 11. 37, 4; 15. 64, 2; H. 2. 64, 5), and that the true parallel here is 'victus luctu animus' (3. 3, 2).

conquirens, 'seeking from all quarters'; cp. 15. 56, 2, etc.

7. **attinuit,** 'kept under restraint': cp. 3. 3, 3; 14. 25, 2, etc.

aditus . . . clauserat. Similar precautions were taken by Livia at the death of Augustus (1. 5, 6).

8. **ire in melius,** 'was progressing favourably': so 'pessum ire' (1. 79, 2); 'in perniciem ire' (5. 11, 3). Suetonius says (Cl. 45) that players were brought into the palace, as if by his command and for his amusement. So Seneca (who says of course nothing of the poison), 'expiravit dum comoedos audit' (Lud. 4, 2).

9. **miles,** the guard outside (c. 69, 1).

tempus prosperum, 'the auspicious moment' of the astrologers. The next sentence shows that this was midday. That Agrippina consulted such persons on her fortunes and those of Nero appears from 6. 22, 6; 14. 9, 5.

11. **medio diei:** cp. 11. 21, 2, and note ('per medium diei'). Suet. (Ner. 8) gives the exact time ('inter horam sextam septimamque'); which Sen. (Lud. 2, 2) makes to be the time of the death; as if supposing that no delay had taken place in the announcement.

tertium ante Idus Octobris (Oct. 13), anastrophe for the usual 'ante tertium diem Id. Oct.' Tacitus commonly omits 'ante' in such expressions, as in 6. 25, 5 (where see note). The same date is given in the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2041); also by Sen. (l. l.), Suet. (Cl. 45), and Dio (60. 34, 3). Claudius was sixty-three years old and two months, and had ruled thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days.

12. **Burro:** see c. 42, 2. The 'praefectus praetorio' was perhaps as a rule present with the cohort on duty at the palace (cp. Dio, 69. 18, 2). On this cohort in attendance on the emperor's person see 1. 7, 7; 11. 37, 3; 13. 2, 5; H. 1. 24, 2; 29, 2.

cohortem, quae more militiae excubiis adest. ibi monente
praefecto faustis vocibus exceptus inditur lecticae. dubita- 2
visse quosdam ferunt, respectantes rogitantesque ubi Britan-
nicus esset: mox nullo in diversum auctore quae offerebantur
secuti sunt. inlatusque castris Nero et congruentia tempori 3
praefatus, promisso donativo ad exemplum paternae largi-
tionis, imperator consalutatur. sententiam militum secuta
patrum consulta, nec dubitatum est apud provincias. caele- 4
stesque honores Claudio decernuntur et funeris sollemne perin-
de ac divo Augusto celebratur, aemulante Agrippinā proaviae

1. **excubiis**, dat. of purpose; cp. 1. 51, 4; 4. 72, 5, and notes.

monente, aoristic: cp. 'praemonente Narcisso' (11. 35, 3). The praefect tells the soldiers that Claudius is dead, and presents Nero to them.

2. **faustis vocibus**, 'with acclamations' (cp. 5. 4, 3), here read by all edd. after Ern. for Med. 'festis.' They apparently give him the first salute as 'imperator,' which is afterwards more formally ratified by the general body (§ 3), as in the case of Otho (H. 1. 27, 4).

inditur lecticae: cp. 'inditus lecticae' (3. 14, 7). Claudius had been thus carried off after salutation to the camp (Suet. Cl. 10; Jos. Ant. 19. 3, 3), apparently to assume the formal command of the praetorian guard; so also was Otho (H. l. l.); and the practice appears subsequently to have become general (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 791, 6).

4. **nullo in diversum auctore** = 'nemine in diversam sententiam trahente.' Dr. compares 'in utrumque auctores sunt' (Liv. 10. 25, 12).

quae offerebantur, 'the choice presented to them' (that of Nero).

6. **praefatus.** This speech, as well as the others made by Nero (see 13. 3, 2), is stated (Dio, 61. 3, 1) to have been composed by Seneca.

paternae largitionis. Claudius had bought the support of the praetorians by promising them a largess of fifteen sestertia each and had thus, according to Suet. (Cl. 10), originated this mischievous practice ('primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pigneratus'), which at last degenerated into a sale by auction of the empire to Didius Julianus by the soldiers in 946, A. D. 193 (Dio, 73. 11, 3).

7. **sententiam militum secuta patrum consulta.** That the salutation of the soldiers and sacramentum taken by them was looked upon even in early times as sufficient to create an emperor was clearly shown in 822, A. D. 69 (see Introd. i. p. 70); and in the case of Claudius (see Introd. p. 36), as here, this had preceded any senatus consultum. Still the constitutional sanction of the senate, even when only thus ratifying a choice already made, was at least under the earlier empire important, both from the titles which it conferred (Introd. i. p. 68), and as initiating the lex which conferred tribunitian power, and formally defined the legal status at each succession (Id. pp. 70, 83: see also the fragments of the 'Lex de imperio Vespasiani' in Or. Insc. i. p. 567; Wilm. 917; C. I. L. vi. 930). Gaius, who was the first to receive the full imperial powers at once, without any previous share in them, is shown by the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 2028) to rest his title on the 'senatus consultum' ('quod hoc die a senatu impera[tor appellatus sit]'); and Claudius was urged by the senate to accept his as from them (Jos. Ant. 19. 3, 4). Nero is stated by Suet. (Ner. 8) to have accepted at once on this day all the titles except that of 'pater patriae,' which must have been assumed soon after, as it appears to be borne universally on his coins.

8. **provincias**, 'the provincial armies'; so 'provinciarum fidem' (13. 21, 7).

caelestesque honores. These and the funeral honours are spoken of again in apparently their proper place (see 13. 2, 6, and note), and would seem to be here mentioned by anticipation, to complete the irony of the passage.

9. **perinde ac divo Augusto.** The funeral of Augustus is briefly touched upon in 1. 8, 7, and fully described in Suet. Aug. 100; Dio, 56. 34-42.

Liviae magnificentiam. testamentum tamen haud recitatum, ne antepositus filio privignus iniuriā et invidiā animos vulgi turbaret.

1. **testamentum**, etc. The will of Augustus had been read in the senate (1. 8, 1). Dio states (61. 1, 2) that Nero *τάς τε διαθήκας τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἠφάνισε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν διεδέξατο*, which would support, what Suet. (Cl. 44) more distinctly implies, that the will was in favour of Britannicus. Tacitus expressly states the contrary, and the fact (which he otherwise explains) that the will was not made public, would account for the prevalence of the opposite view. We are to suppose that Agrippina and Nero held the first place in it, and that Britannicus and Octavia were only named 'in spem secundam' (cp. 1. 8, 2). Schiller's reasons (p. 86, note) for supposing that Octavia was in the first rank, seem hardly convincing.

2. **antepositus . . . privignus**, participial construction for abstr. noun and genit. (Introd. i. v. § 55, b 1).

iniuria. This word, with the meaning of a 'feeling' or 'sense of wrong,' is coupled with 'odia' in 11. 6, 3; 13. 4, 1: cp. 'sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri' (Verg. Aen. 3, 604).

BOOK XIII.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

Ch. 1–5. Commencement of the rule of Nero (Oct. 13–Dec. 31).

1. Junius Silanus poisoned at the instigation of Agrippina: Narcissus forced to commit suicide. 2. Burrus and Seneca combine to prevent further murders and to counteract Agrippina and Pallas. 3. Funeral oration composed by Seneca for Nero: contrast in this respect between him and previous emperors. 4. Nero announces to the senate his future policy. 5. Decrees passed in spite of the opposition of Agrippina: her arrogance described.

Ch. 6–9. Outbreak of hostilities with Parthia on account of Armenia.

6. News of occupation of Armenia by the Parthians: opinion at Rome respecting Nero's capacity to conduct war. 7, 8. Troops raised in the East: retreat of the Parthians, and rejoicings at Rome: Domitius Corbulo appointed to the command. 9. Hostages given by Vologeses: jealousies between Corbulo and Ummidius, legatus of Syria.

Ch. 10. Minor events at the end of the year.

A. U. C. 808, A. D. 55. Claudius Nero Caesar Augustus, L. Antistius Vetus, coss.

Ch. 11–24. Events at Rome.

11. Instances of modesty and lenity in Nero. 12. His mother's influence weakened through his passion for Acte. 13. Agrippina changes her tactics: her disdain of Nero's presents. 14. Removal of Pallas from office: Agrippina takes up the cause of Britannicus. 15–17. Britannicus poisoned by the agency of Julius Pollio and Locusta: his hurried funeral: feeling of the people and edict of Nero. 18. Nero rewards his friends, withdraws his mother's bodyguard, and removes her to another house. 19–22. Charge of treason preferred against Agrippina through the means of Junia Silana frustrated by her bold reply: the accusers punished. 23. Burrus and Pallas accused and acquitted. 24. Removal of the guard from the theatres.

A. U. C. 809, A. D. 56. Q. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio, coss.

Ch. 25–30. Events at Rome.

25. Nero's nocturnal riots: Montanus compelled to suicide: pantomimists expelled, and guards brought back to the theatres. 26, 27. Discussion on the misconduct of freedmen to their patrons. 28. Censure of a tribune, and restrictions imposed on tribunes and aediles generally. 29. Changes in the management of the public treasury: praefects of praetorian rank appointed. 30. Charges against certain persons: death of Caninius Rebilus and L. Volusius.

A. U. C. 810, A.D. 57. **Nero Caesar II, L. Calpurnius Piso, coss.**

Ch. 31-33. Events at Rome.

31. Amphitheatre erected: 'congiarium' distributed: financial measures: provincial governors forbidden to give shows. 32. Enactment for protection against slaves: Pomponia Graecina tried by her husband, Plautius Silvanus, for superstition. 33. Impeachment of Celer, Capito, Eprius Marcellus.

A. U. C. 811, A.D. 58. **Nero Caesar III, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, coss.**

Ch. 34. Liberality of Nero to his colleague, a descendant of the great Corvinus, and to other impoverished nobles.

Ch. 35-41. Affairs in the East.

35, 36. Severe measures of Corbulo to introduce and maintain discipline: defeat of Paccius Orfitus. 37, 38. Tiridates harasses Armenia and attempts negotiation with Corbulo: a conference proposed but frustrated by suspicion of treachery. 39. Volandum and two other forts stormed by Corbulo. 40, 41. Tiridates attempts in vain to delay the advance of Corbulo on Artaxata; which surrenders to him and is burnt: extravagant honours decreed at Rome.

Ch. 42-52. Events in Rome.

42, 43. Suillius is accused, attacks Seneca, and is condemned. 44. Crime of Octavius Sagitta. 45, 46. Attachment of Nero to Poppaea Sabina, whose character is described: her husband Otho removed to Lusitania. 47. Cornelius Sulla incurs Nero's displeasure, and is banished to Massilia. 48. Riots at Puteoli punished. 49. Paetus Thrasea blamed for speaking in the senate on a very trifling matter. 50, 51. Complaint made of the extortions of the publicani: bold proposal of Nero: measures taken. 52. Sulpicius Camerinus and Pompeius Silvanus tried and acquitted.

Ch. 53-57. Events in Germany.

53. Dam of Drusus completed: canal from the Saône to the Moselle projected. 54. The Frisii take possession of waste lands: conduct of their embassy in Rome. 55, 56. After their expulsion the same lands are invaded by the Ampsivarii; who treat with the legatus through their chief Boiocalus, but are deserted by the other Germans and finally annihilated. 57. Conflict between the Hermunduri and Chatti for the possession of a salt spring. Destructive fires break out on the land of the Ubii.

Ch. 58. Ominous withering and subsequent recovery of the 'Ficus Ruminalis.'

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XIII.

1 **1.** PRIMA novo principatu mors Iunii Silani proconsulis Asiae ignaro Nerone per dolum Agrippinae paratur, non quia ingenii violentia exitium inritaverat, segnis et dominationibus aliis fastiditus, adeo ut Gaius Caesar pecudem auream eum appellare
2 solitus sit: verum Agrippina fratri eius L. Silano necem molita ultorem metuebat, crebra vulgi fama anteponendum esse vixdum

1. **Prima ... mors.** Similar words are used of the murder of Agrippa Postumus (1. 6, 1). Each was the beginning of what proved to be a bloody rule.

Iunii Silani, M. Junius Silanus, the eldest 'abnepos Augusti,' on whom see Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 144. He had been consul in 799, A.D. 46. A fragment of Dio (61. 6, 5) gives him a bad character for cupidity in his government of Asia.

2. **paratur,** 'is contrived'; so 'Plauto parari necem' (14. 58, 1): cp. also 3. 54, 1; H. 4. 58, 1, etc.

non quia . . . inritaverat. Nipp. notes that generally in such sentences the indic. is only used when the fact is taken to be true, though denied to have produced the result, as 'non quia poeta es' (Dial. 9, 3). The use here is parallel to that in 15. 60, 3; H. 3. 4, 3 ('non quia industria Flaviani egebat'), and the MS. text of Dial. 37, 7 ('non quia tanti fuit . . . malos ferre cives'), also to several places in Livy (7. 30, 13; 8. 19, 3; 10. 41, 12; 33. 27, 6), in which instances the fact is indeed taken to be untrue, but is supposed to be one which might have been likely to be true.

3. **exitium,** a correction from MS. Agr. for Med. 'exitum'; which could indeed mean death (1. 10, 2, etc.), but could hardly thus stand quasi-personified with 'inritare.' We have thus 'inritare proelium' (H. 2. 24, 3), 'bellum' (Sall. H. 1. 16 D, 18 K, 49 G), 'fata' (Sil. 5, 234), etc.

dominationibus = 'principibus,' abstr. for concr. (Introd. i. v. § 1).

4. **pecudem auream,** 'a golden sheep,' alluding to his wealth and stupidity. 'Pecus' is thus used by Cic. (e.g. in Pis. 9, 19), as we use 'beast' or 'brute,' of low intellectual or moral characters. This Silanus must have been younger than Gaius himself; but his character may have been already thus pronounced. The other M. Silanus, the father-in-law of Gaius (see on 6. 20, 1), whom Dio (59. 8, 5) makes to have been thus characterised by him, would appear to have been a man of sufficient energy and position to have been formidable.

5. **L. Silano**; see 12. 8, 1.

6. **ultorem**: i.e. that, in spite of his indolence, the desire of revenge might make him lend himself to the schemes of the discontented.

crebra . . . fama, abl. abs.

vixdum . . . egresso. He wanted two months of completing his seventeenth year.

pueritiam egresso Neroni et imperium per scelus adepto virum
aetate composita, insontem, nobilem et, quod tunc spectaretur,
e Caesarum posteris: quippe et Silanus divi Augusti abnepos
erat. haec causa necis. ministri fuere P. Celer eques Romanus 3
et Helius libertus, rei familiari principis in Asia inpositi. ab
his proconsuli venenum inter epulas datum est apertius quam
ut fallerent. nec minus properato Narcissus Claudii libertus, 4
de cuius iurgiis adversus Agrippinam retuli, aspera custodia et
necessitate extrema ad mortem adigitur, invito principe, cuius
abditis adhuc vitiis per avaritiam ac prodigentiam mire congruebat.

2. Ibaturque in caedes, nisi Afranius Burrus et Annaeus 1
Seneca obviam issent. hi rectores imperatoriae iuventae et, 2
rarum in societate potentiae, concordes, diversa arte ex aequo
pollebant, Burrus militaribus curis et severitate morum, Seneca

2. **aetate composita,** so used of Claudius in 6. 46, 2. Silanus was forty years old.

spectaretur. The clause does not appear to be strictly part of the oratio obliqua; but the subjunct. is to be taken as potential, like 'deceret' (c. 3. 4) and many others. No question of descent from Augustus entered into the qualification for any princeps after Nero.

3. **et Silanus,** i. e. Silanus as well as Nero. For his pedigree see above.

4. **P. Celer**: see c. 33, 1.

5. **Helius,** afterwards left as vicegerent in Rome and Italy, during Nero's absence in Greece in 820-821, A.D. 67-69 (see Appendix to Book 16). He was put to death by Galba (Dio, 64. 3, 2; Plut. Galb. 17).

rei familiari, as his procurators: see 12. 60, 1, 6, and notes. Ritt. reads 'inpositus,' noting an erasure in Med., and thinking it improbable that there was more than one fiscal procurator in Asia (see 4. 15, 3, and note).

6. **venenum . . . datum est.** Dio, without mentioning their agency, states (61. 6, 4) that Agrippina sent out some of the same poison which had been used for Claudius.

7. **fallerent,** probably sc. 'ipsum,' as in 6. 50, 5.

properato, here alone used in abl. abs. adverbially. Dr. compares 'festinato' in Iust. 38. 10, 11 ('cum turmas equitum festinato misisset').

8. **retuli**; see 12. 57, 4; 65, 2.

9. **necessitate extrema,** 'the most rigorous compulsion': i.e. by the threat of imminent execution. Cp. the similar expressions, with some variation of meaning, in 11. 37, 4; 15. 61, 7.

agitur: cp. c. 43, 3; 6. 10, 2; 'ad supplicium agi' (14. 42, 2).

10. **abditis adhuc.** As in the case of Tiberius and Gaius, the propensities subsequently developed are assumed to have been always present.

prodigentiam, a Tacitean word: cp. 6. 14, 1, and note. His 'avaritia' ('greediness in acquiring') is not inconsistent with this quality. Dio mentions (60. 34, 5) that before his death he destroyed the secret papers of Claudius relating to Agrippina and others. In another place (64. 3, 4) he is mentioned by error among those put to death by Galba.

12. **Ibatur,** sc. 'ab Agrippina.'

Burrus et Seneca: see 12. 42, 2, 8, 3. 'Obviam issent' = 'restitissent,' as in c. 5, 3; 1. 32, 1, etc.

14. **rarum,** etc. On this parenthesis see Introd. i. v. § 82. All recent edd. follow Boxhorn in thus correcting the Med. 'parum in societate potentia et.' Lips. reads 'pari in societate potentiae.'

ex aequo, 'equally' (ἐξ ἴσου); so used in H. 2. 77, 2; 97, 2; 4. 64, 5; 74, 2; G. 36, 3; Agr. 20, 3: cp. 'ex facili' (Agr. 15, 1); 'ex affluenti' (H. 1. 57, 5); and Dr., Synt. und Stil, § 96.

praeceptis eloquentiae et comitate honesta, iuvantes in vicem,
quo facilius lubricam principis aetatem, si virtutem aspernaretur,
3 voluptatibus concessis retinerent. certamen utrique unum erat
contra ferociam Agrippinae, quae cunctis malae dominationis
cupidinibus flagrans habebat in partibus Pallantem, quo auctore
Claudius nuptiis incestis et adoptione exitiosa semet perverterat.
4 sed neque Neroni infra servos ingenium, et Pallas tristi adro-
5 gantia modum liberti egressus taedium sui moverat. propalam
tamen omnes in eam honores cumulabantur, signumque more
6 militiae petenti tribuno dedit optimae matris. decreti et a
senatu duo lictores, flamonium Claudiale, simul Claudio cen-
sorium funus et mox consecratio.

1. **praeceptis eloquentiae et comitate honesta**, 'by his lessons in eloquence and his dignified courtesy' (C. and B.).

iuvantes invicem, 'helping each other.' The omission of 'se' in this expression (cp. 14. 17, 2; H. 1. 74, 2; 2. 47, 2; Plin. Ep. 7. 20, 7, etc.) follows what is noted as an earlier and more natural usage with 'inter se,' one which is also found in Tacitus (2. 30, 1; 3. 1, 3, etc.): see Nipp. on 14. 17, 2.

2. **lubricam**, 'perilous': cp. 6. 49, 3, and note.

3. **voluptatibus concessis** (cp. 14. 21, 5), such indulgences as public opinion allowed, such as did not cause grave scandal; so 'concessa venere uti' (Hor. Sat. 1. 4, 113). See c. 12, 2.

retinerent, 'might keep under control.'

5. **in partibus**, 'on her side'; so 'partes' c. 18, 3, etc. Pallas had always supported her (cp. 12. 1, 3; 2, 3; 25, 1, etc.).

7. **sed.** The thought is that Pallas had, for two reasons, little power over Nero; and it is implied by the following 'tamen' that Agrippina's influence also was being weakened.

infra servos, 'submissive to a slave': cp. 'infra Ventidium deiectus Oriens' (G. 37, 3).

tristi, 'sour': cp. 'tristi adulatione' (11. 21, 4); 'tristes' (16. 22, 3); 'tristitiam' (Agr. 9, 4). On the arrogance of Pallas cp. 12. 53, 2, etc.

9. **in eam . . . cumulabantur.** For this expression cp. 1. 21, 4, and note. Tacitus has also the more usual 'cumulare aliquem aliqua re,' as in 12. 53, 5, etc. On the honours given her see Introd. p. 53.

signum, 'the parole' (supplied again with 'optimae matris'): cp. 'signo Felicitatis dato' (Bell. Afr. 83, 1). The word was given by Nero, as also by Tiberius (1. 7, 7), to the officer commanding the cohort on guard at the palace.

11. **duo lictores**, sc. 'ei' ('Agrippinae'). Tiberius had refused this honour to Livia (1. 14, 3).

flamonium Claudiale. On the form 'flamonium' see 4. 16, 3, and note. Livia had held the similar office of 'flaminica Augusti' (cp. Vell. 2. 75, 3: Dio, 56, 46, 1). We find also that there was a 'flamen Claudialis' (Henzen 6006), and that the college of 'sodales Augustales' were charged with his cultus (see 1. 54, 1, and note, also Henzen 6045, 6048, etc.). This decree is mentioned here with the other honours to Agrippina, but must have been subsequent in date to the deification of Claudius.

simul Claudio, etc. On the mention already made of this see 12. 69, 4, and note. That it is here given in its proper place would appear from the fact that the funeral honours to Augustus were decreed some days after his death (1. 8, 1), and his apotheosis not till after the funeral (1. 10, 8); such an interval being here marked by the distinction between 'simul' ('at the same sitting') and 'mox,' as the subject of the funeral goes on to the next chapter. The apotheosis of Claudius was so far formally complete that the appointments above noted were made, his cultus recognised in the 'Acta Arvalium,' and that Nero is styled 'Divi Claudi f.' on inscriptions and coins; still the satire of Seneca, and the jests of his brother Gallio and of Nero (Dio, 60. 35, 3), seem to show that it was hardly taken

3. Die funeris laudationem eius princeps exorsus est, dum 1
antiquitatem generis, consulatus ac triumphos maiorum enumera-
bat, intentus ipse et ceteri; liberalium quoque artium com-
memoratio et nihil regente eo triste rei publicae ab externis
accidisse pronis animis audita: postquam ad providentiam 2
sapientiamque flexit, nemo risui temperare, quamquam oratio
a Seneca composita multum cultus praeferret, ut fuit illi viro
ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus adcommodatum.
adnotabant seniores, quibus otiosum est vetera et praesentia 3
contendere, primum ex iis qui rerum potiti essent Neronem
alienae facundiae eguisse. nam dictator Caesar summis ora- 4
toribus aemulus; et Augusto prompta ac profluens quaeque

seriously (see Plin. Pan. 11). His temple, begun by Agrippina, is stated to have been nearly destroyed by Nero, and completed by Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 9). The statement (Id. Cl. 45) that Vespasian also restored his worship, which Nero had abolished, appears to be an exaggeration.

censorium funus: see 4. 15, 3, and note; Momms. Staatsr. i. 460, 2; Marquardt, Privatl. 351, 2.

1. **dum . . . enumerabat**, 'during his enumeration of.' On the origin of the patrician Claudii see 4. 9, 3, and note. Suetonius says (Tib. 1.) that they numbered twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations.

3. **intentus**, 'he and his audience were serious': cp. 'intentior' (1. 52, 3), etc.

liberalium artium, 'literary accomplishments': cp. 6. 46, 2. Suet. states (41, 42) that he had begun to write history in early life, at the suggestion of Livy, and with the assistance of Sulpicius Flavus, and that he constantly composed during his principate. Some voluminous works in Latin are mentioned, a history of recent times, an autobiography, a defence of Cicero against Asinius Gallus, also two Greek works on Tyrrhenian and Carthaginian history.

4. **et nihil . . . accidisse**, 'and the fact that no disaster had happened.' The substantival infinitive is coordinated with a noun as are also often participles (Introd. i. v. § 55, 2).

regente, intrans.: cp. 4. 33, 4; H. 2. 12, 3; Dial. 41, 3; Sen. de Ira, 2. 15, 4; Quint. 3. 8, 47.

5. **pronis**, 'favourable.'

6. **flexit**: cp. 1. 34, 5, and note.

7. **cultus**, 'polish'; so used often of speech in Dial. (20. 2, 4; 23, 5; 26, 2).

praeferret, 'displayed': cp. 4. 75, 2, and note.

8. **amoenum**, 'attractive': cp. 2. 64, 4. As applied to such a man as Seneca, the term is, no doubt, a veiled censure, and the following sentence implies that, when Tacitus wrote, the literary fame of Seneca was not sustained. Such a reaction is implied throughout the 'Dialogus' (where no mention is made of Seneca), and may be seen fully developed in the criticism of his 'dulcia vitia' in Quint. 10. 1, 125–131.

9. **adnotabant seniores**: cp. 12. 25, 3, and note.

quibus otiosum est, 'whose leisure is occupied in'; i.e. who have nothing else to do: cp. 'vacuum fuit' (H. 2. 38, 2).

10. **contendere**: cp. 12. 1, 2, and note.

11. **summis oratoribus aemulus.** Cicero (Brut. 72, 252) makes Atticus say of Caesar, 'omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime,' and afterwards (75, 261) 'non video cui debeat cedere.' Suet. quotes also (Jul. 56) a letter of Cicero to Cornelius Nepos, saying of Caesar 'oratorum quem huic antepones eorum, qui nihil aliud egerunt?' In Dial. 21, 5, and in Quint. 10, 1, 114, he is rather ranked as an orator who had not had leisure to cultivate fully his admirable talent, though the latter speaks with enthusiasm both of his vigour and elegance. Some of his speeches were extant when Suet. wrote.

12. **profluens**: cp. 4. 61, 2.

quaeque, so all recent edd. after Ern. for Med. 'quae': 'deceret,' potential subj. (cp. c. 1, 2). Tacitus means to

5 deceret principem eloquentia fuit. Tiberius artem quoque callebat, qua verba expenderet, tum validus sensibus aut con-
6 sulto ambiguus. etiam Gai Caesaris turbata mens vim dicendi non corrupit. nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata dissereret,
7 elegantiam requireres. Nero puerilibus statim annis vividum animum in alia detorsit: caelare, pingere, cantus aut regimen equorum exercere; et aliquando carminibus pangendis inesse sibi elementa doctrinae ostendebat.

1 **4.** Ceterum peractis tristitiae imitamentis curiam ingressus et de auctoritate patrum et consensu militum praefatus, consilia

say that the speaking of Augustus, while ready and fluent, was also dignified, such as suited one who was in too exalted a position to use the rhetorical flights of a professed orator. Suet. (Aug. 86) describes his style as clear and pointed, aiming at perspicuity, and avoiding all meretricious ornament. The style of his letters is similarly described in Gell. 15. 7, 3.

1. **artem . . . callebat**, etc., 'was proficient in the skill' (as distinct from the natural gift of Augustus) 'of weighing out his words,' so as to say nothing that could compromise him: cp. 'argumenta . . . non tam numerare soleo quam expendere' (Cic. de Or. 2. 76, 309).

2. **tum . . . ambiguus**, 'being besides full of vigour in the matter of his speech, or, if obscure, designedly so' (not from want of power to speak plainly). On the speech of Tiberius see 1. 11, 4, and note, and his oration (in the form of a letter) as given by Tacitus in 3. 53-54. Suetonius states (Tib. 70) that he took Corvinus as his model, but that he spoke best without preparation.

3. **etiam . . . non**, an unclassical expression for 'ne . . . quidem,' found also in 16. 22, 4; Agr. 43, 1: cp. 'quoque non' (3. 54, 11, and note).

turbata mens, 'the disordered intellect': cp. 'C. Caesar, turbidus animi' H. 3. 48, 2. Suet. speaks of him (Cal. 53) as 'quantumvis facundus et promtus, utique, si perorandum in aliquem esset. Irato et verba et sententiae suppetebant': see also Introd. p. 17. Dio gives (59. 16) what may amount to the substance of one of his speeches.

4. **quotiens**, with subjunct. of repetition: see Introd. i. v. § 52.

meditata, 'a prepared speech': for this passive use cp. 3. 5, 6, and note.

5. **elegantiam requireres**, 'would you miss (note any absence of) literary skill.' Augustus noted that Claudius as a youth spoke in a surprising degree better than he talked (Suet. Cl. 4). Suet. also notes (c. 41) of one of his works that it was composed 'magis inepte quam ineleganter,' a criticism which the only fragment of his composition preserved to us (that of his speech given in App. to B. 11) would not unfitly illustrate.

vividum animum; so 'vividum ingenium' (Liv. 2. 48, 3). It is to be noted that Tacitus credits Nero with susceptibility and intelligence. On his tastes here mentioned and their subsequent development, the fullest account is found in Suet. Ner. 20-25, and 52. See also Introd. pp. 59, 66.

6. **caelare**, etc., either taken (with Nipp.) as historical infinitives, or (with Pfitzn.) substantivally, as in apposition to 'alia.'

7. **aliquando**, 'at times.' Nipp. notes that stress is laid on this word, as implying that poetry had not then become a passion with him as afterwards (14. 16, 1; etc.; Dio, 62. 29, 2). Nipp. notes other instances in which the idea of a restrictive word, like 'tantum,' is left to be gathered from the sense, as c. 55, 3; 14. 33, 3, etc. Friedländer points out (iii. 341) the very many cases in which Romans began to write poetry very early in life.

9. **tristitiae imitamentis**: cp. 3. 5, 6, and note.

10. **patrum . . . militum**: see 12. 69, 3. He here puts the senate first.

consilia . . . exempla. Nipp. appears rightly to refer the former to Seneca and Burrus, the latter to Augustus, whose rules of government he professed to follow (see below).

sibi et exempla capessendi egregie imperii memoravit, neque
iuventam armis civilibus aut domesticis discordiis inbutam;
nulla odia, nullas iniurias nec cupidinem ultionis adferre. tum 2
formam futuri principatus praescripsit, ea maxime declinans,
quorum recens flagrabat invidia. non enim se negotiorum om-
nium iudicem fore, ut clausis unam intra domum accusatoribus
et reis paucorum potentia grassaretur; nihil in penatibus suis
venale aut ambitioni pervium; discretam domum et rem pub-
licam. teneret antiqua munia senatus, consulum tribunalibus 3
Italia et publicae provinciae adsisterent: illi patrum aditum
praeberent, se mandatis exercitibus consulturum.

5. Nec defuit fides, multaque arbitrio senatus constituta 1
sunt: ne quis ad causam orandam mercede aut donis emeretur,

1. **neque iuventam**, etc., 'his youth had not been steeped (cp. 1. 36, 1) in civil wars (like that of Augustus), nor (like that of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius), in family enmities' (cp. 4. 12, 5; 40, 3; 6. 51, 2).

3. **nullas iniurias**, 'no injuries received': cp. 12. 69, 5, and note.

4. **formam**, 'the policy.' The division of functions proposed by him is substantially that instituted by Augustus (see Introd. i. vi. pp. 75, foll.). So Suet. says (Ner. 10) 'ex Augusti praescripto imperaturum se professus.' The popularity of the speech was such that the senate ordered it to be engraved on a silver column, and recited annually (Dio, 61. 3, 1).

declinans, 'renouncing.' This meaning is nowhere else found, but is akin to that of avoiding (6. 51, 3, etc.): cp. also 15. 26, 3.

5. **non enim**, etc., referring to the private trials (see Introd. i. vi. p. 74) so prevalent under Claudius (11. 2, 1; 5, 1, etc.), which appear to have taken cognisance of all kinds of cases: see Suet. Cl. 15. On the importance attached to this announcement of Nero see Introd. p. 38.

8. **venale**, such as the traffic in the civitas and other privileges carried on by Messalina and the freedmen (Introd. p. 39). The same secret influences are alluded to in 'discretam domum,' etc. ('the members of his household would have nothing to do with public affairs').

9. **antiqua munia**: see Introd. i. vi. p. 77, foll.; Mommsen, Staatsr. iii. 1269, etc.

consulum tribunalibus. Mommsen points out (Staatsr. iii. 932, 5) that the judgment seats of the consuls in the comitium are meant; reference being made to the ancient custom for deputations to apply first to them or other magistrates to obtain access to the senate. Cp. 'legati Locrensium . . . in comitio sedentibus consulibus . . . ante tribunal . . . procubuerunt . . . dixerunt . . . rogare uti sibi patres adeundi . . . potestatem facerent' (Liv. 29. 16, 6), and other references in Momms. l. l. 959, 3. The senate, as approached through them and sitting under their presidency, is to hear appeals (see 2. 35, 3; 14. 28, 2, etc.) and other general questions coming before them from Italy (see c. 48, 1; 14. 17, 3; H. 4. 45, 1) and the senatorial provinces (see 3. 60, 1; 12. 62, 1; Introd. i. vi. p. 79).

10. **publicae**, the 'provinciae senatus populique.'

11. **mandatis exercitibus**, 'the armies (and military provinces) entrusted to him' (by the arrangement between the princeps and the senate): see Introd. i. vi. p. 65; vii. pp. 94, 98, foll.

12. **multaque . . . constituta**. On such legislation by decree see 12. 7, 3, and note.

13. **ne quis . . . emeretur**. The relation of this decree to that of Claudius (11. 7, 8) is not here clearly stated, and seems to be confused or mistaken in Suet. Ner. 17 (unless some unknown later enactment is there referred to); but it is probable that stress is here laid on 'emeretur,' and that what was forbidden was a bargain beforehand. Pliny mentions (Ep. 5. 9, 4) a senatus consultum enforced in his

ne designatis quaestoribus edendi gladiatores necessitas esset.
2 quod quidem adversante Agrippina, tamquam acta Claudii sub-
verterentur, obtinuere patres, qui in Palatium ob id vocabantur,
ut adstaret additis a tergo foribus velo discreta, quod visum
3 arceret, auditus non adimeret. quin et legatis Armeniorum
causam gentis apud Neronem orantibus escendere suggestum
imperatoris et praesidere simul parabat, nisi ceteris pavore

time, whereby litigants were forced to swear before the case came on 'nihil se ob advocationem cuiquam dedisse promisisse cavisse'; adding that after the trial they were permitted 'pecuniam dumtaxat decem milium dare.' Such a decree would seem however to have been more or less a dead letter; the account in Pliny shows that its enforcement was so unexpected as to cause surprise and consternation; Quintilian, who, while treating the acceptance of a present by advocates as an open question, condemns bargaining as a 'piraticus mos' (12. 7, 11), attests by that expression its prevalence; Martial mentions an orator who demanded 200 sestertia (8. 16, 2), and himself made bargains beforehand (Id. 17, 1); enormous fortunes were made by men like Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus (see Dial. 8, 2, and Friedl. i. p. 231). See the notes of Nipp. and Dr. here and those of Mayor on Juv. 7, 106, foll.

1. **ne designatis**, etc.: see 11. 22, 3. The addition of 'quidem' in Med. seems an error of some one who mistook the force of 'ne.' Domitian is stated (Suet. Dom. 4) to have reimposed this obligation; which perhaps was never altogether done away with, as Lucan, who must have been quaestor some years after this decree, is said by his anonymous biographer to have given a show with his colleagues 'ut mos erat.'

2. **quod quidem.** This relates especially to the latter decree (the former having been rather extended than reversed): it would appear, from the context, that what was represented in 11. 23, 3, as originating in the 'sententia' of a senator, was enacted, not by a senatusconsultum, but by an edict of Claudius.

3. **in Palatium,** probably into the Palatine library: see 2. 37, 3; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 929, 3.

4. **additis a tergo foribus.** Some edd. read 'abditis' (with Gron.) or 'obditis' (with Lips.). It would appear that a new door was made at the back of the building, probably behind the emperor's seat. She would thus face the senators, and hear all that they said, while the curtain concealed her from them. She is represented, in 14. 11, 2, as having tried to enter the senate itself, which even Livia had never dared to do (Dio, 57. 12, 3). Elagabalus is noted (Vit. 4, 1; 12, 3) as having even brought his grandmother into the senate, and allowed her to sit and vote in it.

5. **auditus**; so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'aditus.' It is to be noted that the one word is taken in an active, the other in a passive sense (she was to hear without being seen), and that a plural is combined with a singular; nor is any clear instance found where a plural 'auditus' is thus used. Heraeus would read 'visus... auditum' (the vision being that of many persons, the hearing that of one); but Wölfflin shows (Philol. 27, 114) that 'visus' (plural) is used of one person in c. 16, 5; 11. 34, 3; and many other plurals for singulars (cp. 'aemulatus' c. 46, 5); and that the interchange of plural and singular may be a mere variation, like 'paenam vel infamias' (where again Her. would read 'paenas vel infamiam') in 4. 33, 4.

Armeniorum, probably an embassy on the events mentioned in c. 6, 1. They were apparently ambassadors, not of the nation, but of a party (c. 34, 5).

6. **suggestum imperatoris.** On similar state occasions in the time of Claudius she had been content to sit on another elevated seat close by (12. 37, 5; 56, 5; Dio, 60. 33, 7). Her present action would appear to be an assertion of the regency to which she aspired (see 14. 11, 1), and which in fact she at first partially exercised (see Introd. p. 53; Schiller, p. 92, 2, etc.).

7. **pavore defixis**: cp. 1. 68, 2, and note.

defixis Seneca admonuisset, venienti matri occurreret. Ita specie pietatis obviam itum dedecori.

6. Fine anni turbidis rumoribus prorupisse rursum Parthos 1
et rapi Armeniam adlatum est, pulso Radamisto, qui saepe regni eius potitus, dein profugus, tum quoque bellum deseruerat.
igitur in urbe sermonum avida, quem ad modum princeps vix 2
septemdecim annos egressus suscipere eam molem aut propulsare posset, quod subsidium in eo qui a femina regeretur, num proelia quoque et obpugnationes urbium et cetera belli per magistros administrari possent, anquirebant. contra alii melius evenisse 3
disserunt, quam si invalidus senecta et ignavia Claudius militiae ad labores vocaretur, servilibus iussis obtemperaturus. Burrum 4
tamen et Senecam multarum rerum experientia cognitos; et imperatori quantum ad robur deesse, cum octavo decumo aetatis

1. **Seneca admonuisset.** Dio (61. 3, 4) makes the device that of Burrus also, which is less probable.

2. **obviam itum dedecori,** 'the scandal was prevented' (cp. c. 2, 1). It would appear from Dio (l. l.) that they did not come back to the tribunal, but heard the embassy elsewhere.

3. **fine anni.** The narrative of eastern affairs is taken up from the end of 12. 51. Tiridates had been in possession of Armenia since the flight of Radamistus (see 12. 51, 5; Introd. p. 107), but the irruption of Parthians appears to have taken place somewhat later.

4. **rapi** = 'diripi,' a poetical use, as in Verg. Aen. 2, 374. Nipp. compares 'rapiunt in transitu hiberna' (H. 4. 33, 2); 'Syriam Aegyptumque praetereuntibus raptas' (Curt. 4. 14, 1).

saepe, repeated again with 'profugus.' Only two occasions have been distinctly mentioned, that in which his supporters were 'sine acie pulsi' (12. 50, 2), and that in which he had to fly from his own people (12. 51, 1). Nipp. notes that 'saepe' is used with similar rhetorical exaggeration in 3. 18, 2; 'semper,' in 15. 47, 1; 'tot,' in 6. 24, 2. It would appear that he had kept up some desultory warfare between the date of his last flight (see note above) and the time here spoken of.

5. **tum quoque,** then, as on the former occasions (see note above). He had now finally ceased to dispute possession with Tiridates.

6. **vix . . . egressus:** cp. c. 1, 2, and note. The embassy may have arrived after Nero's seventeenth birthday (Dec. 16).

7. **suscipere . . . aut propulsare,** 'sustain or repel the shock.'

9. **magistros,** 'his tutors,' used invidiously of Seneca and Burrus.

11. **militiae ad labores.** If the emperor did not himself take the field, he must at least direct from home the organisation of an expedition.

13. **tamen,** answering the taunt implied in 'magistros.' They were not, after all, mere pedagogues, but men of the world.

multarum . . . . cognitos, 'were known as men of manifold experience.' Nipp. compares 'egregia virtute erant cogniti' (Caes. B. G. 1. 28, 5), and 'eum cognovisse paratissimo animo' (Cic. Phil. 13. 6, 13). The case is that denoting quality, a similar genitive being found in Caes. B. G. 5. 6, 1. On the use of 'experientia' cp. 1. 4, 3, and note.

14. **quantum deesse,** in oratio recta, 'quantum deest': cp. 1. 17, 2, and note. He only wanted a year or two of the age of these men.

octavo decumo. Pompeius was born Sept. 30, 648, B.C. 106, and was first in command of a force against the Marians in 670, B.C. 84 (Vell. 2. 29, 1; Plut. Pomp. 6), but had already served under his father in civil war in 667, B.C. 87 (Plut. Pomp. 3), and probably against the Italians at the capture of Asculum even two years earlier (Id. c. 4). Tacitus may intend to refer to his first actual experience of war, or may have followed those who, according to Velleius (2. 53, 5), made an

anno Cn. Pompeius, nono decumo Caesar Octavianus civilia
5 bella sustinuerint? pleraque in summa fortuna auspiciis et con-
6 siliis quam telis et manibus geri. daturum plane documentum, honestis an secus amicis uteretur, si ducem amota invidia egregium, quam si pecuniosum et gratia subnixum per ambitum deligeret.

1 **7.** Haec atque talia vulgantibus, Nero et iuventutem proximas per provincias quaesitam supplendis orientis legionibus admovere legionesque ipsas propius Armeniam collocari iubet, duosque veteres reges Agrippam et Antiochum expedire copias, quis Parthorum fines ultro intrarent, simul pontes per amnem Eu-

error of five years in their accounts of the age of Pompeius.

1. **nono decumo**, in October 710, B.C. 44, when he was just nineteen years old. See Mon. Anc. 1. 1 'Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi.'

2. **in summa fortuna**, 'in the highest rank': cp. 2. 72, 3, etc.

auspiciis et consiliis, i. e. the highest personages generally act rather by exercise of supreme command at home (see note on 2. 18, 1) than by actual service in the field. On the ellipse of 'magis' before 'quam' see Introd. i. v. § 64, 1. It is here softened by 'pleraque' having the force of 'plura.'

3. **plane**, here rather used as in c. 50, 4 (='clearly'), than concessively (as Nipp. takes it), as in 3. 34, 4, etc.

4. **honestis an secus.** Classical Latinity (as Dr. notes) would use an adjective in place of 'secus' or an adverb in that of 'honestis': cp. 'recte an secus' (Cic. Pis. 28, 68); 'pro bene aut secus consulto' (Liv. 7. 6, 8).

amota invidia, 'disregarding the voice of envy.' The words are contrasted with 'per ambitum' ('yielding to intrigue') and both refer to such counsel as would be given by dishonest advisers.

5. **quam si.** Joh. Müller shows (Beitr. 4. 21–23), against those who would omit 'si' here, that the general sense is the same whether it be present or absent; if it be omitted the implied 'potius' of the comparison refers to 'egregium,' if it be inserted, to 'daturum.' He thinks that a better sense is given if 'si' is retained, and an ironical contrast supposed to be implied to the system of Claudius.

7. **vulgantibus.** On the abl. abs. see Introd. i. v. § 31 c.

iuventutem, the young men of citizen blood in the provinces, from whom the legions were mainly recruited (see 3. 40, 5, and note). Ritt. needlessly inserts 'Romanam,' which is sufficiently understood from the mention of 'legiones.' The coordination 'et'—'que' for 'et'—'et' is found in H. 5. 5, 5, rarely in Cic., and frequently in Livy.

8. **quaesitam** = 'conquisitam': 'conquisitores' is a regular term for recruiting officers (Cic. Att. 7. 21, 1, etc.; Liv. 21. 11, 13, etc.).

admovere, the correction to 'admoveri' (Pich., etc.) is needless; such combinations of active and passive verbs being not unusual (cp. 'permittere differrique' 3. 12, 7). Ritter less well takes 'admovere' as a historical infinitive.

10. **veteres**, in contrast to those mentioned below as only now raised to that rank.

Agrippam, sc. 'Herodem' (the 'Agrippa' of Acts 25, 1), the son of the one mentioned in 12. 23, 2, etc. Claudius had given him in 801, A.D. 48, the little kingdom of Chalcis in Caele Syria, held previously by his uncle (Jos. B. I. 2. 12, 1), and, four years later, transferred him, with the title of king, to the tetrarchies held by Philip and Lysanias (Id. Ant. 20, 7, 1), to which dominion Nero, in his first year, added part of Galilee (Id. 20. 8, 4). He joined Vespasian (H. 2. 81, 2), and aided the Romans in the Jewish war (H. 5. 1, 4), after which he lived at Rome till his death in the time of Trajan.

Antiochum, of Commagene: see 12. 55, 3, and note.

11. **ultro**, without waiting to be attacked.

pontes iungi: cp. 'iuncto ponte' 1. 49, 6. On the places of crossing the

phraten iungi; et minorem Armeniam Aristobulo, regionem 2
Sophenen Sohaemo cum insignibus regiis mandat. exortusque in tempore aemulus Vologesi filius Vardanes; et abscessere Armenia Parthi, tamquam differrent bellum.

8. Sed apud senatum omnia in maius celebrata sunt sententiis 1
eorum, qui supplicationes et diebus supplicationum vestem principi triumphalem, utque ovans urbem iniret, effigiemque eius pari magnitudine ac Martis Ultoris eodem in templo censuere, praeter suetam adulationem laeti, quod Domitium Corbulonem

Euphrates see 6. 37, 4; 41, 2; 15. 7, 3, and notes.

1. **Aristobulo** (cp. 14. 26, 3), a son of Herod of Chalcis (Jos. Ant. 20. 8, 4), whose kingdom he appears subsequently to have possessed (Id. B. I. 7. 7, 4). He is the last recorded vassal-king of Lesser Armenia (on which see 11. 9, 3, and note), which appears to have become part of the provincial empire under Vespasian (Momms. Hist. v. 299, 1; E. T. i. 324, 1).

2. **Sophenen**, a tract on the south-west of Armenia, between Mt. Masius and Anti-Taurus (Strab. 11. 14, 2, 527) and separated by the Euphrates from Cappadocia. Strabo (l. l.) mentions its βασίλειον, Carcathiocerta (perhaps Kharput). It was taken from Tigranes by Pompeius (Plut. Pomp. 33), and appears to have been from that time under Roman influence. At a later date it was governed with Cappadocia (Marqu. Staatsv. i. p. 213).

Sohaemo, not known to be related to the king of Ituraea mentioned in 12. 23, 2. Josephus, who makes no mention of the gift of Sophene to him, states (Ant. 20. 8, 4) that he was made in this year king of Emesa in Syria on the death of his brother Azizus. He also supported Vespasian (H. 2. 81, 1), and took part in the Jewish war (H. 5. 1, 4), and that against Antiochus of Commagene (Jos. B. I. 7. 7, 1).

3. **in tempore**, 'opportunely': cp. 1. 19, 2, and note.

Vologesi: so most edd. after MS. Agr. Orelli and Jacob retain the Med. 'Vologeso,' on which form see note on c. 37, 1, and 12. 14, 8. 'Aemulus' takes a dat. in c. 3, 4; 6. 32, 5, etc.

Vardanes, so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'Vardanis,' which Or. and Jacob retain, taking him to be an unnamed son of the one mentioned in 11. 8–10. But we should expect Tacitus to give his name. A date appears to be furnished for his rebellion by a change of coinage in A.D. 55–58 (see Introd. p. 97, 3).

abscessere Armenia: cp. 15. 6, 1, and other similar uses of the simple abl. given in Introd. i. v. § 24; also 'abscesserat muneribus' (Liv. 9. 3, 5); 'obsidione abscessit' (Id. 37. 31, 3). In 1. 7, 6; 3. 5, 2, Tacitus uses the verb with a preposition.

5. **in maius**: cp. Introd. i. v. 60 b. The meaning is that the temporary retreat of the Parthians was regarded as a more important discomfiture.

6. **vestem . . . triumphalem**: cp. 12. 41, 4. This dress had been decreed to be worn on public occasions in Rome by the dictator Caesar (Dio, 44. 4, 2; 6, 1), and is mentioned as worn by Gaius at the dedication of a temple (Id. 59. 7, 1), and by Nero in receiving Tiridates (Id. 63. 3, 3). Claudius on a similar occasion wore an 'insigne paludamentum' (12. 56, 5).

7. **utque**. This change of construction (see Introd. i. v. § 91, 8) is especially frequent in Tacitus with verbs of decreeing: cp. c. 41, 5; 1. 15, 4 (and note); 3. 13, 1 (and note). 'Censere' is often used with a substantive in the sense of 'decernere,' as in 2. 83, 4; 3. 57, 2; etc., also in Caes., Sall., and Liv. (see Nipp.'s note).

effigiem. Most recent edd. follow Nipp. in thus correcting the Med. 'effigies'; it being unlikely that more than one statue would be set up in the same place, or that the plural would be here used for the singular.

8. **Martis Ultoris**. This temple was the usual place for commemorating victories: see 2. 64, 2, and note.

9. **Corbulonem**. On his former services see 11. 18–20. He remained in the East till he was recalled and forced to kill himself in 820, A.D. 67 (see App. to B. 16).

retinendae Armeniae praeposuerat videbaturque locus virtuti-
2 bus patefactus. copiae orientis ita dividuntur, ut pars auxili-
arium cum duabus legionibus apud provinciam Suriam et legatum
eius Quadratum Ummidium remaneret, par civium sociorumque
numerus Corbuloni esset, additis cohortibus alisque, quae *in*
3 Cappadocia hiemabant. socii reges, prout bello conduceret,
parere iussi: sed studia eorum in Corbulonem promptiora erant.
4 qui ut *instaret* famae, quae in novis coeptis validissima est,
itinere propere confecto apud Aegeas civitatem Ciliciae obvium
Quadratum habuit, illuc progressum, ne, si ad accipiendas copias
Suriam intravisset Corbulo, omnium ora in se verteret, corpore
ingens, verbis magnificis et super experientiam sapientiamque
etiam specie inanium validus.
1 **9.** Ceterum uterque ad Vologesem regem nuntiis monebant,
pacem quam bellum mallet datisque obsidibus solitam prioribus
2 reverentiam in populum Romanum continuaret. et Vologeses,

1. **retinendae**: cp. the analogous use of 'praeficere' with gerundive dat. in 15. 25, 3. The Romans choose thus to represent Armenia as in the permanent position of a vassal kingdom.

3. **apud**, used (as Nipp. points out) in different senses here and with 'legatum.'

4. **Quadratum**: see 12. 45, 6.

par . . . . numerus. The regular garrison of Syria comprised four legions (4. 5, 4), with the usual auxiliary complement.

5. **cohortibus alisque**, those mentioned in 12. 49, 2. It would appear that the position of Corbulo was that of a consular legatus, substituted for the usual procurator (12. 49, 1) of Cappadocia. It would seem probable from c. 35, 4 that Galatia also was placed under him; but his general 'imperium maius' in the East does not appear to begin till 816, A. D. 63 (15. 25, 6).

7. **parere**, sc. 'Corbuloni aut Quadrato.' They were to place themselves at the disposal of either, according to the interests of the war, but preferred to serve with Corbulo.

promptiora, 'more inclined'; so (with dat.) in 4. 60, 5.

8. **instaret famae.** The verb is wanting in Med. and is thus supplied by Haase, who compares 'instandum famae' ('prestige must be followed up') in Agr. 18, 4, 'instandum coeptis' in H. 3. 52, 2; and 'instare fortunae' in H. 5. 15, 4. Most edd. follow G. in reading (after 'famae') 'inserviret,' which does not yield as good a meaning as 'instaret,' and may be a gloss on it.

9. **Aegeas**, so all edd. after Lips. for Med. 'egeas.' The name of this town, situated on the coast of the gulf of Issus, is given as Αἰγαῖαι by Strabo, Αἰγέαι by Pausanias, Αἰγαί by Dio, Aegaeae by Pliny, who states that it was a free town (5. 27, 22, 91). It would appear from c. 33, 3 that Cilicia had at this time a separate legatus instead of forming part of Syria (see 2. 78, 3, etc.).

11. **corpore ingens**; so in 15. 53, 2; H. 1. 53, 1. Corbulo's strength is alluded to in Juv. 3, 281.

12. **verbis magnificis**, abl. of quality. The old edd. read 'magnificus' with G. Nipp. notices this as a favourite expression with Tacitus for grandiloquence: cp. 15. 8, 3, and other passages here cited by him.

13. **specie inanium**, 'by the prestige of mere outward show': cp. 'sublatis inanibus' (4. 41, 3), etc.

14. **Ceterum**, here apparently distinguishing their joint action from their previous and subsequent rivalry.

nuntiis, sc. 'missis': cp. H. 1. 74, 1; 4. 86, 1; also 12. 38, 4, and note.

15. **prioribus**, sc. 'regibus,' such as Phraates (2, 1, 2). The Parthians themselves are made to speak of their 'reverentia' to Rome in 12. 10, 3.

quo bellum ex commodo pararet, an ut aemulationis suspectos
per nomen obsidum amoveret, tradit nobilissimos ex familia
Arsacidarum. accepitque eos centurio Insteius ab Ummidio 3
missus, forte prior ea de causa adito rege. quod postquam
Corbuloni cognitum est, ire praefectum cohortis Arrium Varum
et reciperare obsides iubet. hinc ortum inter praefectum et 4
centurionem iurgium ne diutius externis spectaculo esset, arbitrium rei obsidibus legatisque, qui eos ducebant, permissum.
atque illi *per* recentem gloriam et inclinatione quadam etiam 5
hostium Corbulonem praetulere. unde discordia inter duces, 6
querente Ummidio praerepta quae suis consiliis patravisset,
testante contra Corbulone non prius conversum regem ad
offerendos obsides quam ipse dux bello delectus spes eius ad
metum mutaret. Nero quo componeret diversos, sic evulgari 7
iussit: ob res a Quadrato et Corbulone prospere gestas laurum
fascibus imperatoriis addi. quae in alios consules egressa coniunxi.

1. **ex commodo**, 'as might suit him best': cp. 'ex utilitatibus' (1. 58, 2); 'ex usu' (4. 5, 6), etc., also 'contra commodum' (Suet. Aug. 78). The word is here a correction after Muretus for Med. 'quomodo.'

suspectos, so with genit. in 3. 29, 6; 60, 2.

3. **Arsacidarum**: see 2. 1, 1, and note. Some of these were no doubt partisans of his rival (c. 7, 2).

Insteius, probably the Insteius Capito afterwards praefectus castrorum to Corbulo (c. 39, 2).

4. **prior ea**: so Halm and Nipp., after Muret. and Lips. ('having gone to the king on that account and having happened to be first on the spot'), for the Med. 'priore,' which most others retain, with the meaning that he had gone to the king on some matter which had previously occurred. We should rather in that case have expected 'priore aliqua de causa': 'ea de causa,' as read above, may well be taken to mean that he went as one of the 'nuntii' (§ 1); which seems also implied in 'quae suis consiliis patravisset' below.

5. **Arrium Varum**, probably to be taken, with Mommsen (Hist. v. 392, 1; E. T. ii. 60, 1), as identical with the distinguished officer of Vespasian. The objection that the rank of 'primopilus,' which would naturally precede that of 'praefectus cohortis,' is stated in H. 3. 6, 2 to have been conferred on the latter by Nero at apparently a later date, is met by pointing out that in C. I. L. v. 867, a person who had passed on from 'primopilus' of a legion to higher military rank becomes 'p. p. iterum,' without attachment to a legion, apparently as honorary rank, to serve as stepping-stone to a procuratorship. Cp. 'p. p. bis' (Or. Insc. 74; Henzen 5456).

9. **per recentem gloriam**: so Halm, after Weissenb. Most others have restored the Med. text by inserting 'ob,' after some inferior MSS. Dr. and Jacob follow Nipp. in reading 'recentem gloria,' with the meaning 'fresh from his renown' (cp. 1. 41, 4, and note), which, as also Professor Holbrooke's 'recente gloria' (abl. abs.), is not well suited to the following clause. It is very probable that Tacitus wrote an accus. in both clauses, as Med. has 'inclinationem,' which Ritt. would preserve by reading 'quandam' (with some inferior MSS. and old edd.). But a change from accus. to abl., in causal clauses, is not unusual (e.g. 1. 7, 11).

13. **ipse . . . delectus**, 'the selection of himself': see Introd. i. v. § 55 b, 1.

14. **diversos** = 'discordes': so 'diversi ordiuntur' (2. 10, 1); 'ducibus diversis' (3. 38, 5); 'diversi sententiis' (4. 50, 2).

16. **fascibus imperatoriis**, those of the twelve lictors assigned originally to Augustus in 735, B.C. 19 (Dio, 54, 10, 5). They were wreathed with laurel for vic-

1 **10.** Eodem anno Caesar effigiem Cn. Domitio patri et con-
sularia insignia Asconio Labeoni, quo tutore usus erat, petivit
a senatu; sibique statuas argento vel auro solidas adversus
2 offerentes prohibuit. et quamquam censuissent patres, ut
principium anni inciperet mense Decembri, quo ortus erat Nero,
veterem religionem kalendarum Ianuariarum inchoando anno
3 retinuit. neque recepti sunt inter reos Carrinas Celer senator,
servo accusante, aut Iulius Densus equester, cui favor in Britan-
nicum crimini dabatur.
1 **11.** Claudio Nerone L. Antistio consulibus cum in acta

tories gained under his auspices, as were those of republican generals for their own victories. At a later date, those of the emperor appear to have been always so wreathed (Vit. Maximin. 14).

coniunxi, 'I have related continuously' (cp. 4. 33, 3, and note). For previous instances in which Tacitus thus departs from his usual practice see 6. 38, 1; 12. 40, 8, and note on 12. 51, 5. The events of 808, A.D. 55, probably begin with Corbulo's departure (c. 8, 4). The narrative is continued in c. 34.

1. **Cn. Domitio**: see 4. 75, 1, and note. He had been dead some fifteen years (see Introd. p. 49). Suet. (Ner. 9) speaks generally of 'honores maximi' now paid to his memory, and it would seem that his name was included in the Arval prayer (see Schiller, p. 95, 1).

consularia insignia: cp. 12. 21, 2, etc.

2. **quo tutore usus erat.** The state of 'tutela,' as distinct from 'curatela' (see Dict. of Ant. s. v.), ceased when a youth had reached the age of puberty. Asconius, who is otherwise unknown, was probably appointed Nero's 'tutor' at the death of his step-father Crispus Passienus.

3. **sibique.** The dat., as Dr. points out, is in contrast to those with 'petivit': 'for himself, he prohibited in the face of offers.'

argento vel auro solidas: cp. 2. 33, 1, and note.

5. **quo ortus erat**: see note on 12. 25, 3.

6. **veterem religionem.** The custom of beginning the official year on the kalends of January was not of extreme antiquity, but dates from 599, B.C. 153.

7. **neque recepti**: cp. 2. 74, 2, and note. It is to be noticed that the senate, or rather the consuls as its presidents (4. 21, 4), could refuse to entertain a charge. When the princeps quashes an accusation before the senate it is by exercise of the tribunitian 'intercessio' (3. 70, 2).

Carrinas. This name (corrupted in 15. 45, 3) is so read here in Med. and also in Juv. 7, 205. Many edd. here read 'Carinas,' but Nipp. cites an inscription with the double 'r' in Bait. Fast. p. ccxlv.

senator, probably used here not as ='senator pedarius' (cp. 1. 75, 3, and note), but in contradistinction to 'equester.'

8. **servo accusante.** On the cases in which the evidence of a slave against his master was admitted see 2. 30, 3, and note.

equester: cp. 12. 60, 3, and note. Here, as there, some would alter the text to 'eques R.' Many instances are found of knights brought to trial before the senate (3. 49, 1; 70, 2; 4. 15, 3; 31, 1; 68, 1; 6. 40, 1, etc.). The charge brought against Densus appears to be an attempt (cp. 12. 42, 5; 14. 48, 3, and notes) to revive the law of 'maiestas.'

10. **Claudio Nerone.** Claudius had assumed the consulship at the beginning of the year after his accession, and his example appears to have been generally followed. Nero at this time held it for two months (Suet. 14). His former designation as consul for his twentieth year (12. 41, 2) was in effect carried out by his then becoming a second time consul (c. 31, 1).

L. Antistio. His full name 'L. Antistius Vetus' is given in inscriptions (see Nipp.). He is mentioned again in c. 53, 2; 14. 58, 3, and his suicide in 16. 10, 1. He is noted by Nipp. as son of L. Antistius Vetus, cos. suff. in 779, A.D. 26 (on whom see Henzen Inscr. 7666), and was probably cousin of the consul of 803, A.D. 50 (see 12. 25, 1, and note).

in acta principum. On this annual oath see 1. 72, 2, and note. It would

principum iurarent magistratus, in sua acta collegam Antistium
iurare prohibuit, magnis patrum laudibus, ut iuvenilis animus
levium quoque rerum gloria sublatus maiores continuaret. secu- 2
taque lenitas in Plautium Lateranum, quem ob adulterium
Messalinae ordine demotum reddidit senatui, clementiam suam
obstringens crebris orationibus, quas Seneca, testificando quam
honesta praeciperet, vel iactandi ingenii, voce principis vulgabat.

12. Ceterum infracta paulatim potentia matris delapso Nerone 1
in amorem libertae, cui vocabulum Acte fuit, simul adsumptis
in conscientiam *M.* Othone et Claudio Senecione, adulescentulis
decoris, quorum Otho familia consulari, Senecio liberto Caesaris

include at this time the 'acta' of Augustus and Claudius, as well as those of Nero (see note on 16. 22, 5).

2. **prohibuit.** Nero is supplied as subject from the preceding abl. His prohibition implies that he treated Antistius as his equal in official rank.

3. **levium quoque,** etc., 'elated by the fame arising even from small things.'

maiores continuaret, 'might go on at once to greater': 'continuare rem' is equivalent to 'continuo aliquid facere'; so with 'pacem' (c. 53, 1), 'reverentiam' (c. 9, 1), 'stragem' (14. 36, 4), etc.

4. **Plautium Lateranum**; see 11. 36, 5. His expulsion was probably the act of the senate (see 12. 59, 4, and note), but the power of pardon belonged in all cases to the princeps (see Introd. i. vi. p. 73); though Nero no doubt at this time followed Claudius (see 12. 8, 3, and note) in going through the form of consulting the senate.

5. **demotum.** This correction for the Med. 'remotum' is supported by c. 14, 1; 20, 1; 2. 43, 3, etc.

6. **obstringens,** 'solemnly promising'; a sense akin to the absolute use of this verb in 1. 14, 6; 4. 31, 5.

testificando, 'for the purpose of testifying': cp. 15. 16, 2. For this use of the gerundial, like the gerundive dat., see Introd. i. v. § 22 a.

7. **iactandi ingenii,** 'in order to display his talent.' The coordination of this genit. (on which see Introd. i. v. § 37 d) with a preceding dative of purpose is noted by Dr. as found nowhere else. The implied judgment on Seneca may be compared with that in c. 3, 2. These speeches were no doubt conceived in the spirit of his treatise 'de Clementia,' which belongs to this date.

9. **vocabulum,** 'name,' as in 12. 66, 4, etc. Her full name appears to have been 'Claudia Acte, Augusti liberta' (Insc. Or. 735). It is stated that she was bought in Asia (Dio, 61. 7, 1), and that men of the highest rank were ready to further Nero's desire to marry her by swearing that she was of the race of the Attalidae (Dio, l. l.; Suet. Ner. 28). On her subsequent influence see c. 46, 4; 14. 2, 2. She survived Nero, and was one of the faithful women who buried his remains (Suet. Ner. 50), and appears from inscriptions to have had a considerable establishment (see Friedl. Sitteng. i. 107). The idea that she was a Christian appears to rest on a mere assumption of her identity with an unnamed concubine of Nero mentioned in Chrys. Hom. 46, 13, on Act. Ap. as having been persuaded by St. Paul to forsake him and to embrace the faith.

10. **M. Othone,** the subsequent emperor (cp. c. 45-46). The praenomen is absent in Med. but is likely to have been given in this place (evidently the first mention of him in this work), and may easily have been lost after the last letter of the preceding word. The date of his birth given by Suet. (Oth. 2) would show him to have been now twenty-three years old, and probably not yet a senator. His name is found as one of the Arvals in a table of 810, A.D. 57 (C. I. L. vi. 2039).

Claudio Senecione, a knight, prominent in the conspiracy of Piso (15. 50-70).

11. **familia consulari.** The only consul in the family was his father, L. Otho, who was cos. suff. after Galba in 786, A.D. 33 (Suet. Galb. 6), and was afterwards raised to the patriciate by Claudius

2 patre genitus. ignara matre, dein frustra obnitente, penitus inrepserat per luxum et ambigua secreta, ne senioribus quidem principis amicis adversantibus, muliercula nulla cuiusquam iniuria cupidines principis explente, quando uxore ab Octavia, nobili quidem et probitatis spectatae, fato quodam, an quia praevalent inlicita, abhorrebat, metuebaturque, ne in stupra feminarum inlustrium prorumperet, si illa libidine prohiberetur.

1 **13.** Sed Agrippina libertam aemulam, nurum ancillam aliaque eundem in modum muliebriter fremere, neque paenitentiam filii aut satietatem opperiri, quantoque foediora exprobrabat, acrius accendere, donec vi amoris subactus exueret obsequium in ma-

(Suet. Oth. 1). The same expression is used in a similar case in 6. 49, 1 (where see note).

liberto Caesaris. The name would show that he had been freed by Claudius; but he might still be called 'libertus Caesaris' ('Neronis'), as Nero would have inherited the 'patronatus.' The correction of Spengel, 'C. Caesaris' (cp. 11. 1, 2), can hardly be right. Nipp. notes that 'patre' is inserted, as 'genitus' might have a wider meaning, and that 'erat' is supplied.

2. **inrepserat.** With this punctuation, 'Acte' is to be taken as subject of the verb, and the words 'simul . . . genitus' are parenthetical. The absence of any such pronoun as 'ea' to introduce the new subject is certainly harsh; but this explanation seems preferable to that of others, who place only a comma after 'genitus,' and refer the verb to Otho and Senecio, either reading 'inrepserant' (with Lips.), or justifying the singular by examples of doubtful appositeness, as c. 15, 3 (where see note), or supposing (with Ritt.) that 'erat' is supplied with 'familia consulari,' and that 'inrepserat' applies to Senecio alone. The whole passage (see notes below) is certainly confused in structure, but the subsequent sentence 'ne senioribus . . . adversantibus' answers to 'adsumptis . . . adulescentulis'; the influence of Acte being described as gained with the active help of his younger and the acquiescence of his elder friends.

per luxum et ambigua secreta, 'by wantonness and suspicious interviews.' For the use of 'luxum' cp. c. 20, 1; 1. 16, 3, etc.; for that of 'secreta,' c. 18, 3; 3. 3, 4, etc. The interviews might be called 'ambigua,' as having taken place on feigned pretexts, or perhaps as implying that the complicity of Otho and Senecio resembled that of Serenus (c. 13, 1), in that her visits were nominally to them but really to Nero.

3. **muliercula . . . explente.** This abl. abs. is not, as might have been expected, coordinate with the one above, but dependent on it (= 'cum muliercula expleret'); giving the reason for the acquiescence of his elder friends, such as Burrus and Seneca. Dr. notes (Synt. und Stil, § 216) that this confused construction does not appear elsewhere in Tacitus, but in Caes. and oftener in Livy, e.g. 1. 46, 1; 24. 4, 6.

4. **quando** extends its force to 'metuebatur,' and gives their reason for thinking that some outlet was necessary. Some edd. less well place a colon after 'abhorrebat.'

uxore ab Octavia. He had been married to her for about two years (see (12. 58, 1).

8. **libertam aemulam, nurum ancillam.** The terms are those of rhetorical exaggeration. Acte is viewed as her rival in influence, and the freedwoman is contemptuously called a slave ('ancilla'). Similar expressions are often used of freedmen (e.g. 14. 39, 3). 'Nurum' can only be a figure of speech, while Nero was married to Octavia; though his purpose of marrying Acte seems to have been at one time serious (Suet. Ner. 28).

9. **muliebriter,** 'with feminine petulance': cp. 'muliebri inpotentia' (1. 4, 5).

10. **acrius accendere.** With this 'eo' or 'tanto' is supplied (Introd. i. v. § 64, 3). The violence of her reproaches only increased his passion for Acte.

trem seque Senecae permitteret, ex cuius familiaribus Annaeus
Serenus simulatione amoris adversus eandem libertam primas
adulescentis cupidines velaverat praebueratque nomen, ut quae
princeps furtim mulierculae tribuebat, ille palam largiretur.
tum Agrippina versis artibus per blandimenta iuvenem adgredi, 2
suum potius cubiculum ac sinum offerre contegendis quae prima
aetas et summa fortuna expeterent: quin et fatebatur intem- 3
pestivam severitatem et suarum opum, quae haud procul im-
peratoriis aberant, copias tradebat, ut nimia nuper coercendo
filio, ita rursum intemperanter demissa. quae mutatio neque 4
Neronem fefellit, et proximi amicorum metuebant orabantque
cavere insidias mulieris semper atrocis, tum et falsae. forte 5
illis diebus Caesar inspecto ornatu, quo principum coniuges ac
parentes effulserant, deligit vestem et gemmas misitque donum
matri nulla parsimonia, cum praecipua et cupita aliis prior
deferret. sed Agrippina non his instrui cultus suos, sed ceteris 6
arceri proclamat et dividere filium, quae cuncta ex ipsa haberet.

14. Nec defuere qui in deterius referrent. et Nero infensus 1

1. **seque Senecae permitteret.** The struggle of Seneca and Burrus against Agrippina had been continual (see c. 2, 3).

Annaeus Serenus. Pliny states (N. H. 22. 23, 47, 96) that he was 'praefectus vigilum,' and that he died of eating poisonous fungi. Seneca inscribed to him his treatises 'de Constantia,' 'de Tranquillitate Animi,' and 'de Otio,' and speaks of himself (Ep. 63, 14) as having bitterly wept for his death, which it is thought (see Hirschf. 146) may have taken place about 815, A.D. 62.

3. **velaverat,** 'had screened': cp. 6. 29, 3.

6. **cubiculum ac sinum,** 'her own chamber and privacy,' i.e. the privacy of her own chamber, where he might meet Acte without any agency of Otho, Senecio, or Serenus. For the use of 'sinus' cp. 6. 45, 5; also in 'huius sinu' (Agr. 4, 2); 'gremio ac sinu matris' (Dial. 28, 4).

7. **expeterent,** 'might demand': for 'summa fortuna' cp. c. 6, 5.

8. **opum**: see 12. 7, 7, etc. Hirschf. notes (p. 28) inscriptions recording names of her procurators.

9. **nimia,** with abl. of respect, as in H. 1. 35, 2, also 'fiducia nimius' (Sall. H. 2. 93 D; 96 K; 84 G). On the use of the gerundive here cp. 6. 23, 4, and note. The domineering behaviour of Agrippina to her son is described in 12. 64, 5.

11. **orabant cavere.** On this construction cp. 6. 2, 3, and note. The accus. and inf. is also used with 'orare' (11. 10, 8).

12. **semper atrocis**: cp. 'atrox odii Agrippina' (12. 22, 1).

et = 'etiam.'

14. **parentes,** 'mothers': the limit of sex is shown by the preceding 'coniuges.' Such ornaments were preserved among the heirlooms of the palace (see 11. 12, 4; 35, 2).

effulserant: cp. 'insignibus effulgens' (H. 4. 29, 1). The verb originates with Vergil (Aen. 5, 133, etc.) and is introduced into prose by Livy.

15. **nulla parsimonia,** i.e. he gave her the best, and gave them unasked ('prior' = 'ultro').

16. **cultus,** 'her wardrobe' (C. and B.): so 'cultus dotales' (16. 31, 1). He was not furnishing it with these, but keeping her out of the rest. Dr. notes the subordination of 'sed' to 'sed,' as in Dial. 8, 2. It is not necessary to insert 'se' with Ritt., though it may possibly have dropped out after 'ceteris.'

18. **in deterius.** The full expression would be 'referre in deterius versa' (c. 43, 1), or 'aucta' (2. 82, 1). For similar expressions see Introd. i. v. § 60 b.

iis, quibus superbia muliebris innitebatur, demovet Pallantem
cura rerum, quis a Claudio impositus velut arbitrium regni
agebat; ferebaturque degrediente eo magna prosequentium
multitudine non absurde dixisse, ire Pallantem ut eiuraret.
2 sane pepigerat Pallas ne cuius facti in praeteritum interrogaretur
3 paresque rationes cum re publica haberet. praeceps posthac
Agrippina ruere ad terrorem et minas, neque principis auribus
abstinere, quo minus testaretur adultum iam esse Britannicum,
veram dignamque stirpem suscipiendo patris imperio, quod
4 insitus et adoptivus per iniurias matris exerceret. non abnuere
se quin cuncta infelicis domus mala patefierent, suae in primis
nuptiae, suum veneficium: id solum dis et sibi provisum, quod

2. **cura rerum**, the department 'a rationibus': see note on 11. 29, 1. He was probably succeeded by Claudius Etruscus, who held office many years, and lived through the greater part of Domitian's rule (see Stat. Theb. 3. 3; Friedl. Sitteng. i. 93).

velut arbitrium regni agebat, 'was holding, as it were, the office of controller of the empire': so 'perfuga ... arbitrium rerum Romanarum ne ageret' (H. 4. 21, 2). Nipp. notes that 'agere' and 'agitare aliquam rem' are used both of those who really fill a position (as 1. 38, 1; 3. 41, 2), and of those who pretend to do so (as 2. 36, 4; H. l. l.), and that here the verb is taken in the former sense; the pretence being signified by 'velut.'

3. **degrediente**, 'going from the Palatium' (the full expression occurs in H. 3. 67, 2): see on 11. 21, 3. The crowd of attendants are those secured to him by his enormous wealth (12. 53, 5).

4. **non absurde**, 'not without wit': cp. c. 45, 2, and note.

ut eiuraret. This term, used properly of the oath taken by magistrates of the state on resigning office (see 12. 4, 5), is satirically applied to the freedman. It was usual for a concourse of friends to attend on such occasions; so the allusion is here both to the throng following Pallas, and to the bargain which he had made (ironically compared to the oath of innocence).

5. **in praeteritum**, 'going back over the past.'

interrogaretur, 'should be called to account for'; used with similar genit. (like verbs of accusing) in 14. 46, 1; 16. 21, 3; Sall. Cat. 18, 2, and in the same sense, without genit., in Cic. p. Dom. 29, 77; Liv. 38. 50, 8; 45. 37, 3. The term is strictly used of the questions put by the accuser in opening the suit.

6. **paresque ... haberet**, 'and that his account with the state should be taken as balanced': so Seneca has 'parem facere rationem' (Ep. 19, 10), or 'signare' (de Ben. 6. 40, 2). It is somewhat questionable (see Hirschf. 7; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1000, 2) how far this passage proves that the freedman presiding over the fiscus (see Introd. p. 29) was considered accountable as an administrator of public moneys. It is probable that 'res publica' is used loosely; for we can hardly suppose him liable to render account to any other person than his master, who however would no doubt regard him as one of his public officers, like the procurators who governed provinces, and not merely as a functionary of his household.

8. **quo minus** = 'quin': cp. 1. 21, 4, and note.

10. **insitus**, 'an intruder': cp. 'ignobilitatem suam ... inserit' (6. 2, 2).

per iniurias matris, 'through the iniquities of his mother.' The context seems in favour of thus giving 'iniurias' a subjective reference (as in 2. 54, 2, etc.), rather than an objective ('by a course of insults against his mother') as in c. 19, 3; 44, 7, etc.

non abnuere se quin. Dr. notes that this expression is ἅπ. εἰρ.; but that 'non negare quin' is found in Liv. (40. 36, 2), etc.

12. **dis et sibi**, providence and her own act had fortunately spared Britannicus from sharing his father's fate, and had made thus provision for punishing Nero.

viveret privignus. ituram cum illo in castra; audiretur hinc 5
Germanici filia, inde debilis rursus Burrus et exul Seneca, trunca
scilicet manu et professoria lingua generis humani regimen ex-
postulantes. simul intendere manus, aggerere probra, consecra- 6
tum Claudium, infernos Silanorum manes invocare et tot inrita
facinora.

15. Turbatus his Nero et propinquo die, quo quartum de- 1
cumum aetatis annum Britannicus explebat, volutare secum
modo matris violentiam, modo ipsius indolem, levi quidem
experimento nuper cognitam, quo tamen favorem late quaesi-
visset. festis Saturno diebus inter alia aequalium ludicra regnum 2

1. **castra**: see 12. 69, 3, etc.

2. **inde debilis**, so Halm, Or., Nipp., after Lips. for the Med. 'indebilis.' The loss of a syllable is a common error in this MS., and 'debilis' would mean 'crippled' (as in Verg. Aen. 5. 271, etc.), and would be explained by 'trunca manu.' Others suppose a confusion of 'b' and 'v' (also common in Med.), and read (with MS. Agr.) 'inde vilis,' and refer the word to the stigma of low origin resting on him, as that of exile rested on Seneca. But he is not known to have been of lower origin than any other Roman knight, unless he is identified with the secretary 'ab epistulis Graecis,' who would probably have been a freedman (see Introd. p. 50, 3).

rursus. Some of those who read 'vilis' would take this word closely with it, and supply it again with 'exul,' supposing her to say 'Burrus, whom I can reduce to the insignificance from which I raised him (12. 42, 2), and Seneca, whom I can send back to the exile from which I rescued him' (12. 8, 3). But, whether the reading be 'vilis' or 'debilis,' Agrippina must be here speaking of them as they would confront her at the camp, i. e. as they were, not as she would unmake them after she had won her victory. 'Inde rursus' would mean 'then on the other side' (cp. 1. 80, 3, and note).

trunca . . . manu. Nothing is elsewhere known of the mutilation here referred to.

3. **professoria lingua**, 'with a declaimer's tongue.' The adj. seems not elsewhere used, but public teachers are called 'professores' by Quint., etc.

expostulantes, 'demanding': cp. c. 50, 2; 15. 53, 3, etc.

4. **intendere manus**, 'she uses gestures': cp. 4. 3, 2.

5. **Silanorum**, of L. and M. Silanus: see 12. 8, 1; c. 1, 1.

tot inrita facinora, 'she calls up ('apostrophises') all her crimes that had done no good ('had only placed Nero in power').

7. **Turbatus . . . et propinquo die.** Two distinct causes of Nero's alarm are thus coupled: cp. c. 9, 5, etc.

quartum decumum, dating from his birth on Feb. 13, 794, A.D. 41 (see note on 12. 25, 3). The birthday would be an important one, as he would be of age to take the 'toga virilis' (see 12. 41, 1).

8. **volutare secum**: cp. 4. 12, 3, and note.

9. **indolem.** On the intelligence of Britannicus see 12. 26, 3.

levi quidem. All edd. have followed Freinsh. in thus correcting the Med. 'ut quidam'; the supposition being that the first syllable of 'levi' was lost in the last of 'indolem,' and 'ui' corrupted into 'ut.'

10. **quaesivisset** = 'acquisivisset': the subjunctive is used, as this is part of Nero's thought.

11. **festis Saturno diebus.** A similar expression for the Saturnalia is used in H. 3. 78, 1. Those of the previous December are here meant, the occasion on which Seneca had produced his 'Ludus de morte Claudii.' The 'Saturnalia' of Lucan (anon. vit.) can hardly have been written quite so early.

regnum lusu sortientium. Nipp. notes that 'sortientium' is to be taken as a partitive genit. depending on 'Neroni,' and that 'lusu' is taken of throwing dice. So Horace, describing a similar custom.

3 lusu sortientium evenerat ea sors Neroni. igitur ceteris diversa
nec ruborem adlatura: ubi Britannico iussit exsurgeret pro-
gressusque in medium cantum aliquem inciperet, inrisum ex
eo sperans pueri sobrios quoque convictus, nedum temulentos
ignorantis, ille constanter exorsus est carmen, quo evolutum
eum sede patria rebusque summis significabatur. unde orta
miseratio manifestior, quia dissimulationem nox et lascivia
4 exemerat. Nero intellecta invidia odium intendit; urguenti-
busque Agrippinae minis, quia nullum crimen neque iubere
caedem fratris palam audebat, occulta molitur pararique venenum
iubet, ministro Pollione Iulio praetoriae cohortis tribuno, cuius
cura attinebatur damnata veneficii nomine Locusta multa scele-
5 rum fama. nam ut proximus quisque Britannico neque fas
6 neque fidem pensi haberet, olim provisum erat. primum venenum
ab ipsis educatoribus accepit, tramisitque exsoluta alvo parum
7 validum, sive temperamentum inerat, ne statim saeviret. sed

says (Od. 1. 4, 18), 'non regna vini sortiere talis.' From the description given in Arrian, Diss. Epict. 1. 25. 8, and Lucian, Saturn. 4, it appears that the 'king' might give any fantastic order to the others, and that they were bound to obey.

1. **diversa**, sc. 'iussit,' supplied from the following clause: cp. 3. 56, 3, and note. On the dat. after 'iubeo' see 4. 72, 2, and note. The construction with subjunct., as in the next sentence, is found in H. 2. 46, 2, and in Ter., Liv., Ov.

3. **cantum**, etc. Tacitus does not appear to support the story told by Suet. (Ner. 53), that Nero was jealous of the vocal powers of Britannicus.

4. **convictus** = 'convivia': cp. 2. 28, 3; 14. 4, 8; G. 21, 2.

5. **constanter**, 'with self-possession': cp. 3. 6, 4; 6. 22, 4. The poem was probably not an 'impromptu' but a quotation.

evolutum, 'turned out of': so used with 'integumentis' (Cic. de Or. 2. 86, 350), and thus figuratively with 'turba' (Ter. Eun. 4. 4, 56), 'praeda' (Liv. 6. 15, 5), 'bonis' (Sen. Ep. 74, 3).

7. **nox et lascivia.** Nipp. explains the use of the singular verb by noting that the two conceptions are kept separate: so 'finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit' (Agr. 37, 6). For instances otherwise explained cp. 12. 12, 3, and note.

8. **invidia**, 'the feeling against him': cp. 12. 67, 2, etc.

intendit, 'increases': cp. 2. 38, 6, etc.

9. **nullum crimen**, sc. 'erat' (cp. 6. 43, 1, and note). Britannicus was liable to no charge.

11. **Pollione Iulio**, identified by some with the Pollio mentioned as praef. praet. in Plut. Oth. 18; but the name there appears to be an error for Proculus or Plotius.

12. **Locusta**, already described in 12. 66, 4. Martina is similarly described as 'infamis veneficiis' in 2. 74, 2.

13. **nam**, etc. This refers to 'parari venenum iubet' (the words 'ministro . . . fama' being parenthetical). In such a household it was easy to get poison administered, when once prepared. See the account of his surroundings in 12. 26, 2; 41, 8.

14. **pensi haberet**, 'should attach weight to.' On this genit. see Introd. i. v. § 32 f., also 'nec pensi duxerat' (Val. Max. 2. 9, 3). Older writers who use the expression (as Plaut., Sall., Liv.), always make it depend on a neuter, as 'nihil' (Sall. Cat. 12, 2), 'quicquam' (Id. 5, 6).

15. **educatoribus**, 'his governors': cp. 11. 1, 2, etc.

tramisit. Cp. the symptoms in the case of Claudius (12. 67, 1).

16. **temperamentum**, 'some dilution.'

sed Nero. Suet. states (Ner. 33) that he beat Locusta with his own hand,

Nero lenti sceleris inpatiens minitari tribuno, iubere supplicium
veneficae, quod, dum rumorem respiciunt, dum parant de-
fensiones, securitatem morarentur. promittentibus dein tam 8
praecipitem necem quam si ferro urgueretur, cubiculum Caesaris
iuxta decoquitur virus cognitis antea venenis rapidum.

16. Mos habebatur principum liberos cum ceteris idem aetatis 1
nobilibus sedentes vesci in aspectu propinquorum propria et
parciore mensa. illic epulante Britannico, quia cibos potusque 2
eius delectus ex ministris gustu explorabat, ne omitteretur
institutum aut utriusque morte proderetur scelus, talis dolus
repertus est. innoxia adhuc ac praecalida et libata gustu potio 3
traditur Britannico; dein, postquam fervore aspernabatur, frigida
in aqua adfunditur venenum, quod ita cunctos eius artus pervasit,
ut vox pariter et spiritus raperentur. trepidatur a circum- 4
sedentibus, diffugiunt inprudentes: at quibus altior intellectus,

and when she pleaded that she had purposely given slow poison to escape detection, he said 'sane legem Iuliam timeo.'

2. **dum . . . respiciunt.** On such indicative clauses inserted in oratio obliqua see Introd. i. v. 49. Here, as in 15. 59, 6, the rhetorical effect is heightened by the approach to oratio recta.

rumorem, 'popular outcry': cp. 4. 29, 2, etc.

3. **promittentibus,** abl. abs.

4. **cubiculum Caesaris iuxta.** This particular form of anastrophe (see Introd. i. v. § 77) is noted by Dr. as rare even in Tacitus (cp. 3. 1, 1; 14. 9, 3).

5. **cognitis . . . rapidum,** 'ascertained to be quick by testing its ingredients.' According to Suet. (l. l.), Nero had it tried on a kid, which lived five hours, then, after further concentration by boiling down, on a small pig, which died immediately. He then ordered it to be administered. 'Rapidum' is so used in 12. 67, 3.

6. **habebatur,** 'was kept up': cp. 1. 73, 2, and note. The custom of Claudius is described in Suet. Cl. 32 ('adhibebat omni caenae et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur'); that of Augustus in Suet. Aug. 64 ('neque caenavit una, nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent'). See also Friedl. i. 130; Marquardt, Privatl. 300. Tacitus speaks in the past, because, from the time here spoken of till that in which he wrote, there had been no young sons of principes. Suet. states (Tit. 2) that, on this occasion, Titus was sitting next to Britannicus, tasted the poison, and was long and seriously ill from it.

idem aetatis, a similar accus. to 'id aetatis' (5. 9, 3): for others cp. 12. 8, 2; 18, 1, etc.; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 44; Madvig, 238.

7. **sedentes.** In the custom of Augustus and Claudius, this posture was maintained for young people (Suet. l. l.). Valerius Maximus (2. 1, 2) mentions this as a former custom in the case of women ('feminae cum viris cubantibus, sedentes cenitabant').

9. **gustu explorabat:** cp. 12. 66, 5, and note.

11. **praecalida.** The potion consisted of the favourite hot drink of mixed wine and water called 'caldum' or 'calda.'

12. **fervore,** abl. of objective cause: see Introd. i. v. § 30.

frigida in aqua, etc. In the tale of the poisoning of Alexander, given in Just. 12. 14, 9, the poison is represented as introduced in the same way.

14. **pariter et.** Nipp. notes that in Tacitus this expression always stands thus between the words coupled, as in c. 39, 3; 40, 2; 45, 2.

raperentur = 'eriperentur,' as in 2. 71, 2, etc.

circumsedentibus, the young 'nobiles' mentioned above.

15. **inprudentes,** those who did not understand what had happened.

5 resistunt defixi et Neronem intuentes. ille ut erat reclinis et
nescio similis, solitum ita ait per comitialem morbum, quo prima
ab infantia adflictaretur Britannicus, et redituros paulatim visus
6 sensusque. at Agrippinae is pavor, ea consternatio mentis,
quamvis vultu premeretur, emicuit, ut perinde ignaram fuisse
atque Octaviam sororem Britannici constiterit: quippe sibi
supremum auxilium ereptum et parricidii exemplum intellegebat.
7 Octavia quoque, quamvis rudibus annis, dolorem, caritatem,
omnis adfectus abscondere didicerat. ita post breve silentium
repetita convivii laetitia.

1 **17.** Nox eadem necem Britannici et rogum coniunxit, proviso
2 ante funebri paratu, qui modicus fuit. in campo tamen Martis
sepultus est adeo turbidis imbribus, ut vulgus iram deum por-
tendi crediderit adversus facinus, cui plerique etiam hominum

1. **resistunt,** 'keep their seats': this verb is often used of keeping in the same position or posture.

defixi, 'rooted': cp. c. 5, 3; 1. 68, 2, etc.

reclinis, only elsewhere used by Tacitus in 14. 5, 2, and in no earlier prose (Introd. i. v. § 70).

2. **nescio similis,** 'as if unconscious' of what had really happened: cp. 'ignaro propior' (11. 35, 1).

ita, referring generally to what has preceded, as in 12. 12, 2, etc. Ritt. needlessly alters to 'id.'

comitialem morbum, epilepsy, so called because its occurrence broke up the comitia (Fest. s. v. 'prohibere'). Much is said about the disease in Plin. N. H.

prima, the correction of MS. Agr. for Med. 'primum,' which Walth. would defend by 14. 63, 4 (where see note).

5. **premeretur,** 'it was repressed': so in 1. 4, 3; 3. 11, 2; 6. 50, 5, etc. Her self-control can be illustrated from 14. 5, 7.

emicuit (here alone in Tacitus), 'flashed out,' betrayed itself in a sudden expression of countenance, immediately suppressed.

ut . . . constiterit, for the tense cp. 1. 80, 4, and note.

6. **atque.** All recent edd. have followed Faern in making this insertion from some inferior MSS. 'Ac' or 'quam' have also been inserted.

7. **exemplum,** 'a precedent': cp. 6. 10, 2, etc.

8. **quoque.** Nipp. points out that this is referred in sense to 'quamvis . . . premeretur.' She, as well as Agrippina, had learnt to conceal her emotions.

11. **Nox . . . coniunxit:** cp. 'nox eadem . . . tulit' (2. 14, 1), and other such personifications instanced in Introd. i. v. § 75. A story is given by Dio (61. 7, 4) and repeated by Zonaras (11. 12, 568), that the body was covered with chalk to hide the livid effects of poison, but that the rain washed it off. Their accounts would imply that the burning took place not at night but on the following day: so Suet. (Ner. 33) says 'postero die raptim inter maximos imbres tralaticio extulit funere.' But the explanation given in the edict (see notes on § 4) supports the account of Tacitus.

12. **in campo tamen Martis,** i. e. in the mausoleum of Augustus (see note on 1. 8, 6). 'Sepultus' is used of the deposition of his ashes.

14. **plerique etiam hominum.** Halm and Dr. follow Heins. in reading 'tamen' for the Med. 'etiam,' which however gives a good sense; the idea being that human judgment was less likely than the divine to consider extenuating circumstances, yet even among men sufficient excuse was found to make it most unlikely that the supposed indications of divine displeasure were really such. The lax moral judgment here shown has been remarked, and is due, as Nipp. points out, to the prevalence of such crimes in ancient monarchies.

ignoscebant, antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnum
aestimantes. tradunt plerique eorum temporum scriptores, cre- 3
bris ante exitium diebus illusum isse pueritiae Britannici Neronem, ut iam non praematura neque saeva mors videri queat, quamvis inter sacra mensae, ne tempore quidem ad complexum sororum dato, ante oculos inimici properata sit in illum supremum Claudiorum sanguinem, stupro prius quam veneno pollutum. festinationem exsequiarum edicto Caesar defendit, ita maioribus institutum referens, subtrahere oculis acerba funera neque

1. **antiquas**, i. e. such as are represented in the legends of Atreus and Thyestes, Eteocles and Polynices, Romulus and Remus, and in the history of Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus: cp. 'solita fratribus odia' (4. 60, 5).

insociabile regnum, 'that despotism bears no partner': cp. 'ob infidam societatem regni' in Liv. 1. 14, 3 (who appears to follow Ennius). The same excuse (ἀκοινώνητον ἀρχή, θεσμὸς φύσεως ἀκίνητος) is represented by Philo (Leg. 10. p. 1001) as made by public opinion for the murder of Tiberius Gemellus by Gaius. 'Insociabilis' is a rare word, used of persons in 4. 12, 6; 15. 68, 3; of a nation in Liv. 37. 1, 4.

2. **aestimantes**, 'taking into account': cp. 15. 2, 4; also 'aestimare an' (in the sense of 'calculating') in H. 2. 76, 2; 4. 81, 4. The Med. text 'extimantes' (cp. H. 1. 14, 2; 16, 4, etc.) led some inferior MSS. and the old edd. to read 'existimantes' (cp. c. 42, 6).

eorum temporum scriptores: cp. 12. 67, 1.

3. **illusum isse**: so all recent edd. after Lips. for Med. 'esse.' For this sense of 'illudere' cp. 15. 72, 4; for the use of 'ire,' 4. 1, 2, etc.

4. **ut iam non . . . queat.** His death was felt to have come too late rather than too soon, and to have been the lesser outrage. 'Saevum' is thus used of something atrocious in 1. 35, 7, etc.

5. **sacra mensae**, repeated in 15. 52, 2 (with 'dique hospitales'). The allusion is probably to the customary libations at a meal to the Lares and Penates. Nipp. would take 'sacra' as 'the sanctity' (cp. 2. 65, 4, and note), and understand it of the inviolability of the guest.

6. **sororum.** As only Octavia was present (c. 16, 6), it has been thought that 'sorori' should be read (with inferior MSS.); but the two sisters are coupled as his nearest relatives. Cp. 'adeo propere ut non complecti liberos . . . permitteret' (15. 60, 1).

properata: for the passive cp. 2. 6, 2, etc.

supremum Claudiorum sanguinem. He was the last male born into that great patrician family; Nero, though not without a share of Claudian blood, being only entitled to the name of Claudius by adoption.

8. **defendit**, 'justified' or 'excused.' It may be presumed that this edict, like his other utterances at this date, was composed by Seneca. The defence appears to justify only the privacy of the funeral, not the 'festinatio.'

ita: so Halm and Dr. Med. has 'id,' with 'a' added above the line; Ritt. reads 'iam a'; Orelli and Nipp. 'maioribus' alone.

9. **subtrahere oculis**: cp. 'teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro' (Verg. Aen. 6. 465). Elsewhere Tacitus has 'subtrahere oculos' (3. 53, 1, etc.). The ancient Roman custom by which all funerals were conducted at night survived in the case of those whose friends could not afford expensive ceremonies, and also in the case of those who had died prematurely, 'ne funere immaturae subolis domus funestaretur' (Serv. on Verg. Aen. 11. 143). See Sen. de Brev. vit. 20, 5, Plut. 'Cons. ad ux.' 11, p. 612, and other passages quoted in Marquardt, Privatl. 343. The other explanation given by Muretus (see Conington on Verg. Aen. 6, 429) appears to be fanciful.

acerba, 'premature': this metaphor from unripe fruit is also in Vergil, who uses 'acerbum funus' of those who die in childhood (Aen. 6, 429) or in early manhood (11, 28). Seneca appears to have been fond of the expression (see Cons. ad Marc. 9, 2; 17, 7; de Ira, 3. 25, 1; Ep. 122, 10).

5 laudationibus aut pompa detinere. ceterum et sibi amisso
fratris auxilio reliquas spes in re publica sitas, et tanto magis
fovendum patribus populoque principem, qui unus superesset
e familia summum ad fastigium genita.
1 **18.** Exim largitione potissimos amicorum auxit. nec defuere
qui arguerent viros gravitatem adseverantes, quod domos villas id
2 temporis quasi praedam divisissent. alii necessitatem adhibitam
credebant a principe, sceleris sibi conscio et veniam sperante,
3 si largitionibus validissimum quemque obstrinxisset. at matris
ira nulla munificentia leniri, sed amplecti Octaviam, crebra cum
amicis secreta habere, super ingenitam avaritiam undique pe-
cunias quasi in subsidium corripiens, tribunos et centuriones
comiter excipere, nomina et virtutes nobilium, qui etiam tum
supererant, in honore habere, quasi quaereret ducem et partes.
4 cognitum id Neroni, excubiasque militares, quae ut coniugi
imperatoris olim, tum ut matri servabantur, et Germanos nuper
5 eundem *in* honorem custodes additos degredi iubet. ac ne coetu

2. **spes in re publica sitas**: cp. the expressions of Tiberius at the death of Drusus (4. 8, 4). The words here used point rather to the hope of public sympathy.

4. **familia**, the Claudian: for 'summum ad fastigium' cp. 3. 29, 2, and note.

5. **largitione . . . auxit.** For the sense of 'augere' cp. 2. 2, 2, etc. Munificent gifts to friends from the princeps were not uncommon (see c. 34, 2, 3; Friedl. i. 125); but the occasion gave rise to suspicion. Besides these 'amicorum potissimi' (by whom the 'cohors primae admissionis' may be meant), it appears that even Locusta received pardon for former charges, and also presents and estates (Suet. Ner. 33).

6. **gravitatem adseverantes**, 'who made profession of austerity.' For this unusual sense of 'adsevero' cp. that of 'adseveratio' in 2. 31, 4, etc.; for that of 'gravitas' cp. 'gravitas morum' (15. 48, 4). The allusion is especially to Seneca (in a less degree also to Burrus), whose defence may be gathered from 14. 53, 6, and from passages in his own writings, such as 'nemo in id accipiendo obligatur quod illi repudiare non licuit' (de Ben. 2. 18, 7).

id temporis: cp. 12. 8, 2, and note.

10. **amplecti Octaviam**, apparently a figure for supporting her interests: cp. 15. 59, 6.

11. **secreta**: cp. c. 12, 2, etc.

ingenitam avaritiam; cp. 12. 7, 7, etc., where it is added 'quasi subsidium regno pararetur.'

13. **etiam tum.** On the decay of the old families see 11. 25, 3, etc. Tacitus is writing after their almost total extinction under Domitian.

15. **excubias**, the sentinels of praetorians at her doors, as distinct from the body-guard ('custodes') attending her when she went out. Tacitus does not imply that such an honour to the wife or mother of the princeps was unusual, but there appears to be no other mention of it.

16. **Germanos**: see 1. 24, 3, and note.

nuper eundem in honorem: so recent edd., after Boett., for Med. 'super eundem honorem,' which has been explained as 'besides that mark of honour' (the 'excubiae'), but which would require 'eum' instead of 'eundem.'

17. **degredi** (cp. c. 14, 1, etc.), here read by all recent edd. after Ern., for Med. 'digredi.'

coetu salutantium. Probably those who paid the daily visit of ceremony to himself would take the same opportunity of paying attention to her. Her removal to another house would stop this, besides

salutantium frequentaretur, separat domum matremque transfert
in eam quae Antoniae fuerat, quotiens ipse illuc ventitaret,
saeptus turba centurionum et post breve osculum digrediens.

19. Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est quam 1
fama potentiae non sua vi nixae. statim relictum Agrippinae limen:
nemo solari, nemo adire praeter paucas feminas, amore an odio
incertas. ex quibus erat Iunia Silana, quam matrimonio C. Sili 2
a Messalina depulsam supra rettuli, insignis genere forma lascivia,
et Agrippinae diu percara, mox occultis inter eas offensionibus,
quia Sextium Africanum nobilem iuvenem a nuptiis Silanae
deterruerat Agrippina, inpudicam et vergentem annis dictitans,
non ut Africanum sibi seponeret, sed ne opibus et orbitate
Silanae maritus poteretur. illa spe ultionis oblata parat ac- 3
cusatores ex clientibus suis, Iturium et Calvisium, non vetera
et saepius iam audita deferens, quod Britannici mortem lugeret
aut Octaviae iniurias evulgaret, sed destinavisse eam Rubellium

conveying a hint to all courtiers that such visits to her were no longer pleasing to him. For the use of 'frequentari' cp. 5. 10, 3, etc.

2. **Antoniae.** Nipp. and others would insert 'aviae' or 'proaviae,' thinking that Tacitus would not have failed to indicate which Antonia were meant, the one being the paternal grandmother, the other the maternal great-grandmother of Nero (see Introd. i. ix. pp. 140, 146). It is probable that the latter is meant, but that, as far the best known of the two, she was not further described.

quotiens, with subjunct. of action frequently repeated: see Introd. i. v. § 52.

3. **breve osculum**, 'a hasty kiss': so in Agr. 40, 3.

4. **rerum mortalium**, 'in human affairs': cp. 'mentem mortalia tangunt' (Verg. Aen. 1, 462), and the frequent use of 'mortales' for human beings.

fluxum, 'transient': cp. 'fluxa auctoritas' (H. 1. 21, 4): 'fides' (H. 2. 75, 4).

5. **nixae**; so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'nixa,' which Ern. and Walth. retain and defend, but which seems to fail to give a good sense.

6. **odio**, the desire of seeing her fallen state.

7. **incertas**, used as in 11. 9, 1.

8. **supra rettuli**, 11. 12, 1.

9. **occultis offensionibus**, abl. abs.

10. **Sextium Africanum**, mentioned again in 14. 46, 2; also (with praen. 'T') as one of the Arvales from about A.D. 54–66 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2034, 2039–2042), also as coss. suff. with M. Ostorius Scapula (12. 31, 7) in Sept. 812, A.D. 59 (Id. 2042). His surname would show him to have descended from T. Sextius, known as a legatus of Caesar in Gaul (B. G. 6. 1, 1, etc.), and as afterwards holding proconsular command in Numidia, where he played an important part, especially as a partisan of Antonius, during the early years of the triumvirate, 711–714, B.C. 43–40 (Dio, 48. 21, 1; App. B. C. 3. 85; 4. 53; 5. 12; 26; 75).

11. **vergentem annis**: cp. 2. 43, 1, and note.

12. **opibus et orbitate**, hendiadys for 'opibus orbae,' like 'orbitate et pecunia' (14. 40, 1). On the power of 'orbitas' see 3. 25, 2, and note. In this case, Agrippina, whose avarice is noted (12. 7, 7, etc.), might expect a share of her friend's wealth for herself; but would be naturally supplanted by the husband.

14. **Iturium et Calvisium**: see c. 22, 3; 14. 12, 6.

16. **iniurias**, the slights put upon her by Nero (see c. 12, 2); on 'evulgare' cp. 14. 14, 5, and note.

Rubellium Plautum, son of Rubellius Blandus and Julia, daughter of Drusus the son of Tiberius (see Introd. i. ix. p. 141). For his subsequent virtual

Plautum, per maternam originem pari ac Nero gradu a divo Augusto, ad res novas extollere coniugioque eius et iam imperio
4 rem publicam rursus invadere. haec Iturius et Calvisius Atimeto, Domitiae Neronis amitae liberto, aperiunt. qui laetus oblatis (quippe inter Agrippinam et Domitiam infensa aemulatio exercebatur) Paridem histrionem, libertum et ipsum Domitiae, impulit ire propere crimenque atrociter deferre.

1 **20.** Provecta nox erat et Neroni per vinolentiam trahebatur, cum ingreditur Paris, solitus alioquin id temporis luxus principis intendere, sed tunc compositus ad maestitiam, expositoque indicii ordine ita audientem exterret, ut non tantum matrem Plautumque interficere, sed Burrum etiam demovere praefectura destinaret tamquam Agrippinae gratia provectum et vicem reddentem.
2 Fabius Rusticus auctor est, scriptos esse ad Caecinam Tuscum

exile, and for his death, see 14. 22, 5; 59, 3.

1. **pari ac Nero.** Ritt. and Jacob follow Heins. in reading 'Neronem,' but most others retain the nominative, defending it by treating the sentence as parenthetical, and no part of the charge against Agrippina, but a remark of the historian, equivalent to 'qui pari gradu . . . erat.' This 'parity of gradation' is arrived at by taking Tiberius as the (adoptive) son of Augustus; from whom Plautus could otherwise boast no lineal descent, though his mother Julia was descended, through her mother, from Octavia.

2. **et iam imperio**; so nearly all edd. after Gron. for Med. 'etiam perio' ('et imperio' Nipp.). 'Iam' would here have the force of 'mox': by marrying him, and then raising him to the principate, she would again engross the whole power of the state.

4. **Domitiae,** sister of Domitia Lepida (11. 37, 4): for her descent and affinities see Introd. i. ix. p. 140. The enmity here mentioned was probably of long standing; for Crispus Passienus (see 6. 20, 2, and note), the husband of Domitia (Quint. 6. 1, 50), divorced her to marry Agrippina. A story is given by Suet. (Ner. 34) and Dio (61. 17, 1), that Nero, soon after the murder of his mother, caused her to be poisoned, in order to get her property.

6. **Paridem histrionem.** On the histriones see 1. 54, 3, and note. Paris is mentioned again in c. 27, 7. Nero put him to death in 820, A. D. 67; according to Suet. (Ner. 54), because he looked on him as a rival in art, according to Dio (63. 18, 1), because he would not instruct him in it. Another actor of the name is known in Domitian's time (Juv. 6, 87; 7, 87, etc.).

7. **impulit,** with inf. as in 6. 45, 5, etc., and in poets and Liv.: so also 'pellere' is used in 6. 33, 1, and many other verbs (Introd. i. v. § 43).

atrociter, 'adding to its horrors': cp. 'atrociore . . . fama' (4. 11, 3), 'atrocius vero' (4. 21, 4).

9. **alioquin,** 'at other times': cp. 3. 8, 4, etc.

luxus . . . intendere, 'to stimulate his excesses,' by wanton dances.

10. **compositus in maestitiam,** repeated from H. 2. 9, 2: cp. 3. 44, 4, and note.

11. **ordine,** 'the detail'; so 'ordo negotii' (2. 27, 1), 'sceleris' (4. 11, 4), 'fraudis' (4. 69, 5).

13. **tamquam,** here used of a real ground: cp. 3. 72, 4, and note. On the obligation of Burrus to Agrippina see 12. 42, 2.

14. **Fabius Rusticus.** On this writer and Cluvius Rufus, and on the historical works of Pliny, see Introd. i. ii. pp. 12–13.

Caecinam Tuscum. According to Suet. (Ner. 34) and Dio (63. 18, 1), this person was son of Nero's nurse, and became afterwards praefect of Egypt, and was sent thence into banishment, in the last year of Nero, for using a bath prepared for his master. He afterwards returned to Rome (H. 3. 38, 2).

codicillos, mandata ei praetoriarum cohortium cura, sed ope
Senecae dignationem Burro retentam: Plinius et Cluvius nihil 3
dubitatum de fide praefecti referunt; sane Fabius inclinat ad
laudes Senecae, cuius amicitia floruit. nos consensum auctorum 4
secuturi, si qui diversa prodiderint, sub nominibus ipsorum tra-
demus. Nero trepidus et interficiendae matris avidus non prius 5
differri potuit, quam Burrus necem eius promitteret, si facinoris
coargueretur: sed cuicumque, nedum parenti defensionem tri-
buendam; nec accusatores adesse, sed vocem unius ex inimica
domo adferri: reputaret tenebras et vigilatam convivio noctem
omniaque temeritati et inscitiae propiora.

21. Sic lenito principis metu et luce orta itur ad Agrippinam, 1
ut nosceret obiecta dissolveretque vel poenas lueret. Burrus iis 2
mandatis Seneca coram fungebatur; aderant et ex libertis arbitri
sermonis. deinde a Burro, postquam crimina et auctores expo-
suit, minaciter actum est. Agrippina ferociae memor 'non miror' 3

1. **codicillos**, so used of letters patent conferring important appointments in Agr. 40, 2; Suet. Cal. 18, etc. See Hirschf. Unters. p. 266.

2. **nihil dubitatum referunt**, probably to be taken (with Nipp.) as equivalent to 'dubitatum non referunt'; the negation being in sense taken with the verb.

3. **sane**, concessive (1. 10, 2, etc.), here giving a reason for distrusting Rusticus.

5. **secuturi**, 'inasmuch as we intend to follow': on this concise use of the participle see Introd. i. v. § 54 d. The future tense need not be taken to indicate a new departure, but may describe the course which he has taken and still means to take. It seems needless to insert 'horum' with Nipp.

7. **differri**, 'to be turned from his purpose,' persuaded to suspend his intention, apparently a pregnant constr. for 'adduci ut differret.' Dr. appears right in distinguishing this from the ordinary sense of 'differre aliquem,' of which Nipp. gives several instances (2. 36, 2, etc.).

8. **nedum**. See 11. 27, 1, and note.

9. **accusatores**, Iturius and Calvisius; 'vocem unius,' sc. 'Atimeti': 'adferri' would imply that even he was only reported through Paris.

10. **reputaret**; so all recent edd. after Lips. for Med. 'refutare,' which gives no good sense. 'P' and 'f' are often confused, and the final 't' can have been lost in the next word. He urges, in plea of suspension of judgment, that Nero should reflect how late it was, that the night had been spent in feasting (§ 1), and that the whole story had an air of recklessness and ignorance (seemed like a reckless assertion of ignorant people), and should not be so hastily believed.

convivio = 'per convivium,' modal abl. (Introd. i. v. § 28).

11. **omniaque . . . propiora**. This might also mean that all the circumstances of the movement tended to prompt a hasty and ignorant judgment; a meaning less suitable to 'propiora,' but more in accordance with the context.

12. **et luce orta**. Two ablatives absolute, the one denoting a change of time and the other an action, are thus coupled in 1. 29, 1; 15. 72, 1, etc.

13. **ut nosceret obiecta**, 'that she might hear the charges against her': cp. 12. 60, 3, and note.

poenas, Med. has 'pena,' with 's' written above in an old hand. Halm inclines to read 'poenam' (cp. 14. 10, 5).

14. **arbitri**, 'as witnesses' (cp. 16. 11, 6), to report if Seneca or Burrus showed want of firmness. Freedmen are similarly employed as confidants of the prince also to see sentences executed (cp. 11. 37, 4; 14. 59, 3).

16. **ferociae**, 'spirit': cp. 1. 12, 6, etc.

inquit 'Silanam, numquam edito partu, matrum adfectus ignotos
habere; neque enim proinde a parentibus liberi quam ab inpudica
4 adulteri mutantur. nec si Iturius et Calvisius adesis omnibus
fortunis novissimam suscipiendae accusationis operam anui re-
pendunt, ideo aut mihi infamia parricidii aut Caesari conscientia
5 subeunda est. nam Domitiae inimicitiis gratias agerem, si bene-
volentia mecum in Neronem meum certaret: nunc per concubi-
num Atimetum et histrionem Paridem quasi scaenae fabulas
6 componit. Baiarum suarum piscinas extollebat, cum meis con-
siliis adoptio et proconsulare ius et designatio consulatus et cetera

1. **ignotos habere**, an analogous expression to 'cognitum habere.' Dr. compares 'ignotos . . . habuisset' in Sen. Ep. 79, 15, and the use by Tacitus of 'praesumptum habeant' (= 'praesumant') in 14. 64, 5.

2. **proinde . . . quam.** The MSS. vary in expressions of this kind between 'perinde' and 'proinde' (the abbreviated forms of which are very similar). The first Med. has 'perinde quam' in 2. 1, 2; 5, 3; 6. 30, 4; and 'perinde quam si' in 1. 73, 5; but 'proinde quam' in 4. 20, 6. The second Med. has 'perinde quam' in 11. 10, 5; 14. 48, 3; 15. 21, 3; 'perinde quam si' in c. 49, 3; 'perinde ac' (or 'atque') in 12. 12, 2; H. 3. 18, 2; but, on the other hand, 'proinde quam' here and in 15. 42, 1; 44, 5; H. 1. 30, 8; 2. 27, 1; 35, 2; 39, 6; 3. 58, 4; 4. 52, 1; 72, 5; 'proinde quasi' in c. 47, 4; 'proinde ac si' in 12. 60, 3 (where see note). Ritt. and Orelli alter these so as to read uniformly 'perinde'; Halm, with some apparent inconsistency, retains 'proinde' in 4. 20, 6; 15. 42, 1; 44, 5; H. 1. 30, 8, and alters all the others. I have preferred to follow Nipp. in retaining the variation shown by the MSS., on the supposition that Tacitus designedly varied these, as he has varied so many other expressions. 'Proinde quam' is found in Plaut. Truc. 2. 3, 3; 'proinde ac' (or 'atque') and 'quasi' in good authors, especially in Quintilian, whom Tacitus was likely to have followed. The absolute use of 'proinde' in this sense is less defensible (see 12. 40, 8, and note), and the instances of 'perinde' in hortatory passages (3. 17, 4; 15. 27, 2) are altered by all.

liberi . . . mutantur, a mother does not so readily transfer her love from her child to another (as Britannicus or Plautus).

3. **adesis . . . fortunis**, 'after having spent their means' (cp. 'adesis bonis' H. 1. 4, 3; 'adesa . . . pecunia' Cic. p. Quinct. 12, 40), when they would do anything for money, repay their patron's favours by the last and lowest service of suborning an accusation against her rival.

4. **anui**, used contemptuously of one described in c. 19, 2 as 'vergens annis.'

5. **infamia parricidii aut . . . conscientia.** 'Parricidium' is used often of the murder of any near relative. Were Agrippina to be put to death on such a charge, she would die under the infamy of having been supposed to have conspired to murder her son, and Nero would have not merely the infamy, but the burden on his own mind, of matricide. She asks 'Because they choose to make up such a charge, is all this to happen?'

6. **nam**, marking transition; 'as for Domitia, enemy of mine as she is, I would thank her, if she only sought to rival me in doing service to Nero.' Ritt. reads 'grates,' as the usual Tacitean word (especially in the Annals); 'gratias agere' being only found (three times) in Agr. and Hist.

7. **nunc**, 'in real fact' ('ut nunc se res habet'). Her only service to him is to suborn her creatures to make up a wild tale, as if they were constructing a tragedy for the stage. On the position given to this sentence by Nipp. see below.

9. **Baiarum**, etc., i.e. 'Where was she when I did and dared all to secure the succession to Nero?' 'Suarum,' 'her favourite Baiae.' According to Dio (61. 17, 2), it was from desire of her fishponds and other possessions there and at Ravenna, that Nero afterwards put Domitia to death.

extollebat, 'she was adorning': cp. 11. 1, 1, and note.

10. **adoptio**, etc.: see 12. 25, 1; 41, 1.

apiscendo imperio praepararentur. aut exsistat qui cohortes in 7
urbe temptatas, qui provinciarum fidem labefactatam, denique ser-
vos vel libertos ad scelus corruptos arguat. vivere ego Britannico
potiente rerum poteram? ac si Plautus aut quis alius rem pub- 8
licam iudicaturus obtinuerit, desunt scilicet mihi accusatores, qui
non verba impatientia caritatis aliquando incauta, sed ea crimina
obiciant, quibus nisi a filio absolvi non possim.' commotis qui 9
aderant ultroque spiritus eius mitigantibus, conloquium filii ex-
poscit, ubi nihil pro innocentia, quasi diffideret, nec de beneficiis,
quasi exprobraret, disseruit, sed ultionem in delatores et praemia
amicis obtinuit.

1. **aut existat**, etc. The abruptness of the transition here has caused much difficulty, which is hardly remedied by reading 'at existat' (with some of the old edd.). A similar elliptical use of 'aut' is noted in Cic. de Fin. 4. 26, 72 ('cur igitur . . . non malimus usitate loqui? Aut doceat,' etc.); where however the thought is more easily supplied, as also in the passage cited by Dr. (15. 5, 1). Nipp. thinks that the sentence 'nunc . . . componit' must be placed after 'praepararentur,' and that the meaning is 'or, if these charges are not mere fictions, let some one bring forward tangible facts to prove them.' Joh. Müller (Beitr. 3. 24–26), taking the same view of the sense of the passage, prefers to suppose that some words have been lost, such as 'aut falsa haec, aut exsistat,' etc. The abruptness of expression seems to be best justified by the impassioned and exclamatory character of the whole passage (cp. 1. 41, 2; 14. 8, 4, and notes), and the thought seems somewhat different from what Nipp. and Müll. suggest. It is rather, 'if I am to be accused at all, let me be accused of what I have really done. Let some one charge me with having tampered with the praetorians, sapped the faith of the legions abroad, bribed the slaves and freedmen of Claudius to poison him. All this I have done, but it was done for Nero, not against him.' By 'cohortes in urbe' (cp. 'urbanus miles' H. 1. 4, 5), the urban as well as the praetorian cohorts may be meant; 'provinciae' are thus used for the legions contained in them in 12. 69, 3; and 'scelus' has the specific sense of poisoning in 1. 5, 1, etc.

3. **vivere ego**, etc., alluding to the supposition that she had desired to set up Britannicus (c. 14, 3). 'Could my life have been spared (after all these crimes) had Britannicus become emperor?' On the absence of an interrogative particle see 2. 15, 4; 12. 37, 3; and notes.

4. **rem publicam**, taken with 'obtinuerit'; 'iudicaturus' being thrown in to imply that whoever became princeps would have to judge her cause. 'If Plautus (c. 19, 3) or any one else shall have gained the empire and shall have to sit in judgment on me, is it to be supposed that no one will be found to accuse me?'

6. **impatientia caritatis**, 'through the uncontrollable force of affection': cp. 15. 63, 6; also 'inpatienter indoluit' (4. 17, 2), etc. She intends thus to characterise such expressions as are mentioned in c. 13 and 14, and to contrast mere words spoken against Nero with the dark crimes committed for him, which only he who had profited by them could pardon.

8. **spiritus**, 'her indignation': pl. as in 4. 12, 7; 16. 24, 3; 26, 7, and often in Cic.

9. **quasi diffideret**, 'as though she had misgivings,' that a substantial defence to the charge was needed.

nec de beneficiis. I have followed Nipp. and most other edd. in thinking the insertion of 'de' necessary. In the Med. text, retained by Orelli and Halm, 'pro' would be supplied, with such a sense as 'on behalf of her services to him.'

10. **exprobraret**, 'was upbraiding him with them': cp. 4. 57, 5, etc.

in, coordinated with dat.: cp. 12. 55, 1, and note.

11. **amicis**, those noted in the next chapter. Anteius is especially noted in 16. 14, 3, as one of her most intimate friends.

1 **22.** Praefectura annonae Faenio Rufo, cura ludorum, qui a
Caesare parabantur, Arruntio Stellae, Aegyptus Ti. Balbillo
2 permittuntur. Suria P. Anteio destinata, sed variis mox artibus
3 elusus, ad postremum in urbe retentus est. at Silana in exilium
acta; Calvisius quoque et Iturius relegantur; de Atimeto sup-
plicium sumptum, validiore apud libidines principis Paride quam
ut poena adficeretur. Plautus ad praesens silentio transmissus
est.

1 **23.** Deferuntur dehinc consensisse Pallas ac Burrus, ut Cor-
nelius Sulla claritudine generis et adfinitate Claudii, cui per

1. **Praefectura annonae**: see 1. 7, 3, etc. This was, next to the 'praefectura Aegypti' and 'praefectura praetorio,' the chief position held by a Roman knight.

Faenio Rufo. This officer obtained a good reputation in this office, which led to his promotion to that of 'praefectus praetorio' (14. 51, 5). He joined the conspiracy of Piso (15. 50, 4), and suffered death with less fortitude than others (15. 68, 2). Ritt. notes that Med. (which here reads 'senio') reads the name seven times as 'Faenius,' twice as 'Fenius' (the usual form in inferior MSS. and old edd.). 'Faenius' is also the form in which the name is found in Inscr. (see Wilm. Index, p. 327).

cura ludorum. Mommsen notes (Staatsr. ii. 951, 3) other such special commissioners of equestrian rank: cp. 'Iuliano curante gladiatorium munus Neronis principis' (Pl. N. H. 37. 3, 11, 45), 'curatorem munerum et venationum' (Suet. Cal. 27). See also Hirschf. 177. The office of 'ludi procurator' (11. 35, 7) is distinct from this.

2. **Arruntio Stellae**, otherwise unknown. Nipp. thinks he may probably have been the father of L. Arruntius Stella of Patavium, who was cos. suff. under Trajan, probably in 854, A. D. 101 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 1492), and is often mentioned as a poet by Martial, and to whom Statius dedicates Sylv. B. 1.

Ti. Balbillo. Med. gives the praenomen C.', which Ritt. thinks with much probability may be a corruption of the gentile name, and reads 'Claudio Balbillo.' The full name is 'Ti. Claudius Balbillus' (C. I. G. 4699). Another inscription (Id. 4957) mentions a daughter Balbilla. Boeckh (ad loc.) thinks he may have been son of an illegitimate son of Antiochus of Commagene. He is mentioned as praefect of Egypt by Pliny (N. H. 19. pr. 3) and by Seneca (Qu. Nat. 4. 2, 13), who calls him 'virorum optimus profectusque in omni literarum genere rarissimi.'

3. **P. Anteio.** The name is here corrupt in Med. but restored by Lips. from 16. 14, 2, where his subsequent fate is related. Another of the name is mentioned in 2. 6, 1. This person is shown by an inscription at Salona (C. I. L. iii. 1. 1977) to have been legatus of Delmatia in 804/805, A. D. 51/52. He must have been cos. suff. in some unknown year.

4. **retentus est.** Tiberius had thus detained Arruntius and Aelius Lamia (6. 27, 2, 3). Anteius, as an intimate friend of Agrippina (16. 14, 3), may have been thought unsafe to be trusted with military command. Ummidius Quadratus (12. 45, 6) thus retained Syria till his death (14. 26, 6).

5. **relegantur**, a milder form of banishment than that of Silana (see on 3. 18, 8). They were pardoned after Agrippina's death (14. 12, 6).

supplicium, capital punishment. This severity seems partly due to his having been the prominent informer (c. 19, 4), and also to his being only a freedman.

6. **apud libidines principis**, an unprecedented expression, implying quasi-personification, like 'apud aures' (1. 31, 5), and thus equivalent to 'apud principem libidinosum.'

7. **silentio transmissus**: cp. 1. 13, 5. On his subsequent fate see note on c. 19, 4.

9. **Deferuntur . . . consensisse.** On this construction cp. 2. 27, 1, and note.

Cornelius Sulla: see 12. 52, 1, and note.

10. **claritudine . . . adfinitate**, causal ablatives.

nuptias Antoniae gener erat, ad imperium vocaretur. eius ac- 2
cusationis auctor extitit Paetus quidam, exercendis apud aerarium
sectionibus famosus et tum vanitatis manifestus. nec tam grata 3
Pallantis innocentia quam gravis superbia fuit: quippe nominatis
libertis eius, quos conscios haberet, respondit nihil umquam se
domi nisi nutu aut manu significasse, vel si plura demonstranda
essent, scripto usum, ne vocem consociaret. Burrus quamvis 4
reus inter iudices sententiam dixit. exiliumque accusatori in-
rogatum et tabulae exustae sunt, quibus oblitterata aerarii nomina
retrahebat.

24. Fine anni statio cohortis adsidere ludis solita demovetur, 1
quo maior species libertatis esset, utque miles theatrali licentiae
non permixtus incorruptior ageret et plebes daret experimentum,
an amotis custodibus modestiam retineret. urbem princeps lus- 2
travit ex responso haruspicum, quod Iovis ac Minervae aedes de
caelo tactae erant.

25. Q. Volusio P. Scipione consulibus otium foris, foeda domi 1

2. **exercendis . . . sectionibus.** He appears to have made a traffic either by buying confiscated debtors' property of the treasury wholesale, and selling at a profit in smaller portions, or (as would appear from § 4) by buying a debt to the treasury on speculation, and then recovering it from the debtor. Such a business would be considered sordid even if not dishonest (cp. Suet. Vit. 2).

3. **vanitatis**, 'of falsehood'; so in 6. 21, 2; H. 4. 81, 3, etc., also as the opposite to 'veritas' in Cic. Tusc. 3. 1, 2. For the genit. cp. 12. 51, 6.

4. **superbia**: cp. 'tristi adrogantia' (c. 2, 4). Pliny calls him 'fastidiosissimum mancipium' (Ep. 8. 6, 14).

7. **ne vocem consociaret** (= 'ne sermonem communicaret'), 'so as not to put himself on speaking terms with them.' In estimating this proof of his arrogance it is to be remembered that it is the behaviour of a freedman to his own freedmen.

8. **inter iudices.** As Burrus was not a senator, we must suppose him to have sat as one of the assessors of the princeps, who tried the case personally 'intra cubiculum' (11. 2, 1). It is not to be supposed that the promise of c. 41, 2 bound Nero wholly to abstain from private trials.

9. **exustae**, so that no one else might profit by them.

oblitterata aerarii nomina retrahebat, 'he was bringing back to light forgotten debts to the treasury,' i.e. tracing out and exacting treasury dues from those who had been overlooked. Augustus is recorded to have burnt many such records (Suet. Aug. 32; Dio, 53. 2, 3).

11. **statio cohortis.** A praetorian cohort was present to keep order at the games (see 1. 77, 1). The experiment here mentioned was unsuccessful (see c. 25, 4).

13. **incorruptior ageret**: cp. 'severius acturos' (4. 2, 2).

14. **lustravit.** This was done frequently on occasion of prodigies, public calamities, or bloodshed (see H. 1. 87, 1; Liv. 35. 9, 5; App. B. C. 1. 26, etc.). The ceremony is distinct from the regular 'lustratio' after a census (see on 11. 25, 8), but consisted similarly of a procession and sacrifice. The description of such a 'lustratio' in Lucan (1. 592, foll.) may possibly, as Schiller thinks, have been drawn from this occasion. The princeps would officiate in his capacity of pontifex maximus.

17. **Q. Volusio P. Scipione.** The former had the cognomen Saturninus: see Henzen 5406, 1, and an Arval table of 816, A.D. 63 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2043, 1). His father is mentioned in c. 30, 4; his grandfather in 3. 30, 1 (see notes). Pliny states (N. H. 7. 14, 12, 62) that he was born after his father was sixty-two

lascivia, qua Nero itinera urbis et lupanaria et deverticula veste servili in dissimulationem sui compositus pererrabat, comitantibus qui raperent venditioni exposita et obviis vulnera inferrent, adversus ignaros adeo, ut ipse quoque exciperet ictus et ore prae-
2 ferret. deinde ubi Caesarem esse qui grassaretur pernotuit augebanturque iniuriae adversus viros feminasque insignes, et quidam permissa semel licentia sub nomine Neronis inulti propriis cum globis eadem exercebant, in modum captivitatis nox agebatur; Iuliusque Montanus senatorii ordinis, sed qui nondum honorem capessisset, congressus forte per tenebras cum principe, quia vi attemptantem acriter reppulerat, deinde adgnitum oraverat, quasi

(which would make him only thirty-one at the date of his consulship), and that his mother was a Cornelia of the Scipio family. The other consul would thus appear to have been related to him, and may probably have been son of the Scipio of 3. 74, 2; 11. 2, 1, etc.

1. **deverticula.** The word is used for 'deversorium' in Liv. 1. 51, 8, here especially of low taverns. Suet. says (Ner. 26) 'post crepusculum statim adrepto pilleo vel galero (the 'vestis servilis' of Tacitus) popinas inibat circumque vicos vagabatur ludibundus, non sine pernicie tamen.' Cp. also Dio, 61. 8, 1, foll. The license here indulged in by Nero (cp. also c. 47, 2), and in which some later princes imitated him (vit. L. Veri 4, Comm. 3), is represented as often practised by vicious young men of rank (cp. Suet. Oth. 3; Juv. 3. 278–301, and Mayor ad loc.).

2. **in dissimulationem,** etc., 'disguised to conceal his person': cp. 3, 44, 4, and note.

3. **qui raperent,** etc.: cp. Suet. Ner. 26 'tabernas etiam effringere et expilare; quintana ('a market') domi constituta, ubi partae et ad licitationem dividendae praedae pretium absumeretur.'

vulnera inferrent: cp. Suet. 'redeuntes a caena verberare ac repugnantes vulnerare cloacisque demergere assuerat.'

4. **adversus ignaros**: the sense of 'idque agerent' is to be supplied. Dr. notes the anastrophe of 'adeo' here and in c. 35, 5, as found also in Val. Max., but otherwise only in poets (after 'magnus,' 'multus,' 'totus'), and without a dependent clause.

ore praeferret, 'showed marks in his face.' Pliny states (N. H. 13. 22, 43, 126) that he got rid of the bruises by the use of a medicament called 'thapsia.'

5. **pernotuit augebanturque**: the perf. denotes what was known once for all, the imperf. what was constantly happening.

7. **sub nomine,** 'assuming the name': cp. 5. 4, 4; 16. 19, 5, etc.

8. **in modum captivitatis,** 'in a way approaching the state of a captured city': cp. 11. 23, 4, and note, also 'in acerbissima captivitate' (H. 3. 83, 2). For 'in' Med. has ·T·, whence many read (after G.) 'et in,' making the protasis extend to 'agebatur,' and then reading 'Iulius quidem' (for Med. 'quē').

9. **senatorii ordinis.** The context shows that he had not yet become actually a senator (through the quaestorship), or at most had not gone beyond that office (cp. 14. 40, 2, and note). Suet. calls the person 'laticlavius quidam.' The laticlave was worn by sons of senators (Suet. Aug. 38) and by knights capable and desirous of becoming senators.

10. **vi attemptantem,** 'attacking him by force': cp. 'illum bello attemptare' (Stat. Th. 4, 71). This reading (after MS. Agr.) is nearer to the Med. 'uia temptantem' than that of Puteol. and others ('vim temptantem'). Suet. (l. l.) and Dio (61. 9, 3), say that Montanus was repelling an assault on his wife; whence Ritt. thinks that the original text may have been 'vim adversus uxorem eius temptantem.'

11. **oraverat,** 'had asked pardon.' Dio says that Nero at first took no notice of it, thinking that Montanus had not recognised him, but, on receiving his petition, said οὔκουν ᾔδη, Νέρωνα τύπτων, αὐτὸν κατεχρήσατο;

exprobrasset, mori adactus est. Nero tamen metuentior in pos- 3
terum milites sibi et plerosque gladiatores circumdedit, qui rixarum initia modica et quasi privata sinerent: si a laesis validius
ageretur, arma inferebant. ludicram quoque licentiam et fautores 4
histrionum velut in proelia convertit inpunitate et praemiis atque ipse occultus et plerumque coram prospectans, donec discordi populo et gravioris motus terrore non aliud remedium repertum est, quam ut histriones Italia pellerentur milesque theatro rursum adsideret.

26. Per idem tempus actum in senatu de fraudibus libertorum, 1
efflagitatumque ut adversus male meritos revocandae libertatis
ius patronis daretur. nec deerant qui censerent, sed consules 2

quasi exprobrasset, 'as if his entreaty implied a reproach': on the infin. after 'adigere' cp. 4. 29, 3, and note.

1. **tamen**: so Halm, ed. iv. (in former editions 'iam'), after Petersen. Or., Ritt., and Jacob retain the Med. 'tum' ('tū'), which others take to be a corruption of 'aū' ('autem'). Nipp.'s criticism that this conjunction, which is very rarely used by Tacitus (except in Dial.), stands always in direct or indirect speech, not in narration, appears to have an exception in H. 2. 20, 2.

metuentior. Tacitus appears to take this comparative from Ovid (F. 6, 259). Dr. cites several analogous forms from Cic.

2. **plerosque** = 'permultos' (3. 1, 2, etc.): so 'plerumque' ('persaepe') below. Suet. says that his guard followed 'procul et occulte.'

3. **privata** = 'privatorum,' 'those of ordinary individuals': 'sinere' is so used with accus. in 6. 35, 1 (see note).

4. **ludicram licentiam.** The expression in Suet., 'seditionibus pantomimorum,' would suggest that the 'licentia' here meant was that of the actors themselves, as distinct from that of the 'fautores'; otherwise it would be well to take the two expressions (with Gron.) as a hendiadys ('ludicram licentiam fautorum'). In any case 'fautores' is a pregnant expression for 'fautorum licentiam.'

5. **velut**: he made the riots almost resemble actual battles.

6. **occultus . . . prospectans,** 'looking on from a place of concealment, and often in full view.' Suet. says 'e parte proscaeni superiore signifer simul et spectator aderat, et cum ad manus ventum esset lapidibusque et subselliorum fragminibus decerneretur, multa et ipse iecit in populum, atque etiam praetoris caput consauciavit.' For the sense of 'coram' cp. 6. 8, 8, and note.

8. **histriones . . . pellerentur.** On a former expulsion under Tiberius see 4. 14, 4, and note. The next clause would imply that some performances still took place in the theatres; but it is to be gathered from 14. 21, 7 that all the 'pantomimi,' not merely (as Nipp. supposes) those who had actually offended, were temporarily banished. Some of the 'fautores' were also arrested (c. 28, 1). For the action taken by subsequent emperors see Friedl. Sitteng. ii. 432.

rursum: see c. 24, 1.

10. **fraudibus,** 'knavery' (cp. 6. 21, 2; 16. 32, 3, etc.), i.e. ingratitude, or nonfulfilment of the legitimate expectations of the patron.

11. **efflagitatum,** etc. A decision of Claudius in an individual case is recorded by Ulpian (Dig. 37. 14, 5): 'Divus Claudius libertum qui probatus fuit patrono delatores summisisse, qui de statu eius facerent ei quaestionem, servum patroni iussit esse.' Suet. (Cl. 25) and Dio (60. 13, 2) speak of him as often thus acting, but do not ascribe to him any general enactment.

revocandae. This sense ('revoking'), here alone given to this word in Tacitus, is elsewhere rare, being found first in Ov. M. 9, 617, also in Sen. and Suet.

12. **censerent,** i.e. expressed opinions 'extra relationem': see 2. 33, 2; 38, 3 (and note); 11. 5, 3; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 939–940; 950, 1.

sed consules, etc. For similar

relationem incipere non ausi ignaro principe, perscripsere tamen ei consensum senatus. ille an auctor constitutionis fieret consultavit inter paucos et sententiae diversos, quibusdum coalitam libertate inreverentiam eo prorupisse frementibus, *ut* vine an aequo cum patronis iure agerent, † sententiam eorum consultarent ac verberibus manus ultro intenderent, impudenter vel poenam
3 suam ipsi suadentes. quid enim aliud laeso patrono concessum

unwillingness in the consuls to bring on an important question without explicit instructions from the princeps see 5. 4, 2; 14. 49, 2; H. 4. 9, 1. These passages would however show that the discretion lay with them.

2. **ille an auctor,** etc. The Med. text is here more corrupt than in any other passage, and runs thus: 'ille an auctor constitutionis fieret ut inter paucos et sententiae adversos quibusdam coalitam libertate inreverentiam eo prorupisse frementibus uine an aequo cum patronis iure agerent sententiam eorum consultarent ac verberibus manus ultro intenderent impulere vel poenam suam dissuadentes.' It is plain that we have an account of a discussion, not in the senate, but in the private cabinet council of the princeps (see Introd. i. vi. p. 74), similar to that given in 11. 23, 2; and that the arguments on one side (introduced by 'quibusdam . . . frementibus') are given in the rest of this chapter, and those on the other side in the following. In the first sentence, a verb expressing deliberation is clearly wanting. Andresen (in Nipp. ed. vii.) leaves a space for a verb expressing doubt or hesitation before 'ut' (which gives the ground of doubt); Ritt. somewhat strangely takes 'ut inter' to be an inverted and corrupted form of 'interrogat'; others suppose 'ut' to represent the remains of such a verb as 'consultavit' (Halm, Dr.) or 'consuluit' (Bezzenb.). The reading 'diversos' for 'adversos' dates from Lips.; 'sententiae' being thus a genit. similar to 'morum diversus' in 14. 19, 1 (see Introd. i. v. § 33 c γ). For the sentence 'vine . . . consultarent,' beyond the insertion of 'ut' (suggested by 'eo') before the first word, no satisfactory correction has been proposed, and Halm and Andresen (Nipp.) leave the words untouched and obelized; the latter noting that 'sententiam consultarent' cannot be good Latin, though it is possible to suppose, with Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 553), the general meaning to have been that they insolently asked the opinion of their patrons ('eorum'), whether they would have force or law (blows or the legal remedy: see below). Dr. reads 'ut ne aequo quidem cum patronis iure agerent, patientiam eorum insultarent,' and other desperate attempts at restoration may be found in Ritt. and Burnouf. It is not improbable that one or more sentences have been lost in which various instances of insolent conduct were given. For the last sentence, the text as above, adopted by Halm and Dr. from Madvig (l. l.), is mainly followed by Andresen (who reads 'impune' instead of 'impudenter') and Burnouf (who reads 'deridentes' instead of 'ipsi suadentes'). The sense would be that their crowning insolence was to ask that they might be punished, knowing what their only punishment could be. Various other attempts at emendation may be seen in the critical notes of Walther, Orelli, Halm, Ritt., etc.

3. **coalitam,** 'consolidated'; so of 'audacia' (14. 1, 1), 'libertas' (H. 4. 55, 4). The verb 'coalescere' is so used in Liv. etc., but the participle appears to be found only in Tacitus and Ammianus.

6. **verberibus,** dat. of purpose (= 'ut verberarent'): 'manus intendere' is used of threatening gestures in 4. 3, 2, etc. Compare the account of the conduct of slaves and freedmen, when protected by the 'imago Caesaris,' in 3. 36, 1.

7. **concessum.** No express law conveying such a power is known, but Augustus is stated by Dio (56. 13, 7) to have made in 757, A.D. 4, some ordinance respecting the rights (δικαιώματα) of patrons and others towards freedmen. This power of relegation, if, as seems here implied, it was vested in the patron himself, without the intervention of a magistrate, would be a survival of primitive jurisdiction, exercised by patria potestas in families (see 2. 50, 4; Liv. 7, 4, 5, etc.), and thus over the freedman as part of the family.

quam ut centesimum ultra lapidem in oram Campaniae libertum releget? ceteras actiones promiscas et pares esse: tribuendum aliquod telum quod sperni nequeat. nec grave manu missis per 4
idem obsequium retinendi libertatem, per quod adsecuti sint: at criminum manifestos merito ad servitutem retrahi, ut metu 5
coerceantur quos beneficia non mutavissent.

27. Disserebatur contra: paucorum culpam ipsis exitiosam 1
esse debere, nihil universorum iuri derogandum; quippe late fusum id corpus. hinc plerumque tribus, decurias, ministeria 2

1. **ut centesimum**: so Lips. and subsequent edd. for Med. 'uicesimum' (without 'ut'). This limit is known in later times as that of the jurisdiction of the 'praef. urbi' (Dig. 1. 12, 1, 4), but, as a limit of banishment, is of older and perhaps Republican date (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1076, 4).

in oram Campaniae. It is meant that those relegated might choose their own place of residence anywhere not less than a hundred miles from Rome, and that the most eligible part of Italy was thus open to them. Such a relegation was therefore to be desired rather than dreaded, and they would ironically beg for it. Statius says (Sylv. 3. 3, 162) of a freedman thus relegated by Domitian: 'hic molles Campani litoris oras, Et Diomedeas concedere iussus in arces, Atque hospes, non exul erat.'

2. **ceteras actiones**, etc. 'in all other suits they were placed on a general and equal ground'; i.e. beyond the power above mentioned, a patron could only proceed against his freedman on the same footing as against any other citizen. For the meaning of 'promiscus' cp. 4. 16, 5; 37, 5; 14. 14, 4, etc.

4. **retinendi.** This gerundial genit. (see Introd. i. v. § 36) is found only here and in 15. 5, 3; 21, 3 (Med.), and is taken to depend on the idea of a substantive implied in the sense (as here 'onus,' implied in 'grave'). Nipp., who refers to a treatise by E. Hoffmann, compares this usage to that of the gerund as a defining or specifying genit. (cp. 3. 63, 6, and note); but the absence of any other instances has caused others to suspect the text in Tacitus. Madvig (Adv. ii. 553) considers that τοῦ ποιεῖν cannot be equivalent τὸ τοῦ ποιεῖν, and would here insert 'onus' (so Ritt. ins. 'munus'): Halm alters only 15. 21, 3.

6. **non mutavissent**, 'had not corrected their slavish instincts'; i.e. had not inspired them with higher feelings of gratitude. Madv. would read, with some inferior MSS., 'commutavissent,' and take it to mean that they had been changed from good slaves to bad freedmen.

7. **Disserebatur contra.** The long interval makes the want of correspondence between this and 'quibusdam . . . frementibus' (c. 26, 2) less remarkable than that in 3, 18, 2 (cited by Nipp.). Cp. also 11. 23, 2.

9. **id corpus**, the mass of freedmen. Tacitus so speaks of the 'magnum corpus' of the Semnones (G. 39, 4) and the word is often thus used in Livy, e. g. 'sui corporis regem' (1. 17, 2). Some indication of the great proportion of freedmen in Rome may be found in the vast number of inscriptions relating to them.

hinc plerumque tribus, 'of them in great part the tribes consisted.' Possibly, as Nipp. thinks, 'in urbe' belongs to this clause also, and the four urban tribes alone are meant. There is evidence that freedmen shared in the public corn dole, even under the Republic (see Dio, 39. 24, 1; also Momms. Staatsr. iii. 446, 1), and their enrolment in the tribes was probably for this purpose (Momms. i. 341, 5; iii. 461); such enrolment being apparently distinct from the privilege of adding the name of the tribe to their personal 'nomina,' and the right (now obsolete) of voting in tribes or centuries (Id. iii. 446).

decurias. Those here meant are such as the 'lictores,' 'scribae,' 'praecones,' and 'viatores.' They are at least verbally distinct from 'collegia' (Momms. i. 341, 5), and are associated with 'tribus': cp. 'veterani decuriae tribus' (Suet. Aug. 57), 'implevimus tribus decurias palatium senatum forum.' (Tert. Apol. 37).

ministeria, for concrete 'minis-

magistratibus et sacerdotibus, cohortes etiam in urbe conscriptas;
et plurimis equitum, plerisque senatoribus non aliunde originem
trahi: si separarentur libertini, manifestam fore penuriam ingenu-
3 orum. non frustra maiores, cum dignitatem ordinum dividerent,
4 libertatem in communi posuisse. quin et manu mittendi duas
species institutas, ut relinqueretur paenitentiae aut novo beneficio
locus. quos vindicta patronus non liberaverit, velut vinclo ser-
5 vitutis attineri. dispiceret quisque merita tardeque concederet

tros': so 'apparitores et ministeria' (Front. Aq. 101). Some persons who might be so called belonged to the 'decuriae' already mentioned, and many were merely slaves (see Pl. ad Trai. 31, 2: 32, 1); but the reference is here to such free attendants as were not incorporated. Mommsen (l. l.) instances 'accensi' and 'calatores.'

1. **cohortes.** The 'vigiles' (Introd. i. vii. p. 91) are meant (cp. Strab. 5. 3, 7, 235; Dio, 55. 26, 4). The 'urbanae cohortes' were of the same status as the praetorian (4. 5, 5). For an instance of the enrolment of freedmen in the legions, see note on 1. 31, 4.

2. **plurimis equitum, plerisque senatoribus,** 'most of the knights, very many (cp. 'plerumque' above, and c. 25, 3) of the senators, derive their origin from no higher source.' Under Tiberius the full privileges of Roman knighthood had been restricted to 'ingenui' of three generations (Pl. N. H. 33. 2, 8, 32); but this rule must have always had exceptions and was now much relaxed. The four brothers Vitellii, all senators of the highest rank, were sons of a knight, who (according to the most probable account) was himself son of a freedman (Suet. Vit. 2), as was also the knight Vedius Pollio (see 1. 11, 4); and Pliny mentions (Ep. 3. 14, 1) a freedman's son of his own time who had been praetor. The cognomen of Thrasea and that of Tacitus himself have been thought to indicate such an origin (see others noted in Merivale c. 68, p. 605). Freedmen themselves became senators under Commodus (Vit. Comm. 6, 9).

3. **penuriam ingenuorum:** see 4. 27, 3.

5. **in communi posuisse,** 'made freedom the common property of all,' i.e. made all Roman citizens equal, in so far as they were free. Cp. 'cetera in communi sita sunt' (H. 4. 74, 2).

manu mittendi duas species. The distinction drawn is between 'iusta manumissio,' whether by 'vindicta,' 'testamentum,' or 'census' (enrolment on the list of citizens by the censor), and that of a more private character, whether 'inter amicos,' 'per epistolam,' or 'convivio' (by declaration in private before five witnesses, or in a letter countersigned by five persons, or by the reception of the slave as a guest at the master's table). Nipp. rightly explains the absence of mention here of the two latter kinds of 'iusta manumissio' by pointing out that manumission by census must have become practically obsolete through the disuse of the censorship, and that that by will could only take effect on the testator's death, and could have no bearing on the present question of the behaviour due towards the benefactor.

6. **paenitentiae aut novo beneficio.** Those who had been only privately manumitted could receive 'iusta manumissio' afterwards (cp. Plin. Epp. 7. 16, 3 'Si voles vindicta liberare quos proxime inter amicos manumisisti'). Ern. rightly points out that, as even the lower kind of manumission was not revocable, the only 'locus paenitentiae' consisted in the option of refusing the further step.

7. **vindicta,** by the touch of the lictor's wand, accompanied by a certain form of words and by the master turning the slave round (see Pers. 5, 75. foll.). This ceremony required the presence of a consul, praetor, proconsul, or propraetor. So Pliny offers (l. l.) to induce Tiro, a proconsul on his way to his province, to turn aside to the house of a friend for this purpose.

velut vinclo servitutis attineri. Those who had received 'iusta manumissio' became Roman citizens: those otherwise manumitted were by the old law still of servile condition, but had received a distinct status (that of 'Latini

quod datum non adimeretur. haec sententia valuit, scripsitque 6
Caesar senatui, privatim expenderent causam libertorum, quo-
tiens a patronis arguerentur: in commune nihil derogarent. nec 7
multo post ereptus amitae libertus Paris quasi iure civili, non
sine infamia principis, cuius iussu perpetratum ingenuitatis iudi-
cium erat.

28. Manebat nihilo minus quaedam imago rei publicae. nam 1
inter Vibullium praetorem et plebei tribunum Antistium ortum
certamen, quod inmodestos fautores histrionum et a praetore in
vincla ductos tribunus omitti iussisset. conprobavere patres, in- 2
cusata Antistii licentia. simul prohibiti tribuni ius praetorum et

Iuniani') by the lex Iunia Norbana in the time of Tiberius, which, while giving them Latin rights such as 'ius commercii,' left them bound so far 'velut vinclo servitutis' as to be subject to certain disabilities, such as the denial of connubium, and inability to make a will or to inherit under one. See Gaius 1. 23; 3. 55, and Poste, p. 54; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 626.

2. **privatim**, 'personally'; that they should consider each individual case on its merits: for the use of 'expendere' cp. 14. 35, 4.

3. **in commune**, 'generally,' cp. 3. 27, 5, etc.

4. **amitae libertus Paris**: see c. 19, 4. Nero is mentioned in the context, so that Ritt.'s insertion of 'eius' after 'amitae' is needless.

quasi iure civili, i.e. by being judicially pronounced 'ingenuus'; the 'quasi' implying that the decision was not an honest one. The circumstances of the case are given in Dig. 12. 4, 3, § 5 'Neratius libro membranarum refert, Paridem pantomimum a Domitia, Neronis amita, decem (sestertia), quae ei pro libertate dederat, repetisse per iudicem, nec fuisse quaesitum, an Domitia sciens liberum accepisset.' He had bought his freedom, and claimed to recover the sum paid, on the ground that he was free born, and the court, to please Nero, decided in his favour, and did not even raise the question whether Domitia had bought him knowing him to be free.

7. **imago rei publicae**: cp. 'manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis' (1. 74, 6); also the expression 'imago antiquitatis in 3. 60, 1. By 'nihilo minus' it is implied that the action of the senate and law courts described in the last chapter was not free.

8. **Antistium**, Antistius Sosianus, praetor in 815, A. D. 62, in which year he was exiled and narrowly escaped death for a libel (14. 48–49). He is afterwards heard of as accusing a brother exile (16. 14, 1), and as ordered back into exile in 823, A. D. 70, when he is called 'pravitate morum multis exitiosus' (H. 4. 44, 3).

9. **fautores histrionum**: cp. c. 25, 40. Vibullius was no doubt the presiding praetor at the 'ludi.'

10. **conprobavere**, approved the action of the praetor ('fautores in vincla ductos esse'). That the tribune was acting within the old lines of his official right, is plain from ancient precedents (e. g. Liv. 38. 60, 6); so that the power here assumed by the senate to annul his interposition and censure his 'licentia' is noticeable.

11. **ius praeripere**. This decree does not appear to do away with the ancient 'ius appellationis' against the decree of a magistrate, which evidently (see Plin. Ep. 1. 23, 3) still continued to belong to tribunes. The word 'praeripere' seems rather to point to some stretch of authority by which they were in the habit of intervening in an impending suit before praetors or consuls, and transferring its cognisance to themselves (see Momms. Staatsr. i. 146, 1; ii. 105, 1; 310, 1). That the tribunes continued as late as the time of Hadrian to exercise some judicial function ('cognitio') is plain from Juv. 7, 228, but whether by way of appeal or as a court of first instance seems an open question (see Mayor, ad loc.; Momms. Staatsr. i. 279, 7; ii. 309, 2).

consulum praeripere aut vocare ex Italia cum quibus lege agi
3 posset. addidit L. Piso designatus consul, ne quid intra domum
pro potestate adverterent, neve multam ab iis dictam quaestores
aerarii in publicas tabulas ante quattuor menses referrent; medio
4 temporis contra dicere liceret, deque eo consules statuerent. co-
hibita artius et aedilium potestas statutumque quantum curules,

1. **vocare ex Italia.** This must certainly have been an illegal stretch of power; the old authority of the tribunes having been restricted to the city (cp. *περιγέγραπται αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος τοῖς τείχεσι* Dion. Hal. 8. 87), or at most to one mile beyond it (cp. Liv. 3. 20, 7). The senate seems to admit by implication the right of tribunes to summon persons before them in Rome; but even this, though we gather it to have been largely practised, is questioned by high authority. Varro (ap. Gell. 13. 12) distinguishes the right of summoning an absent person ('vocatio') from that of laying hands on one in presence ('prensio'), and maintains that tribunes had the latter power only, as distinct from magistrates with 'imperium' (who had both), and from such as quaestors (who had neither power). Gellius also cites the great jurist Antistius Labeo (see on 3. 75, 2) as laying down the same rule, and as himself refusing to obey a tribune's messenger.

cum quibus lege agi posset, 'those liable to a suit at law': the term is applicable to civil process only (cp. 12. 60, 3, also Momms. Staatsr. i. 146, 1; ii. 310, 1). On the relation of the consuls to Italian causes see c. 4, 3, and note. An example of consular civil jurisdiction still survived in that respecting 'fidei commissa,' specially committed to them by Augustus (Just. Inst. 2. 23, 1), and still retained by them when the case was of more importance than those left to the praetors (Quint. 3. 6, 70; see also Momms. Staatsr. ii. 103).

2. **L. Piso,** mentioned again in c. 31, 1; 15. 18, 4. He is taken to be son of the consul of 780, A.D. 27 (4. 62, 1), and probably the L. Piso, pontifex, who was husband of Licinia Magna, daughter of the other consul of that year (C. I. L. vi. 1445; see also Momms. in Eph. Epig. i. 143, foll.); probably also the same mentioned as one of the Arvales from 811 to 816, A. D. 58–63 (C. I. L. vi. i. 2039–2043), and as 'curator aquarum' in 813–816, A. D. 60–63 (Front. Aq. 102). If he is the person who was still alive within Pliny's memory (Ep. 3. 7, 12), he was father of the proconsul of Africa of 823, A.D. 70 (see H. 4. 38, 2), with whom Borghesi (Œuvr. iv. 534, 536) identifies him.

ne quid, etc. 'that they should inflict no penalty (cp. 2. 32, 5 and note) officially within their houses.' Nipp. takes this to mean that in private offences committed by members of the household they should have no more power than any other paterfamilias; but this seems to have been the general rule for all magistrates. It appears to revive an old restriction of this power, namely, that although the tribune's house was open night and day to those who desired to invoke his 'auxilium' (Plut. Q. R. 81), the actual intervention had to be exercised in public, usually by the 'collegium' sitting together (cp. 'ad subsellia tribunorum res agebatur' Liv. 42. 33, 1); their usual place of session being at the 'rostra' (Gell. l. l.) or in the 'Basilica Porcia' (Plut. Cat. Min. 5). See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 292.

3. **neve multam,** etc. Mommsen considers (Staatsr. ii. 310, 2) that civil processes are still alone referred to. The large powers of fining exercised by tribunes under the Republic cannot have survived at this date. The registration at the aerarium is similar to that of senatorial decrees (3. 51, 3), and had to take place before sentence could be enforced.

4. **medio temporis,** 'during the interval.' This expression occurs also in 14. 53, 2; H. 2. 53, 2 (see Introd. i. v. § 32 a).

5. **deque eo,** etc. 'appeal should lie to the consuls.' These appear to have had, as a 'potestas maior,' the right to reverse decisions of other magistrates (Momms. Staatsr. i. 269; ii. 101). An instance is given by Val. Max. (7. 7, 6) of the reversal of the praetor's decision in a civil suit by the consul Mamercus Lepidus in 677, B.C. 77.

6. **aedilium.** On their number and functions under the empire see Introd. i. vi. p. 76. The penal powers here referred

quantum plebei pignoris caperent vel poenae inrogarent. et 5
Helvidius Priscus tribunus plebei adversus Obultronium Sabinum aerarii quaestorem contentiones proprias exercuit, tamquam ius hastae adversus inopes inclementer augeret. dein princeps curam tabularum publicarum a quaestoribus ad praefectos transtulit.

29. Varie habita ac saepe mutata eius rei forma. nam Au- 1

to would belong to their 'cura urbis,' which had been already curtailed by Claudius (Suet. Cl. 38).

1. **quantum . . . pignoris**, etc. 'within what limit they might distrain or fine.' The power of 'pignoris capio,' or seizing property in case of contumacy, is part of the general coercive power of magistrates (see Momms. Staatsr. i. 160), and is generally associated with that of fining (cp. Varr. ap. Gell. 14. 7, 10; Liv. 37. 51, 4; 43. 16, 5). Senators were liable to it for disregarding a summons to the house (see note on 16. 22, 1). We gather from this passage (see also Momms. ii. 513) that a higher limit was fixed for the curule than for the plebeian aediles. The form 'aedilis plebeius' for 'aedilis plebi,' is noted by Momms. (ii. 471, 3) as found in Fest. and in inscriptions; and perhaps 'plebeii' should be here read, as in 11. 24, 11.

et Helvidius. Most recent edd. follow Gron. in reading 'et' for 'eo,' which can hardly yield a good sense. The Helvidius Priscus now tribune can hardly be the 'legatus legionis' of five years earlier (see 12. 49, 3, and note). If the famous person of the name (16. 28, 2 and note) is identical with this one, his quaestorship must have been filled under Claudius rather than Nero: the view that he is addressed by Thrasea as 'iuvenis' in 16. 35, 3, is perhaps mistaken.

2. **Obultronium Sabinum,** mentioned in H. 1. 37, 6 as put to death in Spain by Galba.

3. **contentiones proprias,** 'a personal dispute,' in contrast to these general measures for restricting magisterial powers. Instances occur in early history of interference on the part of the tribunes with the collection of dues for the treasury, but chiefly by extorting conditions in this respect before they permit a delectus to be held. See Liv. 6. 31, 4; 32, 1; and Momms. Staatsr. i. 277.

tamquam, on the ground that: cp. c. 20, 1.

4. **ius hastae**: cp. 3. 31, 7. On the power of the quaestor to levy such sale of property cp. Liv. 4. 15, 8, etc.; Momms. ii. 552.

augeret. In Med. 'g' is written in an erasure, and the original text is thought by Baiter to be 'auderet:' Ricklefs would read 'ageret.' The text would bear the meaning that he 'stretched his right,' though no strictly parallel instance appears to be found.

5. **curam tabularum publicarum.** The aerarium was also the record office (see above, § 3), so that the 'cura tabularum' and 'cura aerarii' were identical.

praefectos. These persons, who were senators of praetorian rank (c. 29, 3), are designated in inscriptions (Henzen 5431, 5446, 6051, etc.) 'praefecti aerarii Saturni.' A reason for the change being made at this time is suggested (see Momms. i. 277, 4) by the fact that as 'praefecti' (officers of Caesar) they would be independent of such interference on the part of a tribune as is here mentioned. The alleged reason is given in c. 29, 3.

7. **Varie habita,** etc., 'the regulation of that department had been in different hands and had been often changed': cp. 'forma reipublicae' (4. 33, 1), 'civitatis' (H. 4. 8, 3), etc. The whole chapter treats only of the public treasury, not of the 'aerarium militare' (1. 78, 2; 5. 8, 1), nor, of course, of the 'fiscus.'

nam Augustus, etc. Under the Republic the 'aerarium' had been in the hands of quaestors (see on 11. 22, 8) till 709, B.C. 45, when it happened that no quaestors were elected, and the dictator Caesar gave the charge to two aediles (Dio, 43. 48, 1). Dio appears to intend to state that this arrangement lasted till the regulation of Augustus here referred to, but his meaning is not free from doubt, and the administration by aediles, of which Suet. (Aug. 36) has no knowledge, is shown by Mommsen (ii. 557, 4) not to have been really permanent. The ordinance of Augustus, made in 726, B.C. 28

gustus senatui permisit deligere praefectos; deinde ambitu
suffragiorum suspecto, sorte ducebantur ex numero praetorum
2 qui praeessent. neque id diu mansit, quia sors deerrabat ad
parum idoneos. tunc Claudius quaestores rursum imposuit,
iisque, ne metu offensionum segnius consulerent, extra ordinem
honores promisit: sed deerat robur aetatis eum primum magi-
3 stratum capessentibus. igitur Nero praetura perfunctos et ex-
perientia probatos delegit.
1 **30.** Damnatus isdem consulibus Vipsanius Laenas ob Sardi-

(Dio, 53. 2, 1), gave the charge to two officers of praetorian rank, who, although styled 'praefecti,' were to be chosen not by Caesar but by the senate.

1. **ambitu . . . suspecto,** 'through apprehensions of intrigue': cp. 3. 52, 1 ('suspecta severitate') and note.

2. **praetorum,** two of the praetors of the year, called 'praetores aerarii' (1. 75, 4), or 'praetores ad aerarium' (Insc. Or. 723). Dio, who places this change in 731, B. C. 23 (53. 32, 2), calls these praetors those ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει (l. l.; cp. 60. 4, 4; 10, 3). Tiberius, without making any change in the control of the treasury, caused apparently another board of three senators to be chosen to take charge of the record department (Dio, 57. 16, 2). These bear the title 'curatores tabularum publicarum' (see Inscr. quoted on 12. 45, 6).

4. **tunc Claudius.** Nipp. and Dr. read 'tum'; but it seems possible to defend 'tunc' as referred to the time defined by 'sors deerrabat,' etc. or by the looser use of this adverb in post-Augustan Latin. Claudius had appointed a special board of three ex-praetors in 797, A. D. 42, to collect outstanding treasury debts (Dio, 60. 10, 4), and two years later made the change here alluded to (Id. 60. 24, 1), in connexion with the abolition of quaestorial 'provinciae' in Italy (see 4. 27, 2, and note). 'Rursum' implies that the change was a reversion to ancient custom, though with the important difference that the two 'quaestores aerarii' were selected by the princeps, and held office three years (see the following Insc. and Dio, l. l.); so that the expression of Suet. (Cl. 24), 'collegio quaestorum . . . curam aerarii Saturni reddidit,' is inaccurate. One of the first persons so appointed was the father-in-law of Agricola (Agr. 6, 1), as is shown by an inscription (Henzen 6456) '[T. Do]mitio T. f., Vel(ina tribu), Decidio, [iii] viro capitali, [adlec]to a Ti. Claudio Caesare [Augus]to Germanico qui primu[s quaes]tor per triennium citra [ordine]m praeesset aerario Saturni, praetori.'

5. **extra ordinem,** etc. If approved in their office, they passed on at once to the praetorship without the intermediate step of tribune or aedile (Dio, l. l. and Insc. l. l.): 'honores' is used here specially of the higher magistracies (see c. 45, 1; 6. 2, 5, and note).

6. **eum primum.** The term 'magistratus' is not taken to include the lesser offices, or 'vigintiviratus' (see 3. 29, 1, and note), held before the quaestorship.

7. **praetura perfunctos.** The usual expression is 'praetura functus,' which has a somewhat stricter meaning than 'praetorius' (see 2. 33, 1, and note).

experientia: cp. c. 6, 4, etc.

8. **delegit.** He chose these 'praefecti aerarii Saturni' (see Momms. ii. 559) himself, instead of leaving the choice to the senate, as Augustus had done (§ 1). It is probable that he followed the precedent of Claudius in making them hold office for three or more years (see Momms. l. l.), and that the arrangement now made was on the whole permanent, though the treasury is mentioned as in the hands of praetors in 822, A. D. 69 (H. 4. 9, 1).

9. **isdem consulibus,** used for 'eodem anno,' although the consuls who gave their name to the year were no longer in office.

Sardiniam. This island, with Corsica, was at this time governed by a Caesarian procurator (see note on 2. 85, 5). Nero, during his tour in Greece, proclaimed the freedom of Achaia, and, to make up for its loss, gave back Corsica and Sardinia to the senate (Paus. 7. 17, 3). This proclamation is generally dated from the Isthmian games of 820, A. D. 67: but a Sardinian inscription of that year in

niam provinciam avare habitam. absolutus Cestius Proculus
repetundarum, Cretensibus accusantibus. Clodius Quirinalis, 2
quod praefectus remigum, qui Ravennae haberentur, velut in-
fimam nationum Italiam luxuria saevitiaque adflictavisset, veneno
damnationem anteiit. Caninius Rebilus, ex primoribus peritia 3
legum et pecuniae magnitudine, cruciatus aegrae senectae emisso
per venas sanguine effugit, haud creditus sufficere ad constantiam
sumendae mortis, ob libidines muliebriter infamis. at L. Volu- 4

which the proconsul cites another proconsul, as well as a procurator, as his predecessors, suggests an earlier date (see Momms. in Hermes ii. 102, foll., iii. 107, foll.; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 97, 10).

1. **avare habitam**: cp. 3. 13, 2, and note.

Cestius: so Rhen. and subsequent edd. for Med. 'cestus.' G. has 'Cesius,' whence Ritt. reads 'Caesius.'

2. **Cretensibus**: so all recent edd., after Nipp., on the analogy of 'accusantibus Cyrenensibus' (14. 18, 1), 'Mauris' (14. 28, 3). Med. has 'credentibus,' whence Ber. and other old edd. read 'cedentibus' ('relinquishing the prosecution'). Crete (with Cyrene) was a senatorial province of the second rank (see 3. 38, 1, and note).

Clodius Quirinalis. An inscription found at Trieste (C. I. L. v. 1, 533; Wilm. 1244) gives his full name and titles: 'P. Palpellius, P. f., Maec(ia tribu), Clodius Quirinalis, p(rimi) p(ilus) Leg. XX, trib. milit. Leg. VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(elicis), proc. Aug., praef. classis.' The last words show that by 'praefectus remigum' is meant the office of praefect of the 'classis praetoria' at Ravenna (see 4. 5, 1, and note; Introd. i. vii. p. 108). His appointments would show him to have been a knight; and the equestrian 'cursus honorum' appears often to begin with the rank of 'primipilus' (see 1. 29, 2, and note, and other instances in Friedl. i. 334).

3. **velut infimam nationum**, 'as if it had been one of the most despised nations.' It is implied that such cruelties, practised on an uncivilised people, would not have been severely condemned. For a similar Roman sentiment see 1. 76, 5; 2. 85, 5.

5. **damnationem anteiit**, 'anticipated condemnation' (so in 6. 29, 7): for the reasons prompting many to such a course see 6. 29, 2. These three cases thus mentioned together are supposed to have been all tried before the senate; but two of the persons were officers of Caesar, and Nero would appear from c. 33, 1 to have tried such cases personally.

Caninius Rebilus: so all edd. after Lips., substituting the name of a well-known family for the unknown name of the Med. text ('G. Aminius Rebius'). Seneca mentions (de Ben. 2. 21, 6), in an anecdote belonging to the time of Gaius, one 'Rebilus consularis,' a rich man of infamous character, who may well be this person. Another, probably his father, was cos. suff. in 742, B. C. 12, and died in office (Fast. Cap.). His grandfather may have been the person who was cos. suff. for one day in 709, B. C. 45 (see H. 3. 37, 3).

6. **emisso**: so Halm, Dr., Jacob, after Heins. (on the supposition that 'e' was lost after 'senectae'), for Med. 'misso,' which Or. and Nipp. retain. Instances are found of both expressions (Cels.; Petron. 90; Plin. N. H. 25. 5, 23, 56); and though both are used rather of the medical operation of bleeding, either might here be understood of suicide by aid of the context.

7. **creditus sufficere**; for this construction see Introd. i. v. § 45.

8. **sumendae mortis**: cp. 'signa sumpti exitii' 3. 7, 2 (and note).

muliebriter: cp. 11. 36, 5.

L. Volusius, father of the consul (c. 25, 1). It appears from Plin. N. H. 7. 14, 12, 62, that he was at his death praefectus urbis, which office he may probably have held for many years in succession to Sanquinius Maximus (see note on 6. 4, 4). It is shown by some inscriptions (most of which are much mutilated), that he was legatus of Delmatia under Tiberius and Gaius, augur, sodalis Augustalis, and sodalis Titius (C. I. L. iii. 1. 2974–2976; Eph. Epig. iv. p. 113).

sius egregia fama concessit, cui tres et nonaginta anni spatium vivendi praecipuaeque opes bonis artibus inoffensa tot imperatorum malitia fuerunt.

1 **31.** Nerone iterum L. Pisone consulibus pauca memoria digna evenere, nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, quis molem amphitheatri apud campum Martis Caesar extruxerat, volumina implere, cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare.
2 ceterum coloniae Capua atque Nuceria additis veteranis firmatae sunt, plebeique congiarium quadringeni nummi viritim dati, et sestertium quadringentiens aerario inlatum est ad retinendam

1. **concessit,** for 'vita concessit': cp. 2. 71, 2; 4. 38, 3.

2. **opes.** He had inherited much from his father (3. 30, 2), and had increased his riches by saving (14. 56, 1); hence they were 'bonis artibus' (sc. 'quaesitae'), in contrast especially to the wealth gained by the accuser's trade, or the dishonest gains of the great freedmen: cp. 'magnae opes innocenter partae' (4. 44, 1).

inoffensa . . . malitia, abl. abs. Nipp. thinks 'amicitia' must be read (after Lips.), with which 'inoffensa' would mean 'uninterrupted,' as in 1. 56, 2; H. 1. 48, 5 ('cursu honorum inoffenso'); Quint. 1. 1, 31 ('inoffensa literarum . . . coniunctio'), etc.; but the text can be taken to mean 'without coming into collision with the malevolence': cp. 'Cogit inoffensae currus accedere metae' (Luc. 8, 201).

3. **fuerunt:** so Halm, Dr., Baiter, for Med. 'fuit,' which others retain, but which involves taking 'malitia' less well as nominative.

4. **L. Pisone:** see c. 28, 3, and note. Caesius Martialis was suffectus with Nero at the end of the year (C. I. L. ii. 2958).

5. **nisi cui libeat,** etc. Tacitus speaks somewhat bitterly, and evidently refers to some particular historian or historians. It has been thought (see Nipp. Introd. p. 28) that the allusion is to the elder Pliny, whose authority is elsewhere mentioned somewhat slightingly (15. 53, 5), and who has given in his Natural History (16. 40, 76, 200), and may also have inserted in his general history, a notice of a larch beam of remarkable size, brought to Rome many years before, and worked into this amphitheatre. The younger Pliny, who might have been hurt by such an allusion, is believed to have died before the date of the completion of the Annals (see Momms. in Hermes iii. 99). Suet. (Ner. 12) mentions this amphitheatre as built of wood, and as finished within a year, and gives an account of the contests held in it (see note on 14. 14, 6).

7. **cum . . . repertum sit,** 'whereas it has been an established usage, suitable to the dignity of the Roman people.' On the sense of 'ex' cp. 1. 58, 2, etc.: that of 'repertum' seems new, but persons may be said to discover what they institute or establish.

8. **annalibus,** used generally for history, as in 3. 65, 1.

diurnis urbis actis. On these journals, see Introd. i. iii. p. 15.

9. **Capua atque Nuceria.** The former (now S[ta] Maria, about three miles from the modern Capoua) was one of the Campanian colonies of the dictator Caesar (Caes. B. C. 1. 14, 4, etc.); the latter (Nocera, east of Pompeii) was one of the colonies contemplated by the triumvirs (App. B. C. 4. 3), but was probably not established till the time of Augustus. On new colonies in Italy, see 14. 27, 2.

10. **congiarium.** On such gifts see 3. 29, 3 (and note); 12. 41, 3. This one is recorded on coins of Nero, inscribed 'Cong. i. dat. pop.' (Cohen i. p. 283, 68); other coins record a second (Cohen i. 284, 72); and Eckhel (vi. 271) refers to some evidence for a third (see note on 15. 72, 1). It is suggested by Schiller (p. 109) that this one was intended to mark the beginning of his principate, but had to be delayed till the fiscus had recovered from the donative (12. 69, 3).

quadringeni; so all edd. after Lips. for Med. 'quadrigeni.' The amount

populi fidem. vectigal quoque quintae et vicensimae venalium 3
mancipiorum remissum, specie magis quam vi, quia cum venditor
pendere iuberetur, in partem pretii emptoribus adcrescebat.
edixit Caesar, ne quis magistratus aut procurator in provincia 4
quam obtineret spectaculum gladiatorum aut ferarum aut quod
aliud ludicrum ederet. nam ante non minus tali largitione quam 5
corripiendis pecuniis subiectos adfligebant, dum quae libidine
deliquerant, ambitu propugnant.

32. Factum et senatus consultum ultioni iuxta et securitati, 1

is larger than any which had been given since the earlier largesses of Augustus: see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 138.

quadringentiens, 40 million HS. Similar gifts from the fiscus to supply deficits in the aerarium are mentioned in Mon. Anc. iii. 34, amounting to 150 million HS. Such occasional subventions (see Hirschf. Unters. p. 22) are to be distinguished from the definite annual contribution alluded to in 15. 18, 4 (where see note).

ad retinendam populi fidem, 'to sustain the public credit' (so 'fides' in 6. 17, 5; H. 1. 88, 5, etc.). Possibly (as Prof. Holbrooke suggests) the youth and inexperience of the former 'quaestores aerarii' (see c. 29, 3) had led to mismanagement.

1. **quintae et vicensimae**, a duty of four per cent. on the purchase of slaves (wholly distinct from the old 'vicensima' on manumissions). This duty is otherwise known as a 'quinquagesima' (two per cent.) imposed by Augustus (Dio, 55. 31, 4), which had been doubled, probably by Gaius, certainly by the time of Claudius (Or. Insc. 3336), and appears to have belonged to the 'aerarium militare' (Dio, l. l.).

2. **specie magis quam vi**. The remission consisted only in that it was levied from the slave-dealers ('mangones'), who were usually foreigners, instead of from the purchasers, who were usually Roman citizens: and the former took care to recoup themselves by adding it to the price of the slaves. The change appears only to have made the mode of levying this duty uniform with that of other such imposts (Schill. p. 106).

4. **edixit Caesar**. For other such imperial decrees by edicts see c. 51, 1, etc.

magistratus aut procurator. By the former term (similarly opposed to the praefects of Egypt in 12. 60, 3) proconsuls and legati pro praetore are meant.

5. **quam obtineret**: so Halm, Nipp. Dr. after Madv., who points out (Adv. ii. 553) that 'quam' could easily have been lost after 'cia.' Halm had formerly struck out 'obtineret'; most others follow Rhen. in altering 'in provincia' to 'qui provinciam.'

6. **nam ante**, etc. Ern. rightly explains this to mean that these shows were a kind of 'ambitus,' whereby they secured partisans who either prevented those who were oppressed from prosecuting the governor, or frustrated the prosecution by a counter demonstration; and that this 'largitio' was itself the means of oppressing the subjects by making redress more difficult. On other such modes of 'ambitus' see 15. 20–21. The gladiators of a provincial governor are mentioned in 1. 22, 1. It seems doubtful (see Friedl. ii. 336) whether this edict remained long in force; but the provincial 'ludi' mentioned in inscriptions appear to have belonged to the princeps and to have been under his procurators (see Hirschf. 181; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1071, 2).

7. **libidine**, used of wickedness in general, as in 12. 46, 3; H. 4. 73, 5, etc.

8. **propugnant** = 'tuentur': so with accus. in 15. 13, 2; Stat. and Suet. In earlier writers the verb is used absol. or with 'pro' and abl.

9. **senatus consultum**. This decree is cited by jurists as the 'senatus consultum Claudianum,' and was an extension of an earlier 'senatus consultum Silanianum,' passed in 763, A.D. 10; which is described (Dig. 29. 5) as ordaining that 'domino occiso de ea familia quaestio habenda est quae intra tectum fuerit vel certe extra tectum cum domino eo tempore quo occidebatur.' This new decree is cited as containing the provision here mentioned; also as extending the responsibility on the murder of a wife to the household of the husband and vice versa; also as ordaining, that those who had

ut si quis a suis servis interfectus esset, ii quoque, qui testamento
manu missi sub eodem tecto mansissent, inter servos supplicia
2 penderent. redditur ordini Lurius Varus consularis, avaritiae
3 criminibus olim perculsus. et Pomponia Graecina insignis
femina, A. Plautio, quem ovasse de Britannis rettuli, nupta ac
4 superstitionis externae rea, mariti iudicio permissa. isque prisco
instituto propinquis coram de capite famaque coniugis cognovit

been sold in the meantime were to be reclaimed, and the price made good by the seller (Dig. l. l., Paul. Rec. Sent. 3. 5, 6). An instance of such wholesale execution of a household is given in 14. 42–44.

ultioni . . . securitati, dat. of purpose: see Introd. i. v. § 22 c.

3. **Lurius Varus.** Being a consular, he had probably been proconsul of Asia or Africa, and had been expelled from the senate for extortion. This had no doubt been mentioned in its proper place, so as to make further explanation here needless. The name in Med. is 'Lurius Varius,' read in old edd. as 'Lucius Varius'; but 'Lurius' is a Roman name (Vell. 2. 85, 2, etc.), and 'Varius' is best taken (with Nipp.) to be an error of assimilation.

4. **perculsus**: cp. 'perculit' (4. 31, 7: 6. 3, 4).

Pomponia Graecina, probably daughter of Pomponius Graecinus, who was cos. suff. in 769, A. D. 16 (see Henzen Insc. 6442, and note there), and a friend of Ovid (ex P. 4. 9, etc.).

5. **A. Plautio.** The name is restored by Lips. from Med. 'platio,' the praenomen added by Nipp., as likely to have been lost after 'femina'; otherwise a single name would suffice for a person so well known to the reader. He was cos. suff. in 782, A. D. 29 (I. R. N. 1968), and is shown by another inscription (C. I. L. v. 1. 698) to have been legatus of Claudius in Delmatia. On his services in Britain see Introd. pp. 132, foll.

quem ovasse . . . rettuli. Halm, Nipp., and Dr. follow Acid. in this reading, on the supposition that Tacitus would naturally thus refer here to what he must have fully recorded in its place. Others retain the MS. text 'qui ovans se . . . rettulit' (but reading 'Britannis,' with G., for Med. 'Britanniis'), explaining 'se rettulit' as a somewhat grandiose expression for 'rediit' (cp. Verg. G. 4, 180; Aen. 7, 286, etc.), suited to the rarity at this time of the honour of an ovation (see Introd. p. 139, 2). Walther retains also 'Britanniis;' but this plural is not according to the usage of Tacitus, and is hardly to be defended by its use to denote the islands (Plin. N. H. 4. 16, 30, 102). The ovation of Plautius took place on his return from Britain in 800, A. D. 47 (Dio, 60. 30, 2); and Claudius is stated (Suet. Cl. 24) to have even paid him the honour of riding in the procession at his side.

6. **superstitionis externae.** The term is general (cp. 11. 15, 1), and might well be used of Judaism or of the Egyptian religion; but the belief that Pomponia was a Christian derives support from the account of her habits of life (§ 4, 5), and still more from the discovery of Christian inscriptions, of about a century and half after this date, to a Pomponius Graecinus and Pomponius Bassus, who would naturally be taken to belong to her family: see de Rossi, Roma Sott. ii. 360–364; Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sott. pp. 122–125; Friedl. Sitteng. i. 451. Probably, if she was a Christian, this was made, as often, the ground of a charge of conjugal infidelity, and for this reason the judgment was left to her husband, and it was in this sense that she was pronounced 'insons'; (Nipp., and Lightfoot, St. Clem. i. 30).

prisco instituto propinquis coram. The old law is described by Dion. Hal., who says of the wife charged with adultery (2. 25), δικαστὴν τὸν ἀδικούμενον ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς τιμωρίας κύριον· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐδίκαζον. This presence of her 'propinqui' (cp. 2. 50, 2) or 'cognati' (Liv. 39. 18, 6, etc.) as assessors was a check on the otherwise absolute authority of the husband, who in cases 'flagrantis delicti' might take summary vengeance (Cato ap. Gell. 10. 23, 5). For instances of such trials see 2. 50, 4; Liv. l. l. and Epit. 48; Suet. Tib. 35; and others collected in Lips. Exc. on 4. 42; Marquardt, Privatl. 5, 7.

7. **de capite,** in the Roman legal sense

et insontem pronuntiavit. longa huic Pomponiae aetas et con-
tinua tristitia fuit. nam post Iuliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinae 5
interfectam per quadraginta annos non cultu nisi lugubri, non
animo nisi maesto egit; idque illi imperitante Claudio inpune,
mox ad gloriam vertit.

33. Idem annus plures reos habuit, quorum P. Celerem accu- 1
sante Asia, quia absolvere nequibat Caesar, traxit, senecta donec
mortem obiret; nam Celer interfecto, ut memoravi, Silano pro 2
consule magnitudine sceleris cetera flagitia obtegebat. Cossu- 3
tianum Capitonem Cilices detulerant maculosum foedumque et
idem ius audaciae in provincia ratum quod in urbe exercuerat;

of the term. We can hardly suppose that at this date the punishment of death, so far in excess of that prescribed by public law (see on 2. 50, 4), could have been inflicted.

1. **pronuntiavit**: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., after Muret. for Med. 'nuntiavit;' which is retained by others, and which might be taken, with Pfitzn., to mean that he sent word of her acquittal to the senate, which had referred the case to him.

huic Pomponiae. The name is repeated, because Plautius has been since mentioned (cp. 12. 49, 2).

2. **Iuliam Drusi filiam.** On this Iulia see Introd. i. ix. pp. 141, 149. Her great grandmother was a Pomponia, daughter of Atticus (2. 42, 7), through whom this Graecina may have been related to her. She was the mother of Rubellius Plautus (c. 19. 3). Messalina is stated by Dio (60. 18, 4) to have caused her to be put to death in 796, A.D. 43, out of jealousy (ζηλοτυπήσασα). Suet. (Cl. 29) says 'crimine incerto, nec defensione ulla data.' Suillius was employed to accuse her (c. 43, 3).

3. **per quadraginta annos**, i. e. all the rest of her life. This would show her to have lived on to the time of Domitian.

non cultu, etc. 'with no dress but that of mourning': cp. 'laeto cultu' (2. 75, 3): 'egit' = 'vixit,' as in 1. 4, 4, etc.

4. **inpune**, used as an adj., cp. 'inpune esse' (1. 72, 3, and note).

5. **mox**, in the reaction afterwards.

6. **P. Celerem** : see c. 1, 3, where it is said that he was 'procurator fisci' in Asia when he poisoned Silanus. The power of extortion in such procurators had been no doubt increased by the change mentioned in 12. 60.

7. **absolvere nequibat Caesar.** This expression need not in itself imply a private trial before Caesar (see on c. 52, 1), but that he was so tried is probable from the account as a whole, and from the fact that such was usually the case with such persons (cp. 'apud principem . . . procuratores principum defendere' Dial. 7, 1); the instance in the time of Tiberius (4. 15, 3) being evidently exceptional. See note on c. 30, 2.

traxit, 'let him (his case) drag on.' This sense with a personal accus. is analogous to that of 'differri' in c. 20, 1.

9. **obtegebat**, 'was casting into shade': the meaning appears to be that the reason for screening him was that his great crime had been in Nero's service, and that it made all his lesser outrages seem insignificant in Nero's eyes.

Cossutianum Capitonem : see 11. 6, 5, and note.

10. **Cilices.** Cilicia had been part of the province of Syria (see 2. 78, 3, and note), of which Capito was certainly not legatus (see on 14. 26, 4); but its reconstitution as a distinct province, usually ascribed to Vespasian (see Marqu. Staatsv. i. 229, 11), may have taken place earlier, or a temporary governor may have been sent to Cilicia, as Lehmann (p. 176) thinks, after the disturbance mentioned in 12. 55. Either of these views seems more probable than that of Zumpt (Comm. Epig. ii. 139), that he was proconsul of Asia, and was accused by some Cilician people belonging to that province.

maculosum foedumque. These terms are thus joined in H. 1. 7, 2; 2. 30, 4; the former is used in a similar metaphorical sense in Cic. Att. 1. 16, 3 ('maculosi senatores').

sed pervicaci accusatione conflictatus postremo defensionem
4 omisit ac lege repetundarum damnatus est. pro Eprio Marcello, a quo Lycii res repetebant, eo usque ambitus praevaluit, ut quidam accusatorum eius exilio multarentur, tamquam insonti periculum fecissent.

1 **34.** Nerone tertium consule simul iniit consulatum Valerius Messalla, cuius proavum, oratorem Corvinum, divo Augusto, abavo Neronis, collegam in eo magistratu fuisse pauci iam senum
2 meminerant. sed nobili familiae honor auctus est oblatis in singulos annos quingenis sestertiis, quibus Messalla paupertatem

1. **pervicaci accusatione conflictatus.** The accusers were strengthened by the support of Thrasea (16. 21, 3). A sentence of one of them is preserved by the recollection of Quintilian (6. 1, 14): 'egregie nobis adulescentibus dixisse accusator Cossutiani Capitonis videbatur, Graece quidem, sed in hunc modum, "erubescis Caesarem timere."' This would appear to imply that the trial was before Caesar; but even imperial legati were sometimes tried before the senate (see 4. 19), and that this trial was held before that body is evident from the mention of Thrasea's influence, and from the words of Juvenal (see next note). Caesar may have 'remitted' the case to the senate, after a preliminary hearing (cp. 3. 10, 6, and note), or may have (as was often the case) himself presided at the trial before the senate.

2. **damnatus est.** He was expelled from the senate, but restored four or five years afterwards by the influence of his father-in-law Tigellinus (14. 48, 2). His righteous condemnation was not forgotten when Juvenal wrote (8, 92) 'quam fulmine iusto Et Capito et Numitor ruerint, damnante senatu, Piratae Cilicum.' Nothing is known of the case of Numitor.

Eprio Marcello: see 12. 4, 5, and note.

3. **Lycii res repetebant**; so all edd. (after G.) for Med. 'licires repetebat,' except Ritt., who reads 'Lycia res repetebat' on the analogy of 'accusante Asia' above. Lycia had been a free state, but had been taken into the empire by Claudius on account of its internal disorders (Suet. Cl. 25), and added to the province of Pamphylia (Dio, 60. 17, 3), which was governed by a legatus of praetorian rank. For subsequent changes see Marquardt i. 217. Eprius had been one day praetor 12. 4, 5). His government is attested by an inscription belonging to the base of a statue set up by the Lycian city Tlos, Τλωέων ὁ δῆμος Ἔπριον Μάρκελλον (C. I. G. 4328 b). There seems not to be sufficient ground for Zumpt's view (Eph. Ep. ii. 146) that he was legatus of Galatia; and his supposition that the trial was 'apud principem' appears to be negatived by the mention of 'ambitus,' unless we suppose him to have bribed the assessors of the princeps.

5. **periculum fecissent**: cp. 16. 19, 5; elsewhere (1. 74, 2; H. 4. 43, 1) 'periculum facessere' is used.

6. **Nerone tertium consule**, here = 'tertium consulatum ineunti.' The other consul is not elsewhere named by Tacitus, but his name occurs in several Arval Tables from the time of Claudius (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2034, 2039, foll.). For his father see 3. 2, 5, for his grandfather, 1. 8, 5 (and notes).

7. **oratorem Corvinum**: see 3. 34, 2 (and note); 11. 6, 4, etc. Tacitus, as elsewhere, varies the form of the name in speaking of near relations (see Introd. i. v. § 86). It is difficult to suppose that persons then living could remember the consulship of Augustus and Corvinus, which was in the year of Actium (723, B.C. 31); but it may be merely meant that there were those living who had been alive then, and who could remember Corvinus himself, who lived probably till 762, A.D. 9 (see Nipp. in Rhein. Mus. xix. 281–292), or, according to some, still later.

8. **abavo Neronis**: see 14. 53, 3, and note.

10. **quingenis sestertiis.** Suet. appears again (Ner. 10) to generalise from an instance: 'senatorum nobilissimo cuique, sed a re familiari destituto, annua salaria, et quibusdam quingena (sestertia) constituit.' It is evident thence, and

innoxiam sustentaret. Aurelio quoque Cottae et Haterio Anto- 3
nino annuam pecuniam statuit princeps, quamvis per luxum
avitas opes dissipassent.

Eius anni principio mollibus adhuc initiis prolatatum inter 4
Parthos Romanosque de obtinenda Armenia bellum acriter re-
sumitur, quia nec Vologeses sinebat fratrem Tiridaten dati a se
regni expertem esse aut alienae id potentiae donum habere, et
Corbulo dignum magnitudine populi Romani rebatur parta olim
a Lucullo Pompeioque recipere. ad hoc Armenii ambigua fide 5
utraque arma invitabant, situ terrarum, similitudine morum Parthis
propiores conubiisque permixti ac libertate ignota illud magis ad
servitium inclinantes.

35. Sed Corbuloni plus molis adversus ignaviam militum 1
quam contra perfidiam hostium erat: quippe Suria transmo- 2
tae legiones, pace longa segnes, munia castrorum aegerrime

might otherwise be taken for granted, that 'sestertiis' is from 'sestertium.' On such imperial gifts to needy nobles see 1. 75, 4, and note; also Friedl. i. 233, foll.

1. **innoxiam**, without trying to enrich himself 'malis artibus' (cp. c. 30, 4, and note).

Aurelio Cottae, probably son or grandson of the Cotta Messalinus of the time of Tiberius (see 2. 32, 2, and note), who is himself called 'egens ob luxum' (6. 7, 1). He would thus be another descendant of Corvinus.

Haterio Antonino: see 12. 58, 1, and note.

2. **quamvis**, with subjunct. of facts: cp. Introd. i. v. § 53.

3. **avitas** is read by all edd. after Lips. for 'habitas.'

4. **eius anni principio.** On the chronology of these campaigns see on c. 36, 1.

prolatatum = 'dilatum' (cp. 6. 42, 6, etc.). The narrative is taken up from c. 6–9.

7. **aut alienae**, etc.; i.e. to accept it with a recognition of vassalage to Rome. Tacitus has never stated, but must be understood to imply, that the Romans had offered him this compromise at the outset. See Introd. p. 113.

8. **parta . . . recipere.** The result of the successes gained by these generals over Tigranes I in the third Mithridatic war are often exaggerated by Roman writers; but was such as to make the Armenians then and often afterwards accept kings of Roman nomination.

9. **ambigua fide**: see 2. 3, 2; 56, 1, etc.

11. **illud magis.** The antithesis of 'libertate ignota' seems to favour this reading, in which Orelli, Nipp., and Ritt. follow Lips. They had no choice but to be subjects, and preferred Parthian to Roman masters. Tacitus allows himself to imply that subjection even to Rome was 'servitium' in Agr. 14, 2 ('instrumenta servitutis et reges'), but elsewhere (2. 60, 5) contrasts 'vis Parthorum' and 'potentia Romana.' With the Med. reading, 'illuc,' 'ad servitium' is generally taken epexegetically, a meaning which Halm endeavours to make more plain by inserting 'ut' after 'illuc.'

13. **Sed Corbuloni, etc.** This process of disciplining the legions and recruiting in Galatia and Cappadocia must have occupied the chief part of the time since Corbulo was sent out: see Introd. p. 112.

14. **Suria transmotae.** 'Transmoveo' is very rare, but found in Ter. Eun. 3. 1, 10; on the abl. see Introd. i. v. § 24. Two of the four Syrian legions had been handed over to him (c. 8, 2), namely, the Third and Sixth (c. 38, 6), with detachments from the Tenth (c. 40, 3).

15. **castrorum**: so Halm, after Bötticher, for Med. 'Romanorum,' which is retained in most edd., and can be taken to mean 'the duties of Roman warfare,' but would be somewhat strangely said of

8 tolerabant. satis constitit fuisse in eo exercitu veteranos, qui
non stationem, non vigilias inissent, vallum fossamque quasi nova
et mira viserent, sine galeis, sine loricis, nitidi et quaestuosi,
4 militia per oppida expleta. igitur dimissis quibus senectus aut
valetudo adversa erat, supplementum petivit. et habiti per Ga-
latiam Cappadociamque dilectus, adiectaque ex Germania legio
5 cum equitibus alariis et peditatu cohortium. retentusque omnis
exercitus sub pellibus, quamvis hieme saeva adeo, ut obducta
6 glacie nisi effossa humus tentoriis locum non praeberet. ambusti
multorum artus vi frigoris et quidam inter excubias exanimati
sunt. adnotatusque miles, qui fascem lignorum gestabat, ita

legions composed of Roman citizens. Nipp. reads 'castrorum Romanorum'; others alter 'Romanorum' to 'armorum' (Freinsh.) or 'armatorum' (Ritt.).

1. **constitit.** The past tense is used in speaking of the belief at the time: cp. 14. 4, 6; 33, 5; 15. 16, 1; 67, 5, and other passages cited here by Nipp.

2. **stationem . . . vigilias**: see 1. 28, 5, and note.

3. **sine galeis, sine loricis.** The garrisons of peaceful provinces seem to have been allowed to wear an undress similar to that of the troops in Rome (see on 3. 4, 2).

quaestuosi: cp. 12. 63, 3. The trade carried on by soldiers during peace is alluded to in c. 51, 1. Mommsen notices (see Hist. v. 398, 2; E. T. ii. 66, 3) that the Syrian legions had become again similarly demoralised in Trajan's time.

5. **per Galatiam Cappadociamque.** The citizen population of these provinces would recruit the legions (cp. c. 7, 1, and note), the rest the auxiliaries. These latter are mentioned in 15. 6, 5. Galatia had become a province at the death of its last king Amyntas in 729, B.C. 25 (Dio, 53. 26, 3), and included, besides Galatia proper, Pisidia, part of Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Isauria, to which Paphlagonia and part of Pontus had been subsequently added. It was governed by a legatus of praetorian rank, who resided at Ancyra (Angora), famous for the temple and great inscription of Augustus ('marmor Ancyranum'). See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 200, foll.

6. **ex Germania legio.** A difficulty arises from the fact that no such legion formed part of the expeditionary force, which is seen from c. 40, 3 to have consisted entirely of previous Syrian legions (see note on § 1, and on c. 38, 6; 40, 3). It would seem thus to have been really sent on to Syria, to make up for the weakening of the Tenth by the detachment sent to Corbulo. It appears to be uncertain whether it was the Fourth or the Twefth: the former had been originally a Moesian, the latter a Syrian legion (Introd. i. vii. 103, 104); but both are thought to have been afterwards in Upper Germany (see Nipp. here, and Momms. Hist. v. 120; E. T. ii. 132, note).

7. **cum equitibus**, etc., i. e. with the auxiliaries of horse and foot belonging to it.

retentus . . . sub pellibus, 'was kept under tents' (cp. 14. 38, 1), instead of being housed in winter quarters: cp. 'aut sub pellibus habendos milites fore, aut, si concedere in hiberna vellent,' etc. (Liv. 37. 39, 1). It is plain from c. 36, 1 that the position occupied was in the enemy's country, which must therefore have been entered in the preceding year. Reasons are given in Introd. p. 112, for rather taking the winter here spoken of to be that of 810–811, A.D. 57–58, than, as Mommsen makes it, that of the following year. Nipp. can hardly be right in taking it to be that of 809–810, A.D. 56–57.

9. **nisi effossa humus** = 'humus nisi effossa': 'obducta' can well be also taken with 'humus' in the sense of 'overspread'; but the analogy of 'obducta veste' (4. 70, 2) is in favour of taking it with 'glacie.'

ambusti. This word is used of frostbites from the similarity of the effect to that of a burn: cp. 'ambusta igni vel frigore' (Plin. N. H. 24. 8, 29, 45).

11. **adnotatus . . . praeriguisse ma-**

praeriguisse manus, ut oneri adhaerentes truncis brachiis deci-
derent. ipse cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus 7
frequens adesse, laudem strenuis, solacium invalidis, exemplum
omnibus ostendere. dehinc quia duritiam caeli militiaeque multi 8
abnuebant deserebantque, remedium severitate quaesitum est.
nec enim, ut in aliis exercitibus, primum alterumque delictum 9
venia prosequebatur, sed qui signa reliquerat, statim capite
poenas luebat. idque usu salubre et misericordia melius ap- 10
paruit: quippe pauciores illa castra deseruere quam ea in quibus
ignoscebatur.

36. Interim Corbulo legionibus intra castra habitis, donec ver 1
adolesceret, dispositisque per idoneos locos cohortibus auxi-
liariis, ne pugnam priores auderent praedicit: curam prae-
sidiorum Paccio Orfito primi pili honore perfuncto mandat. is 2

nus, 'was observed with his hands frozen before him.' 'Adnoto' is post-Augustan, and does not elsewhere occur with this construction, though many analogous usages are found (Introd. i. v. § 45). 'Praerigescere' is ἅπ. εἰρ., and analogous to other words coined by Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 69, 3). The interpretation given above (with Nipp. and Dr.) is in accordance with the usual force of 'prae' in composition with verbs. Others would translate (with Lips.) 'frozen at the extremities' (cp. 'praeustus,' etc.). To take it, with Forcell., as = 'valde riguisse,' on the analogy of 'praerigidus,' seems hardly possible.

2. **cultu levi**, 'lightly clad': for the use of 'cultus' cp. 1. 10, 7, and note.

capite intecto; so in 3. 41, 4, etc. The adj. is found in Sallust, from whom Tacitus appears to adopt it.

in agmine, in laboribus, etc., nearly repeated from the description of Vespasian in H. 5. 1, 2; both being reminiscences of that of Sulla in Sall. Jug. 96, 3 ('in operibus, in agmine multus adesse').

3. **frequens**, adverbial, so used of a person in 4. 55, 1.

4. **ostendere**, used by zeugma with 'laudem' and 'solacium': cp. 'ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator' (1. 24, 3).

5. **deserebant**. Nipp. takes this also with 'duritiam'; the sense being equivalent to 'deserebant militiam ob duritiam'; but 'deserere' is used in this military sense absolutely, e.g. in Quint. 9. 4, 85 ('ire in aciem coactus, deseruit'), and is perhaps best so taken here.

11. **ver**. The chronology of these campaigns is not clear, inasmuch as Tacitus gives all the events here mentioned (c. 34–41) under the year 811, A.D. 58, and takes up the narrative again (14. 23–26) under the year 813, A.D. 60; so as to leave it uncertain in which place the campaign of the intermediate year is to be found. The difficulty is discussed in Introd. pp. 111, 112, where reasons are give for thinking it most probable that in this Book the campaign of the year 58 alone is given. It would follow that he had led the army into Armenia in the preceding year (see on c. 35, 5), as the winter and spring here spoken of are evidently spent in that country.

12. **adolesceret**. On the use of this and other figurative terms for the progress of the seasons see 2. 23, 1, and note.

13. **auderent**: so Pich. and most edd. after MS. Vat.: Med. has 'audirent,' other MSS. 'adirent.' Tacitus often uses 'audeo' with such an accus., as 'proelium' (4. 49, 1, etc.), 'obpugnationem' (2. 12, 1), 'aciem' (12. 28, 1).

praedicit, 'proclaims': so in 2. 6, 4; 16. 33, 3, etc., and in Cic. and Liv.

14. **Paccio**. This form of the name, given by Med. in 15. 12, 3, is shown to be a Roman name by inscriptions (see Wilm. Ind. p. 347). Med. has here 'pactio,' and below 'pacium.'

primi pili honore perfuncto = 'primipilari' (2. 11, 2, etc.): see Introd.

quamquam incautos barbaros et bene gerendae rei casum offerri
scripserat, tenere se munimentis et maiores copias opperiri
3 iubetur. sed rupto imperio, postquam paucae e proximis castel-
lis turmae advenerant pugnamque imperitia poscebant, congressus
4 cum hoste funditur. et damno eius exterriti qui subsidium ferre
5 debuerant, sua quisque in castra trepida fuga rediere. quod
graviter Corbulo accepit increpitumque Paccium et praefectos
militesque tendere extra vallum iussit; inque ea contumelia
detenti nec nisi precibus universi exercitus exsoluti sunt.

1 **37.** At Tiridates super proprias clientelas ope Vologesi fratris
adiutus, non furtim iam sed palam bello infensare Armeniam,
quosque fidos nobis rebatur, depopulari, et si copiae contra du-
cerentur, eludere hucque et illuc volitans plura fama quam pugna
2 exterrere. igitur Corbulo quaesito diu proelio frustra habitus et
exemplo hostium circumferre bellum coactus, dispertit vires, ut
legati praefectique diversos locos pariter invaderent; simul re-
3 gem Antiochum monet proximas sibi praefecturas petere. nam
Pharasmanes interfecto filio Radamisto quasi proditore, quo

i. vii. p. 105. In 15. 12, 3 he is mentioned as again 'primipilus,' which may perhaps show that he had been degraded.

1. **casum**, 'opportunity': see 1. 13, 2, and note.

3. **rupto imperio**: cp. H. 3. 19, 4; Curt. 10. 2, 15. The few troops that had arrived gave some colour of excuse.

8. **tendere**, 'to encamp' (cp. 1. 17, 4, etc.). Such a punishment is described by Polybius (6. 38, 3) as part of the Roman discipline in his time, and an early instance of it is mentioned in Liv. 10. 4, 4, another in Val. Max. 2. 7, 15. Frontinus, who notes generally the strict discipline of Corbulo (Strat. 4. 2, 3; 7, 2), also mentions this particular act (Id. 4. 1, 20), and states that the troops so punished consisted of two alae and three cohortes. Their special commanders would be the 'praefecti' here mentioned.

10. **clientelas**: on the clients of an Eastern prince see 12. 14, 5, and note.

Vologesi. Nipp. here reads 'Vologaesis,' on the ground that the genit. in 'i' of words in 'es' was obsolete (see on 12. 13, 3), and that the form 'Vologesus' is confined to the Histories and to other authors (Pl. mai., Suet., etc.). It is however found in Med. (though generally rejected) in c. 7, 2; and the variations used by Tacitus in the forms of Eastern names, as 'Artaxata' (Introd. i. v. § 85), are remarkable. Ritt. takes it as genit. of 'Vologeses,' doubting the complete obsoleteness of such forms, and thinking that Tacitus varied it here on account of the following 'fratris.'

11. **infensare**: cp. 6. 34, 1, and note.

14. **frustra habitus** = 'deceptus': cp. 14. 11, 1, etc. In c. 51, 1 the expression is used, in a different sense, of things.

15. **circumferre bellum**, 'to enlarge the area of war'; so in Liv. (9. 41, 6, etc.): cp. 'spargit bellum' (3. 21, 5).

17. **Antiochum**: see 12. 55, 3, etc.

praefecturas: cp. c. 39, 2; 15. 28, 1, and note on 11. 8, 4. Pliny states (N. H. 6. 9, 10, 27) that Armenia was divided into 120 such, which were called στρατηγίαι, but had names in the national language.

nam Pharasmanes, etc. The force of 'nam' appears to be that he had not waited for orders. On Pharasmanes see 6. 32, 5, etc. Radamistus had fled to him on his escape from Armenia (c. 6, 1; 12. 51, 4).

18. **quasi proditore.** He had really connived at his occupation of Armenia, but found it convenient to disavow him when he was driven out. The words 'quo . . . testaretur' do not belong to this, but to the following clause.

fidem in nos testaretur, vetus adversus Armenios odium promptius
exercebat. tuncque primum inlecti Moschi, gens ante alias socia 4
Romanis, avia Armeniae incursavit. ita consilia Tiridati in con-
trarium vertebant, mittebatque oratores qui suo Parthorumque
nomine expostularent, cur datis nuper obsidibus redintegrataque
amicitia, quae novis quoque beneficiis locum aperiret, vetere
Armeniae possessione depelleretur. ideo nondum ipsum Volo- 5
gesen commotum, quia causa quam vi agere mallent: sin per-
staretur in bello, non defore Arsacidis virtutem fortunamque
saepius iam clade Romana expertam. ad ea Corbulo, satis com- 6
perto Vologesen defectione Hyrcaniae attineri, suadet Tiridati
precibus Caesarem adgredi: posse illi regnum stabile et res
incruentas contingere, si omissa spe longinqua et sera praesentem
potioremque sequeretur.

38. Placitum dehinc, quia commeantibus in vicem nuntiis 1
nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur, conloquio ipsorum tempus

2. **inlecti**, 'won over' to the Roman alliance: on the use of this word without any sense of deceiving see 2. 37, 2, and note.

Moschi. Recent edd. follow Ritt. (1838) in reading this name for 'insochi' (Med.) or 'insechi' (other MSS.), which are names of no people otherwise known; the supposition being that 'm' has been corrupted into 'in,' and 'o' and 's' transposed. The Moschi are mentioned in Hdt. (3. 94, 3; 7. 78, 1), and have been identified by some with the Meschech of Ezek. (27, 13, etc). The **Μοσχικὰ ὄρη** of Strabo (11. 2, 15, 497) belong to the tract on the south-east of the Euxine, and Pliny (N. H. 6. 4, 13) places the Moschi at the sources of the Phasis.

ante alias socia, etc. Nipp. thinks this must be understood of the time when Tacitus was writing, and of assistance rendered in the Eastern wars of Trajan.

3. **incursavit.** Nipp. notes that the verb is sometimes adapted, not to the proper subject, but to a noun in apposition with it: see 2. 17. 2 (and note); H. 1. 86, 4. A few instances are found in other authors, as 'Carmonenses . . . firmissima . . . civitas cohortes eiecit' (Caes. B. C. 2. 19, 5), 'Vulsinii . . . oppidum opulentissimum, totum concrematum est' (Plin. N. H. 2. 52, 53, 139).

in contrarium, i.e. he was forced to stand on his own defence.

5. **datis . . . obsidibus**: see c. 9, 2.

6. **beneficiis**, favours from Rome.

vetere, i.e. his already established possession of it.

7. **ideo**, etc., 'for this reason only had Vologeses as yet made no movement.' Dr. notes that 'commoveri' is used where older writers would say 'commovere bellum,' e.g. 12. 55, 1; 14. 31, 4.

8. **causa**, 'by right': so used, answering to 'aequitate,' in 15. 2, 3.

mallent, speaking for himself as well as Vologeses.

10. **clade Romana**, the defeats of Crassus and Antonius: see 2. 1, 2.

11. **Hyrcaniae.** This people, living at the south-east angle of the Caspian, had affinities with the Parthians (6. 36, 5). The revolt here mentioned explains the inaction of Vologeses down to 813, A. D. 60 (see 14. 25, 2).

suadet: on the infin. with this verb see 3. 53, 2, and note.

12. **stabile**, by his recognition on doing homage to Rome (see c. 34, 4, and note).

13. **incruentas**: cp. 12. 46, 2, and note.

16. **in summam pacis**, 'towards the general result of peace': cp. 2. 45, 5 (and note); also H. 2. 16, 1, where, as here, Med. has 'summa,' apparently an error arising from the abbreviation 'summā.' Such expressions as 'summa belli,' 'spei,' etc. are frequent in Livy.

2 locumque destinari. mille equitum praesidium Tiridates adfore sibi
dicebat: quantum Corbuloni cuiusque generis militum adsisteret,
non statuere, dum positis loricis et galeis in faciem pacis veni-
3 retur. cuicumque mortalium, nedum veteri et provido duci,
barbarae astutiae patuissent: ideo artum inde numerum finiri
et hinc maiorem offerri, ut dolus pararetur; nam equiti sagittarum
usu exercito si detecta corpora obicerentur, nihil profuturam
4 multitudinem. dissimulato tamen intellectu rectius de iis quae
in publicum consulerentur totis exercitibus coram dissertaturos
5 respondit. locumque delegit, cuius pars altera colles erant cle-
menter adsurgentes accipiendis peditum ordinibus, pars in plani-
6 tiem porrigebatur ad explicandas equitum turmas. dieque pacto
prior Corbulo socias cohortes et auxilia regum pro cornibus,
medio sextam legionem constituit, cui accita per noctem aliis ex
castris tria milia tertianorum permiscuerat, una cum aquila, quasi
7 eadem legio spectaretur. Tiridates vergente iam die procul
adstitit, unde videri magis quam audiri posset. ita sine con-
gressu dux Romanus abscedere militem sua quemque in castra
iubet.

1 **39.** Rex sive fraudem suspectans, quia plura simul in loca
ibatur, sive ut commeatus nostros Pontico mari et Trapezunte

3. **dum** = 'dummodo,' as in 4. 48, 2, etc.

in faciem, 'so as to give the appearance': 'facies' = 'species,' as in 1. 49, 1, etc.; and 'in' expresses result; cp. 'in faciem stagni' (H. 5. 23, 4), and the frequent expressions 'in speciem,' etc.

4. **nedum**: cp. c. 20, 5.

5. **inde . . . hinc**, 'on the Parthian side . . . on the Roman': cp. 2. 60, 4; 80, 6, etc. Nipp. gives several instances of similar use of 'hinc . . . illinc' or 'hinc . . . hinc' for 'ab hac parte . . . ab illa.'

8. **intellectu** = 'intellegentia,' as in c. 16, 4; 6. 36, 4, etc.

9. **dissertaturos**: cp. 12, 11, 1, and note.

10. **clementer**, 'gently': cp. 12. 33, 2, and note.

11. **accipiendis . . . ordinibus**, dat. of purpose (here equivalent to 'quae res apta esset accipiendis,' etc.), varied in the next sentence to a clause with 'ad' and accus. (as in 2. 6, 4, where see note), here equivalent to a similar relative clause, as in 12. 56, 2.

13. **pro cornibus**, 'at the extremity of each wing'; repeated in 14. 34, 3, and analogous to 'pro munimentis' (2. 13, 4, etc.).

14. **medio**. On this substantival abl. without prep. cp. 1. 64, 7; Introd. i. v. § 25.

sextam, one of the regular Syrian legions (2. 79, 3), called 'Ferrata' (Introd. i. vii. p. 104).

15. **tertianorum**, men belonging to the Third legion (the 'tertia Gallica': see Introd. l. l.).

quasi, etc., 'as if there were but one legion in sight'; that the enemy might think he had but one before him.

20. **suspectans**: cp. 1. 5, 1, and note. On the coordination of a participle with a final clause cp. 2. 62, 1; Introd. i. v. § 91, 9.

21. **Pontico mari et Trapezunte oppido**, 'by way of the Euxine and the town of Trapezus' (Trebizonde), from which point the land-transport would begin. On such ablatives of direction see Introd. i. v. § 25. Trapezus, already a flourishing town at the time of the retreat of the Ten Thousand (Xen. An. 5.

oppido adventantes interciperet, propere discedit. sed neque 2
commeatibus vim facere potuit, quia per montes ducebantur
praesidiis nostris insessos, et Corbulo, ne inritum bellum traheretur utque Armenios ad sua defendenda cogeret, excindere
parat castella, sibique quod validissimum in ea praefectura,
cognomento Volandum, sumit; minora Cornelio Flacco legato
et Insteio Capitoni castrorum praefecto mandat. tum circum- 3
spectis munimentis et quae expugnationi idonea provisis, hortatur
milites ut hostem vagum neque paci aut proelio paratum, sed
perfidiam et ignaviam fuga confitentem exuerent sedibus gloriaeque pariter et praedae consulerent. tum quadripertito exercitu 4
hos in testudinem conglobatos subruendo vallo inducit, alios
scalas moenibus admovere, multos tormentis faces et hastas
incutere iubet. libritoribus funditoribusque attributus locus, 5
unde eminus glandes torquerent, ne qua pars subsidium laborantibus ferret pari undique metu. tantus inde ardor certantis 6
exercitus fuit, ut intra tertiam diei partem nudati propugnatoribus muri, obices portarum subversi, capta escensu muni-

5. 10), was now a free city (Pl. N. H. 6. 4, 11), and increased in importance afterwards.

1. **discedit.** The context would show the direction first taken, after which he appears to have retreated to Artaxata (c. 40, 1). Egli's view (p. 283) that this was the end of the campaign of 811, A.D. 58, arises out of the error of identification noted on c. 41, 4.

6. **Volandum.** This place is unknown, but is shown by the sequel to have been south of the Araxes and west of Artaxata. Some have identified it with a treasure-fort named Ὀλανή, mentioned by Strabo (11. 14, 6, 529) as near that city.

Cornelio Flacco . . . Insteio Capitoni. The former (not elsewhere mentioned) must have been a 'legatus legionis,' the latter is probably the person mentioned in c. 9, 3, as a centurion; the post of 'praefectus castrorum' (on which see Eph. Epig. i. 82–95) being a step from that rank (see 1. 20, 1, and note).

7. **circumspectis,** 'having been reconnoitred': cp. 14. 33, 2, and note.

10. **exuerent sedibus**: cp. 'exutum campis' (12. 45, 3, and note).

12. **in testudinem,** i.e. into a mass with locked shields over their heads: cp. H. 3. 28, 2; 31, 1, etc.

inducit. Nipp. notes that this verb more distinctly denotes hostile attack than 'adducere'; so 'turmas inducit Asilas' (Verg. Aen. 11, 620), 'manipulos . . . inducit' (Liv. 10. 33, 1).

14. **incutere** = 'conicere'; so in H. 3. 31, 1, etc.

libritoribus funditoribusque. On these slingers see 2. 20, 4, and note.

15. **glandes,** 'leaden balls' (often mentioned in military narratives). Such have been found inscribed 'Roma, feri' (Or. Insc. 4932).

16. **metu**: so Halm and most edd. after Lips., in the sense of 'periculo' (cp. 1. 40, 1, and note). Nipp. and others retain the Med. 'motu.'

tantus ardor. Dr. notes a reminiscence of Liv. 22. 5, 8 ('tantusque fuit ardor animorum ut,' etc.).

17. **nudati propugnatoribus,** apparently from Caes. B. G. 2. 6, 2.

18. **obices portarum.** Nipp. notes that 'subversi' would show that this is not to be taken of the bars or beams of the gates (cp. H. 3. 30, 1), but of barricades in the gateways (cp. 'obices viarum' Liv. 9. 3, 1). The words might also mean 'the obstructions consisting of (or presented by) the gates,' as 'obices saxorum' (H. 4. 71, 4): cp. Verg. G. 4, 422; Aen. 10, 377.

escensu, *ἅπ. εἰρ.*: 'escensio' is

menta omnesque puberes trucidati sint, nullo milite amisso,
7 paucis admodum vulneratis. et inbelle vulgus sub corona venundatum, reliqua praeda victoribus cessit. pari fortuna legatus ac praefectus usi sunt, tribusque una die castellis expugnatis cetera terrore et alia sponte incolarum in deditionem veniebant. unde orta fiducia caput gentis Artaxata adgre-
8 diendi. nec tamen proximo itinere ductae legiones, quae si amnem Araxen, qui moenia adluit, ponte transgrederentur, sub ictum dabantur: procul et latioribus vadis transiere.

1 **40.** At Tiridates pudore et metu, ne, si concessisset obsidioni, nihil opis in ipso videretur, si prohiberet, inpeditis locis seque et equestres copias inligaret, statuit postremo ostendere aciem et dato die proelium incipere vel simulatione fugae locum fraudi
2 parare. igitur repente agmen Romanum circumfundit, non ignaro duce nostro, qui viae pariter et pugnae composuerat
3 exercitum. latere dextro tertia legio, sinistro sexta incedebat, mediis decumanorum delectis; recepta inter ordines impedimenta, et tergum mille equites tuebantur, quibus iusserat ut
4 instantibus comminus resisterent, refugos non sequerentur. in

found several times in Liv., and 'escendo' (c. 5, 3: 15. 59, 1) is rare, but in Cic. etc. The old edd. read, with some inferior MSS., 'ascensu,' which was formerly thought to be the Med. text also.

3. **reliqua praeda.** The price of the captives went to the state. 'Cedere' is used as in 2. 64, 4; 4. 43, 2; 14. 36, 4, and often in Livy.

5. **cetera . . . et alia,** 'the rest through fear, and in some cases with the goodwill of the inhabitants,' etc. 'Alia' is subordinate to 'cetera'; the sense being nearly the same as if 'cetera, alia terrore, alia sponte' had been used, but with the additional meaning that the former case was that of the larger number: see 1. 63, 7, and note; 12. 41, 5, etc. On the genit. with 'sponte' cp. 2. 59. 3 (and note); 4. 51, 5.

6. **Artaxata**: cp. 2. 56, 3 (and note); 12. 51, 5; Introd. i. v. § 85.

8. **Araxen**: see 12. 51, 4.

10. **si concessisset obsidioni,** 'should he have offered no resistance to the siege.' Nipp. notes such analogous phrases as 'concedere postulationi' (Cic. Mur. 23, 47), 'vitio' (Hor. Sat. 1. 4, 140), 'veris' (Id. 2. 3, 305). Tacitus oftener uses 'obsidium,' and it is possible that 'obsidio' should be read here, as the 'ni' may have been added from 'nihil.'

11. **inpeditis locis,** abl. of the instr.: cp. 'inligari praeda' (3. 21, 6), 'defectione Hyrcanorum' (15. 1, 1), 'conscientia inligare' (15. 51, 1). Tacitus does not appear to use the verb with a dative.

seque et: cp. 1. 4, 1, and note.

13. **dato die,** 'when a fit day offered itself': cp. 'dato tempore' (4. 40, 12).

14. **circumfundit**: cp. 12. 38, 3, and note.

15. **viae pariter et pugnae,** dat. of purpose: so in 1. 51, 4, 'incessit itineri et proelio' (where see note).

17. **decumanorum delectis.** This also was one of the regular Syrian legions (see Introd. i. vii. p. 103). Its main body would appear to have been left with Ummidius in Syria (see c. 8, 2).

18. **iusserat ut.** Dr. notes that this construction, though not found elsewhere in Tacitus, occurs in Plaut., Cic., and Liv. On the dative cp. c. 15, 3, etc.

19. **refugos**: cp. H. 2. 24, 3; 3. 61, 3; a poetical word, used by Ov., Luc., Stat., etc.

non sequerentur. Nipp. thinks that 'non' is used here instead of 'ne' to

cornibus pedes sagittarius et cetera manus equitum ibat, pro-
ductiore [cornu] sinistro per ima collium, ut, si hostis intravisset,
fronte simul et sinu exciperetur. adsultare ex diverso Tiridates, 5
non usque ad ictum teli, sed tum minitans, tum specie trepi-
dantis, si laxare ordines et diversos consectari posset. ubi nihil 6
temeritate solutum, nec amplius quam decurio equitum audentius
progressus et sagittis confixus ceteros ad obsequium exemplo
firmaverat, propinquis iam tenebris abscessit.

41. Et Corbulo castra in loco metatus, an expeditis legionibus 1
nocte Artaxata pergeret obsidioque circumdaret agitavit, con-
cessisse illuc Tiridaten ratus. dein postquam exploratores at- 2
tulere longinquum regis iter et Medi an Albani peterentur in-
certum, lucem opperitur, praemissaque levis armatura, quae muros
interim ambiret oppugnationemque eminus inciperet. sed op- 3
pidani portis sponte patefactis se suaque Romanis permisere,
quod salutem ipsis tulit: Artaxatis ignis inmissus deletaque et
solo aequata sunt, quia nec teneri *poterant* sine valido praesidio

emphasize the negation: cp. c. 51. 1; 15. 6, 3; also 1. 11, 3 (and note).

1. **productiore [cornu] sinistro.** Halm (with most recent edd.) follows the text of MS. Agr., but brackets 'cornu' as a probable gloss ('cornibus' having so lately preceded it). The Med. 'productiore corn; (='cornus' or 'cornuum') in sinistro' has given rise to other corrections, such as 'productiores in sinistro' (Nipp.; so also Ritt., with 'cornu' in brackets), 'productiore cornuum sinistro' (Lips.), 'productior cornu in sinistro' (Bekk.). The comparative 'productior' occurs in Cic. Or. 53, 178; Hor. A. P. 189.

3. **sinu,** i. e. by the extended wing enveloping his flank.

ex diverso, best taken as = 'ex adverso': cp. c. 57, 3; 14. 30, 1, etc. Gerber and Greef prefer taking it to mean 'ex diversis partibus, modo hinc modo illinc.'

4. **ad ictum:** so recent edd. after Baiter, for Med. 'addictum,' corrected to 'ad iactum' (the general reading). The use of 'ad ictum' in the sense of 'within range' may be compared with that of 'sub ictum' in c. 39, 8, and with the use of 'ictus' in the sense of 'aim' in H. 2. 22, 2; 3. 23, 5.

5. **diversos,** 'separated from each other': cp. 15. 56, 1, etc.

6. **nec amplius quam,** 'and only,' taken with the whole sentence: cp. 4. 34, 7, and note; also 15. 13, 2.

9. **in loco,** 'where he was': cp. 1. 62, 7.

10. **agitavit,** used as a verb of deliberation with 'an'; for its use with 'num,' etc. see 11. 29, 1, and note.

12. **Medi an Albani.** By the former, the people of Media Atropatene (see 2. 56, 1, and note) are meant: on the latter see 2. 68, 1, and note. He seems to have gone to Media (14. 26, 1).

13. **levis.** Med. has 'leui,' whence some follow Heins. in reading 'praemissa levi.'

16. **Artaxatis ignis inmissus.** On the reasons which make it probable that Corbulo wintered in the town and did not destroy it till the following spring see Introd. p. 114, 2.

17. **nec teneri poterant.** Nipp. (ed. 4) and Dr. follow Halm in inserting 'poterant,' which Ritt. prefers to insert before 'praesidio.' In neither place is its loss easily explained, but it is even less satisfactory to read 'teneres' as a potential subjunctive (as in c. 3, 6, etc.), as Nipp. formerly read, or to take the Med. text (with Ern. and Doed.) as a harsh anacoluthon; 'poterant' being supposed to be supplied in sense from 'nec id nobis virium erat.'

ob magnitudinem moenium, nec id nobis virium erat, quod
firmando praesidio et capessendo bello divideretur, vel si integra
et incustodita relinquerentur, nulla in eo utilitas aut gloria quod
4 capta essent. adicitur miraculum velut numine oblatum: nam
cuncta Artaxatis tenus sole inlustria fuere; quod moenibus
cingebatur, repente ita atra nube coopertum fulgoribusque dis-
cretum est, ut quasi infensantibus deis exitio tradi crederetur.
5 ob haec consalutatus imperator Nero, et senatus consulto sup-
plicationes habitae, statuaeque et arcus et continui consulatus
principi, utque inter festos referretur dies, quo patrata victoria,
quo nuntiata, quo relatum de ea esset, aliaque in eandem formam
decernuntur, adeo modum egressa, ut C. Cassius de ceteris
honoribus adsensus, si pro benignitate fortunae dis grates age-
rentur, ne totum quidem annum supplicationibus sufficere dis-

1. **quod . . . divideretur**, 'such as could be divided between leaving a strong guard (cp. 'firmatis praesidiis' Agr. 14, 4) and carrying on the war.' The datives are those of purpose.

2. **vel si**, etc. After 'nec' . . . 'nec,' a third alternative would naturally be introduced by 'sin vero.' The use of 'vel' in such a case is akin to its use by Tacitus for 'aut,' as in 14. 35, 4, etc.

4. **miraculum.** The eclipse of April 30, 812, A.D. 59, is mentioned by Pliny as having been seen in Armenia by Corbulo (see note on 14. 12, 3); and Egli (p. 284) takes this to be the phenomenon here spoken of, and grounds much of his chronology on the identification. But the climate would not allow a campaign to have begun so early (see Momms. Hist. v. 386, 1; E. T. ii. 53, 1); and the eclipse must therefore have been observed when the army was in some winter quarters. Nor is it possible that Tacitus, or Corbulo (whom no doubt he here closely follows), could ever have been understood to mean an eclipse by any such description as is here given. 'Miraculum' is probably one of the 'verba magnifica' (c. 8, 4) of Corbulo himself; who must apparently have seen some unusually striking effect of cloud and sunshine accompanying a thunderstorm; which, from its coincidence at such a moment, presented itself to his imagination as a sign of divine wrath impending over the devoted city.

5. **cuncta Artaxatis tenus**: so Halm, after Acid., for Med. 'cuncta extra tectis actenus' (with 'h' written above 'a'). The old edd. followed inferior MSS. in altering 'tectis' to 'tecta'; many, after Lips. altered 'hactenus' to 'tenus'; Nipp. brackets 'extra tectis' as the corruption of a gloss, which may originally have been 'extra tecta' or 'extra-iecta'; others (as Ritt.), for a similar reason, bracket 'tectis hactenus'; Weissenborn would read 'tectis ac portis tenus.'

6. **repente ita.** Med. places 'ita' before 'moenibus'; most edd. before 'repente.'

discretum, 'parted off from the rest': cp. 'velo discreta' (c. 5, 2). This interpretation appears to suit the context better than that of 'seamed' (cp. 'telas discreverat auro' Verg. Aen. 4, 264).

7. **infensantibus**: cp. c. 37, 1.

8. **consalutatus imperator**: cp. 2. 18, 2, and note.

9. **arcus**: for such decrees of triumphal arches see 2. 41, 1; 64, 2; 83, 3; 3. 57, 2; 15. 18, 1.

continui, 'in successive years.' For instances of such decrees of the consular office or title for life or for several years to princes see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1097. It is evident that Nero did not accept it, and that the ironical suggestion of Cassius was not resented.

10. **utque**: cp. c. 8, 1, and note.

11. **in eandem formam** = 'eiusmodi'; so in 15. 24, 1: cp. 'ad hanc formam' (H. 1. 5, 4); and other analogous expressions in 11. 3, 1; 16. 1, 1, etc.

12. **C. Cassius**, the jurist; see 12. 11, 4, etc.

seruerit, eoque oportere dividi sacros et negotiosos dies, quis divina colerent et humana non impedirent.

42. Variis deinde casibus iactatus et multorum odia meritus 1
reus, haud tamen sine invidia Senecae damnatur. is fuit P.
Suillius, imperitante Claudio terribilis ac venalis et mutatione
temporum non quantum inimici cuperent demissus quique se
nocentem videri quam supplicem mallet. eius opprimendi gratia 2
repetitum credebatur senatus consultum poenaque Cinciae legis
adversum eos qui pretio causas oravissent. nec Suillius questu 3
aut exprobratione abstinebat, praeter ferociam animi extrema
senecta liber et Senecam increpans infensum amicis Claudi, sub
quo iustissimum exilium pertulisset. simul studiis inertibus et 4
iuvenum inperitiae suetum livere iis, qui vividam et incorruptam
eloquentiam tuendis civibus exercerent. se quaestorem Ger-

1. **dividi**, 'should be marked off'; i. e. that holy days and days of business should bear some fixed proportion to each other, so that the latter should not altogether disappear. Ritt. (1838) takes it to mean that holy days should be partly 'negotiosi' (i. e. 'dies intercisi'); but the words seem hardly to bear this meaning. 'Negotiosus dies' is ἅπ. εἰρ., but analogous to the ordinary application of the word.

quis = 'quibus ita divisis' ('which division being made').

3. **meritus**, 'who had earned': the notion of moral desert, though quite appropriate to this passage, is not always implied: cp. Agr. 4, 4, and other passages cited by Nipp. on 15. 6, 3; also the parallel expressions 'stipendia mereri,' etc.

4. **invidia**, 'feeling against'; so 'invidiam matris' (14. 12, 5), etc. Hated as Suillius was, his attacks on Seneca made some impression: see c. 43, 1.

is fuit: cp. 2. 1, 1, and note: on Suillius, see 11. 1, 1, and note.

5. **terribilis ac venalis**: see 11. 5, 1, 2.

6. **cuperent**: on the subjunct. with 'quantum' cp. 6. 19, 5, and note.

8. **repetitum ... senatus consultum**, i. e. the decree of 800, A. D. 47 (11. 7–8), renewed and made more stringent in 807, A. D. 54 (c. 5, 1). On the 'lex Cincia' see 11. 5, 3.

9. **questu**, nearly synonymous with 'exprobratione,' whence Ritt. thinks that 'quaestu' should be read; taking the meaning to be that he continued to violate the law.

10. **extrema senecta**, causal abl.

11. **increpans infensum**: cp. 6. 12, 1; also 'desertorem proditoremque increpant' (H. 2. 44, 2); in 15. 67, 6, and H. 4. 80, 3, 'ut' is used; in H. 2. 21, 6 both constructions are combined.

12. **exilium**: see 12. 8, 3, and note.

studiis inertibus, philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry, studies not directly touching active life, here opposed to the 'vivida eloquentia' of a forensic pleader like Suillius. So Seneca himself is made to speak (14. 53, 4) of his 'studia in umbra educata.'

13. **iuvenum inperitiae**, abstr. for concr. ('coetui iuvenum inperitorum'). Besides being the instructor of Nero, he exercised, especially by his writings, a powerful influence on young men. Quintilian says of him (10. 1, 126) 'tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adolescentium fuit . . . amabant autem eum magis quam imitabantur, tantumque ab eo defluebant, quantum ille ab antiquis descenderat.'

livere. The use of this verb with a dat. of person, on the analogy of 'invidere,' occurs here alone in Tacitus, and appears, as Nipp. notes, to be adopted by him from contemporary poets, as Stat. Silv. 1. 2, 151; Mart. 6. 86, 6.

14. **tuendis civibus exercerent**. The same expression recurs in 15. 48, 3. The construction is best taken as a dat. of purpose, though 'exercitus' often takes an abl., as in 14. 2, 4; 15. 26, 1, etc. Suillius is naturally made to represent

5 manici, illum domus eius adulterum fuisse. an gravius aesti-
mandum sponte litigatoris praemium honestae operae adsequi,
6 quam corrumpere cubicula principum feminarum? qua sapientia,
quibus philosophorum praeceptis intra quadriennium regiae
7 amicitiae ter miliens sestertium paravisset? Romae testamenta
et orbos velut indagine eius capi, Italiam et provincias inmenso
faenore hauriri: at sibi labore quaesitam et modicam pecu-
8 niam esse. crimen, periculum, omnia potius toleraturum quam

himself as a defender, though his real trade was that of a professional accuser (11. 5, 1).

quaestorem Germanici: see 4. 31, 5, and note.

1. **domus eius adulterum**: on the charge brought against him, and on the further scandal to which Dio has given credence, respecting his adultery with Agrippina, see Introd. p. 50, 9.

gravius aestimandum, an expression taken apparently from Caes. B. G. 7. 14, 10, where 'gravius' is taken adverbially. Nipp. would so take it here, as also 'satis' in 4. 39, 6; but in both places Tacitus may have taken the simple verb for the compound 'existimo' (see note there). It is also possible here that 'existimandum' is the true reading indicated by Med. 'extimandum': cp. c. 17, 2.

2. **sponte litigatoris**: see the distinction drawn between a free gift and a stipulation for advocacy in note on c. 5, 1.

3. **corrumpere**, usually with accus. of a person or an abstract noun (as 'fidem,' etc.), here used rhetorically as if 'cubicula' = 'sanctitatem cubiculorum.'

4. **philosophorum**. Wölfflin notes (Philol. xxvi. 141) that Tacitus (except in the 'Dialogus') uses this word and 'philosophia' three times only for 'sapiens' and 'sapientia,' and in these with some special reason. Here 'sapientia' stands close; in H. 3. 81, 1; Agr. 4, 4, it also occurs shortly before or after, and 'studium sapientiae' might seem less euphonious.

intra quadriennium, since Nero's accession.

5. **ter miliens**, 300 million HS. Dio (61. 10, 3) gives the same sum (75 million drachmae). On the lavish gifts of Nero to him see c. 18, 1, also 14. 53–54; and on the wealth of Seneca generally see Mayor on Juv. 10, 16. The sum here mentioned is the same as that attributed to Pallas (12. 53, 5).

paravisset. In a case like this, where 'paravit' would naturally be used in oratio directa, we should expect the infinitive, as in c. 43, 5; 14. 1, 2, etc. Similar exceptional uses of the subjunctive are noted by Nipp. and Dr. in c. 49, 2; H. 2. 74, 4; 4. 69, 2; also Caesar, B. C. 1. 32, 3 ('si improbasset, cur ferri passus esset'). In all these the question is sharply and emphatically put, and it may be supposed that some one is addressed, as if present, in the second person.

testamenta et orbos, 'wills and childless persons,' i. e. inheritances and legacies, especially from childless persons. Nipp. notes many instances of such hendiadys, in which a more special is added to explain a more general term, as 'paelice ancilla et consuetudine Actes' (c. 46, 4); 'famam et posteros' (11. 6, 1), etc. On the court paid to childless persons see c. 52, 3; 3. 25, 2, and note; Marquardt, Privatl. 74, 4.

6. **velut indagine**, a figure from the chase (Verg. Aen. 4, 121, etc.); thus a general is said to surround the enemy with a cordon of troops 'velut indagine' (Bell. Gall. 8. 18, 3), or 'indaginis modo' (Agr. 37, 4).

7. **hauriri**, 'are drained.' The story (see Introd. p. 144) connecting the rebellion of British tribes described in 14. 29, foll. with his usurious transactions, may perhaps be alluded to, though Tacitus makes no allusion to it in its place.

8. **crimen, periculum, omnia**, 'accusation, actual trial, anything' (even exile or death): 'periculum' has often the special sense of a criminal process, as in c. 33, 4, etc.

quam . . . submitteret: so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'submittere' (which Walth. defends from 3. 3, 2): the use of 'quam' (with the force of 'quam ut') with subjunct. after a future, in expressions with 'potius,' 'prius,' etc. is noted by Dr. as found in Sall. Jug. 106, 3 ('mansurum potius quam . . . vitae parceret'), and oftener in Livy (e.g. 4. 2, 9, etc.).

veterem ac domi partam dignationem subitae felicitati submitteret.

43. Nec deerant qui haec isdem verbis aut versa in deterius 1
Senecae deferrent. repertique accusatores direptos socios, cum
Suillius provinciam Asiam regeret, ac publicae pecuniae peculatum detulerunt. mox, quia inquisitionem annuam impetraverant, 2
brevius visum urbana crimina incipi, quorum obvii testes erant.
ii acerbitate accusationis Q. Pomponium ad necessitatem belli 3
civilis detrusum, Iuliam Drusi filiam Sabinamque Poppaeam ad
mortem actas et Valerium Asiaticum, Lusium Saturninum, Cornelium Lupum circumventos, iam equitum Romanorum agmina
damnata omnemque Claudii saevitiam Suillio obiectabant. ille 4

1. **domi partam**: so Halm and Nipp. after Gron., explaining it not exactly in the sense generally given to 'inlustres domi artes' (3. 70, 4), but rather as meaning 'gained by his own study and effort' (as contrasted with the origin of Seneca's wealth). Orelli follows L. Spengel in taking the Med. 'dō' as an abbreviation of 'dicendo'; Dr. and others (with Doed.) alter 'ac dō' to 'agendo'; others read 'ac diu' (with Pich.), as a contrast to 'subitae.'

subitae felicitati, 'the success of an upstart.'

5. **provinciam Asiam.** His proconsulate of Asia is probably to be dated towards the end of the rule of Claudius, and is attested by an inscription on a statue base in the Heraeum at Samos, ὁ δῆμος Πόπλιον [Σ]ουίλλιον Ῥοῦφον τὸν ἀνθύπατον Ἥρῃ (Waddington, Fast. As. i. 128).

6. **detulerunt**, apparently the right reading of the Med. detuler IX (see Ritt.): others read 'detulere' and 'detulerant.'

inquisitionem annuam, 'a year for collecting evidence,' for which purpose a considerable interval was generally allowed (see c. 52, 2, and note on 3. 70, 1). Cicero, for special reasons, used only fifty days to collect evidence against Verres (Verr. A. 1. 2, 6).

7. **visum.** The persons who so thought must be his enemies in general, as distinct from those who had offered to impeach him for his proconsulate of Asia.

urbana, those relating to his action in Rome. Ern. appears rightly to take the 'sub' preceding this word in Med. as a corruption arising out of a repetition of the last syllable of 'visum.'

8. **Q. Pomponium.** This person, called by Tacitus 'moribus inquies' (6. 18, 2), became cos. suff. on the death of Gaius, and in that capacity exhorted the senate to re-establish the Republic (Jos. Ant. 19. 4, 5), or at least to set up a worthy emperor (Id. B. I. 2. 11, 2); which may probably have furnished ground of accusation against him, and driven him to join Camillus Scribonianus (see Introd. p. 11). Nipp. notes that his name is erased where it occurs as consul in the Fasti of the Feriae Latinae (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2015).

9. **Iuliam**: see c. 32, 5.

Sabinam Poppaeam . . . Valerium Asiaticum: see 11. 1, 1, foll.

10. **Lusium Saturninum.** An inscription found at Salonae (C. I. L. iii. 1. 2028) gives the names of Q. Entelius Lusius Saturninus, and M. Seius Veranus as coss. (suff.), apparently in one of the later years of Tiberius. He is enumerated among the consular victims under Claudius in Sen. Lud. 13, 5 (where the text has 'Saturnius'), but nothing more is known of him.

Cornelium Lupum, also mentioned in Sen. l. l. He was cos. suff. with Largus in 795, A.D. 42 (Gaius 3. 63), and had been praetorian proconsul of Crete and Cyrene under Tiberius, as is shown by Cretan coins (see Eckh. ii. 302; Borghesi, Œuvr. i. 439, and other authorities here cited by Nipp.).

11. **iam**, 'and more,' used with the force of 'iam vero' to point a climax: cp. 1. 41, 3; 14. 12, 3; 32, 2.

equitum . . . agmina. Suet. says (Cl. 29) 'in trecentos amplius equites Romanos animadvertit'; in Sen. Lud. 14, 1 the number is read by Haase as 'C.C.'

nihil ex his sponte susceptum, sed principi paruisse defendebat,
donec eam orationem Caesar cohibuit, compertum sibi referens
ex commentariis patris sui nullam cuiusquam accusationem ab
5 eo coactam. tum iussa Messalinae praetendi et labare defensio:
cur enim neminem alium delectum qui saevienti impudicae vocem
praeberet? puniendos rerum atrocium ministros, ubi pretia scelerum
6 adepti scelera ipsa aliis delegent. igitur adempta bonorum parte
(nam filio et nepti pars concedebatur eximebanturque etiam quae
testamento matris aut aviae acceperant) in insulas Baleares pelli-
tur, non in ipso discrimine, non post damnationem fractus animo;
ferebaturque copiosā et molli vitā secretum illud toleravisse.
7 filium eius Nerullinum adgressis accusatoribus per invidiam patris
et crimina repetundarum, intercessit princeps tamquam satis ex-
pleta ultione.

1 **44.** Per idem tempus Octavius Sagitta plebei tribunus, Pontiae
mulieris nuptae amore vaecors, ingentibus donis adulterium et

1. **defendebat**, 'he was pleading in defence;' only here so used by Tacitus, but in several places in Cic.

3. **commentariis patris.** On these private journals of the princeps see Introd. i. iii. p. 15.

4. **coactam**, 'had been enforced' on anyone: cp. 4. 51, 4; 16. 19, 4; H. 4. 42, 4; Cic. de Div. 2. 35, 73.

labare: cp. 'defensio . . . trepidavit' (3. 14, 1).

5. **vocem praeberet**, 'lend himself to be the mouthpiece.'

7. **delegent**, 'impute'; so in Cic. and Livy.

parte, 'half': cp. 3. 18, 8; 4. 20, 2, etc. It would appear that he was not 'relegatus in insulam' but 'deportatus,' which sentence ipso facto involved loss of property, so that the limitation here mentioned (cp. 3. 68, 3, etc.) is a concession: see Marqu. Staatsv. ii. 287.

8. **filio et nepti.** The former would be Nerullinus (12. 25, 1), the latter probably a daughter of the other son, Caesoninus (see 11. 36, 5), who would appear, from the absence of any mention of him, to have been dead or in exile.

9. **matris aut aviae**, the mother of the former and grandmother of the latter, i.e. the wife of Suillius; whether the same who was also stepdaughter of Ovid, is unknown.

insulas Baleares. These islands formed part of the province of Hispania Tarraconensis, and were placed under a 'praefectus pro legato' (Insc. Or. 732).

11. **copiosa**, 'well supplied': cp. 'artibus honestis copiosum' (3. 66, 5). A liberal 'viaticum' (see note on 3. 17, 8) may have been allowed to him, or he may have been supported by his son and granddaughter.

secretum, 'retirement': cp. 'pari secreto . . . Rhodi secreto' (4. 57, 2, 3); also 14. 53, 3; Agr. 39, 4.

12. **adgressis**: for the transitive use of a deponent participle in abl. abs. see Introd. i. v. § 31 d.

13. **crimina repetundarum.** He may have been legatus to his father in Asia, or may have governed a senatorial or Caesarian province of lower rank. His own proconsulate of Asia was not earlier than 823, A.D. 70 (see note on 12. 25, 1).

intercessit, 'interposed his veto': cp. 14. 48, 3, etc.

tamquam: cp. Introd. i. v. § 67.

15. **Octavius Sagitta.** An inscription found in the Pelignian territory (Henzen 5177 a) is noted by Nipp. as recording some member of this family: Q. Octavio, L. f., Sagittae, quinq(ennali) II, pagus Boedinus.'

Pontiae. In a brief reference to this story in H. 4. 44, 3, the full name (Pontia Postumia) is given.

16. **adulterium**, etc: cp. the similar

mox, ut omitteret maritum, emercatur, suum matrimonium pro-
mittens ac nuptias eius pactus. sed ubi mulier vacua fuit, nectere 2
moras, adversam patris voluntatem causari repertaque spe ditioris
coniugis promissa exuere. Octavius contra modo conqueri, 3
modo minitari, famam perditam, pecuniam exhaustam obtestans,
denique salutem, quae sola reliqua esset, arbitrio eius permittens.
ac postquam spernebatur, noctem unam ad solacium poscit, qua 4
delenitus modum in posterum adhiberet. statuitur nox et Pontia 5
consciae ancillae custodiam cubiculi mandat. ille uno cum liberto
ferrum veste occultum infert. tum, ut adsolet in amore et ira, 6
iurgia preces, exprobratio satisfactio et pars tenebrarum libidini
seposita; ex qua quasi incensus nihil metuentem ferro trans-
verberat et accurrentem ancillam vulnere absterret cubiculoque
prorumpit. postera die manifesta caedes, haud ambiguus per- 7
cussor; quippe mansitasse una convincebatur, sed libertus suum
illud facinus profiteri, se patroni iniurias ultum isse. commove- 8
ratque quosdam magnitudine exempli, donec ancilla ex vulnere
refecta verum aperuit. postulatusque apud consules a patre 9

coordination of an accus. and a clause with 'ut' in c. 8, 1, etc.

1. **emercatur**: cp. 12. 14, 1, and note.

2. **vacua**: so used of a widow in Ov. M. 14, 831.

4. **exuere**: so with 'fidem,' 'pacta,' etc.: see note on 1. 69, 2.

5. **obtestans**, more commonly used with accus. of the person, or quality in a person, to which appeal is made, here of that in himself on which the appeal is grounded: cp. 'necessitudinem nostram . . . obtestans' (Cic. Ep. ad Brut. 1. 13, 1).

6. **salutem**, 'his life': cp. 15. 60, 5, etc.

11. **satisfactio**, 'apology': cp. 'satisfactum' (3. 31, 6).

libidini: so most edd. after Rhen. for Med. 'libidine,' which Walther defends; but cp. c. 54, 2; 14. 54, 4; 15. 60, 2.

12. **ex qua quasi incensus**: so Halm for Med. 'et quastim census.' The latter part is read by all as 'incensus'; for the former, Orelli, Nipp., Jacob follow Bekk. in reading 'ex qua' (without 'quasi'); Dr. follows Jac. Gron. in reading 'et quasi'; among other readings are 'ex qua statim' (Walth.), 'qua stimulante' (Ritt.), 'ex qua aestu' (Oberl.). The correction 'ex' for 'et' is supported by H. 4. 37, 4, etc., and 'ex qua' is similarly used in 2. 34, 7. If 'quasi' be read, it would imply that the murder was really deliberate (a weapon having been brought for the purpose), but committed as if under a paroxysm of passion: cp. 'quasi nescius' (6. 11, 4), 'quasi . . . memor' (12. 47, 8).

14. **prorumpit**, so used with simple abl. (as Nipp. notes) in 15. 40, 3; H. 4. 34, 7: cp. 'proruptus corpore sudor' (Verg. Aen. 7, 459).

15. **mansitasse**, a rare verb, used also in 14. 42, 2; Pl. N. H. 10. 3, 3, 7.

convincebatur, 'he could be proved': on the construction cp. 4. 31, 5, and note.

16. **commoverat**, etc., 'he had influenced the belief of some by so great an example of devotion.' Men could not believe that he would take such a crime on himself if he had not committed it. 'Exemplum' is so used for a deed worthy of being taken as an example in 15. 20, 2, etc.

18. **apud consules**, i.e. before the senate (1. 73, 3). For their jurisdiction in cases of murder see 4. 22, 3, and note.

interfectae, postquam tribunatu abierat, sententia patrum et lege de sicariis condemnatur.

1 **45.** Non minus insignis eo anno inpudicitia magnorum rei publicae malorum initium fecit. erat in civitate Sabina Poppaea, T. Ollio patre genita, sed nomen avi materni sumpserat, inlustri memoria Poppaei Sabini, consulari et triumphali decore praefulgentis; nam Ollium honoribus nondum functum amicitia
2 Seiani pervertit. huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere praeter honestum animum. quippe mater eius, aetatis suae feminas pulchritudine supergressa, gloriam pariter et formam dederat; opes claritudini generis sufficiebant. sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium: modestiam praeferre et lascivia uti. rarus in publicum egressus, idque velata parte oris, ne satiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat.
3 famae numquam pepercit, maritos et adulteros non distinguens; neque adfectui suo aut alieno obnoxia, unde utilitas ostendere-

1. **postquam tribunatu abierat.** For another instance in which a charge against a tribune was so deferred see note on 1. 53, 6. Other magistrates were not so protected during office under the empire; we have the accusation of a praetor in 4. 22, 1, of an aedile in Suet. Dom. 8.

lege, the 'lex Cornelia' of Sulla, which prescribed the penalty of deportation and forfeiture of all property; for which in later times, in the case of meaner criminals, punishment of death was substituted (Marcian in Dig. 48. 8, 3, 5). Octavius tried in vain to procure a reversal of this sentence twelve years later (H. 4. 44, 2). Lucan is stated by his anonymous biographer to have composed a speech on each side of this 'cause célèbre' as a rhetorical exercise.

4. **Sabina Poppaea.** On her character and influence see Introd. p. 61, foll. The only known representations of her are on medals struck in provincial Greek cities, which probably do not give an authentic portrait (see Visc. Ic. Rom. pl. 30; Cohen, i. p. 216; Bernoulli, p. 417, foll., pl. xxxv).

6. **inlustri memoria**, abl. abs.

Poppaei Sabini: see 1. 80, 1, and note.

7. **honoribus nondum functum.** He had been quaestor (Suet. Ner. 35); so that 'honoribus' is here used of the higher magistracies: cp. c. 29, 2; H. 2. 1, 2, etc., and 'tergeminis honoribus' (Hor. Od. 1. 1, 8).

amicitia Seiani pervertit. His name is not mentioned in the extant narrative of that period. For the expression cp. 6. 29, 4.

9. **mater**, the Poppaea of 11. 2, 1, foll.

10. **supergressa**, 'having exceeded': so in 14. 52, 2; also in M. Seneca, Quint., etc.

11. **comis**, 'winning': so used of 'sermo' (15. 48, 3), 'oratio' (H. 1. 19, 1).

nec absurdum, 'not without brilliancy': so 'neque absurdus ingenio' (H. 3. 62, 3), 'non absurde' (c. 14, 1). The expression is here no doubt taken from Sall. Cat. 25, 5 (see Introd. i. v. § 97, 1); the general description there given of Sempronia being evidently in the mind of Tacitus.

13. **quia sic decebat** (sc. 'eam'), 'because it was becoming to her': cp. Plaut. Most. 1. 3, 10 ('contempla . . . satin' haec me vestis deceat').

14. **non distinguens**, i.e. putting them on the same footing.

15. **neque . . . obnoxia**, 'never influenced by affection in herself or another': cp. 'non odio aut privatis adfectionibus obnoxium' (3. 58, 4).

unde, 'from whatever quarter': cp. 'unde spes maior adfuisset' (Vell. 2. 21, 1). The subjunct. is that of action often repeated (see Introd. i. v. § 52), or is possibly potential.

tur, illuc libidinem transferebat. igitur agentem eam in matri- 4
monio Rufri Crispini equitis Romani, ex quo filium genuerat,
Otho pellexit iuventa ac luxu et quia flagrantissimus in amicitia
Neronis habebatur: nec mora quin adulterio matrimonium iun-
geretur.

46. Otho sive amore incautus laudare formam elegantiamque 1
uxoris apud principem, sive ut accenderet ac, si eadem femina
poterentur, id quoque vinculum potentiam ei adiceret. saepe 2
auditus est consurgens e convivio Caesaris, se quidem ire ad
illam, sibi concessam dictitans nobilitatem, pulchritudinem, vota
omnium et gaudia felicium. his atque talibus inritamentis non 3
longa cunctatio interponitur. sed accepto aditu Poppaea primum
per blandimenta et artes valescere, imparem cupidini se et forma
Neronis captam simulans; mox acri iam principis amore ad
superbiam vertens, si ultra unam alteramque noctem attineretur,

1. **agentem eam.** Some have thought the pronoun an insertion; but Wölfflin points out (Philol. xxvi. 103) that the feminine pronoun is less easily omitted than the masculine or neuter, and that there is here a transition from her character to facts of her life.

2. **Rufri Crispini,** formerly praefect of the praetorians: see 11. 1, 3; 12. 42, 1; 15. 71, 8.

filium. Suet. states (Ner. 35) that Nero ordered this boy's slaves to drown him while he was fishing. A tradition that Nero himself stabbed him, seems implied in the dream which Poppaea is made to relate in the 'Octavia' (744–747).

3. **Otho pellexit,** etc.: cp. c. 12, 1. The account in the Histories (1. 13, 8) agrees substantially with that of Suet. (Oth. 3), Plutarch (Galb. 19, 106), and Dio (61. 11, 2), that Nero was already a lover of Poppaea while she was the wife of Crispinus, and that Otho, who had married her merely to oblige Nero and to facilitate his intercourse with her, became himself afterwards enamoured of her, and was consequently exiled. It is generally thought that Tacitus is here correcting his earlier view by what appeared to him a truer version.

flagrantissimus, here a strange hypallage for 'flagrantissima in amicitia esse': the word is used with 'vis' (1. 22, 1), 'gratia' (11. 29, 1), 'flagitia' (14. 51, 4), 'libidines' (H. 2. 31, 1).

9. **consurgens . . . dictitans** = 'dictitans cum consurgeret.'

se quidem: so Halm and Dr., after Weissenborn, for Med. 'seque,' which Walth. retains and defends; most edd. read 'se' with inferior MSS.; Nipp. has 'sese'; Ritt. retains the Med. text, marking a lacuna after 'Caesaris,' which he supposes may have been filled by some such words as 'se domi desiderari a coniuge seque,' etc.

10. **sibi:** so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'ubi,' which Pfitzn. retains with the sense of 'apud quam,' comparing 'ibi' (§ 4).

vota omnium et gaudia felicium, 'what all long for and the fortunate enjoy.' Gron. notes the same thought in an inscription (Grut. 637, 5), 'quod omnes rogant sed felices impetrant.'

11. **his . . . inritamentis,** best taken with Nipp. as an abl. abs. = 'cum haec . . . inritamenta essent': 'interponitur' is taken absolutely ('is allowed to intervene'), and is explained by 'accepto aditu' (sc. 'ad Neronem').

13. **imparem,** 'unable to resist': cp. 'quibus flagitiis impares essemus' (3. 53, 2).

15. **ultra unam alteramque,** i. e. 'beyond a second': 'unam alteramve' would be 'one or two' (see note on 3. 34, 8). By absence on three consecutive nights, the 'usus' of matrimony was broken, but the marriage itself was not dissolved.

nuptam esse se dictitans, nec posse matrimonium amittere, de-
4 vinctam Othoni per genus vitae, quod nemo adaequaret: illum
animo et cultu magnificum; ibi se summa fortuna digna visere:
at Neronem, paelice ancilla et adsuetudine Actes devinctum,
nihil e contubernio servili nisi abiectum et sordidum traxisse.
5 deicitur familiaritate sueta, post congressu et comitatu Otho, et
ad postremum, ne in urbe aemulatus ageret, provinciae Lusita-
niae praeficitur; ubi usque ad civilia arma non ex priore infamia
sed integre sancteque egit, procax otii et potestatis temperantior.
1 **47.** Hactenus Nero flagitiis et sceleribus velamenta quaesivit.
suspectabat maxime Cornelium Sullam, socors ingenium eius in

1. **amittere,** 'to give up': cp. 2. 71, 8; 14. 26, 1; also 'vis me uxorem ducere, hanc vis amittere' (Ter. And. 5. 3, 27).

3. **cultu,** 'refinement': cp. 'per cultum et munditias' (3. 30, 4).

ibi = 'apud illum' (cp. 'illuc' H. 2. 24, 2), 'there she saw a style worthy of the highest position': 'visere' = 'to see habitually,' as in 6. 26, 3: 14. 1, 4, etc.

4. **paelice ancilla et adsuetudine Actes,** a similar hendiadys to that in c. 42, 7: 'ancilla' is a contemptuous exaggeration, as in c. 13, 1. The ablatives are read as accusatives in Med., which Weissenb. would retain with the insertion of 'per' before 'paelicem.' It has been thought that Seneca alludes to this taunt in de Ben. 1. 9, 4, 'si quis nulla se amica fecit insignem nec alienae uxori annuum praestat, hunc matronae humilem et sordidae libidinis et ancillariolum vocant.'

5. **contubernio servili.** This expression also is exaggerated in bitterness; 'contubernium' being the term for the union of a male and female slave, who were incapable of contracting legal marriage. The marriage of a Roman of senatorial rank with a freedwoman was not in itself legal, but could be legalised by special decree (see Vol. i. App. ii. on 'Lex Papia Poppaea,' capp. i, xxxiii).

6. **congressu et comitatu,** 'from attending his levees and accompanying his journeys': see Introd. i. vi. p. 81.

7. **aemulatus ageret** = 'aemuli partes sustineret': on the use of 'agere' cp. c. 14, 1, etc. 'Aemulatus' is probably ἅπ. εἰρ., but stands as a v. l. in H. 3. 66, 3; Agr. 46, 2. Walth. and Ritt. (1838) take it here as the nominative of the participle, and 'ageret' as = 'degeret'; but Tacitus does not appear to use the participle thus absolutely.

Lusitaniae. On this province see note on 4. 5, 3: it was governed usually by a legatus of praetorian rank (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 106); but Otho had filled no higher office than the quaestorship ('provinciam administravit quaestorius' Suet. Oth. 3), and was at this time but twenty-six years old. It would appear from Suet. (l. l.) that he was not sent out till after the murder of Agrippina; but see note on 14. 4, 6. Plutarch states (Galb. 20) that Seneca advised the sending him there. Suet. speaks of it as an honourable banishment, and quotes an epigram giving the reason ('uxoris moechus coeperat esse suae').

8. **ad civilia arma.** On the use of 'arma' for 'bellum' cp. 3. 55, 1, and note. Suet. says (l. l.) that he held it for ten years (i.e. 811–821, A.D. 58–68), when he was the first to join himself to Galba.

ex, 'in accordance with.'

9. **integre sancteque,** 'moderatione atque abstinentia singulari' (Suet. l. l.).

procax otii, 'a wanton in respect of his hours of idleness, more self-controlled in respect of his official life.' Such a genit. (see Introd. i. v. § 33 e γ) is found with 'temperans' in Ter. Phorm. 2. 1, 41; Plin. Pan. 52; and, though ἅπ. εἰρ. with 'procax,' is supported by Tacitean usage (see Introd. l. l.). Ritt. treats it as assimilated by error to 'potestatis,' and reads 'otio,' comparing 1. 16, 4; 14. 15, 8, etc.

10. **velamenta,** 'pretexts': the word is used in a similar sense in Sen. Vit. Beat. 12, 4 ('quaerentes libidinibus suis patrocinium aliquod et velamentum').

11. **suspectabat:** cp. 1. 5, 4, and note.

Cornelium Sullam: see c. 23, 1; 12. 52, 1, and note. The description of

contrarium trahens callidumque et simulatorem interpretando.
quem metum Graptus ex libertis Caesaris, usu et senecta Tiberio 2
abusque domum principum edoctus, tali mendacio intendit. pons
Mulvius in eo tempore celebris nocturnis inlecebris erat; ventita-
batque illuc Nero, quo solutius urbem extra lasciviret. igitur 3
regredienti per viam Flaminiam compositas insidias fatoque
evitatas, quoniam diverso itinere Sallustianos in hortos re-
meaverit, auctoremque eius doli Sullam ementitur, quia forte
redeuntibus ministris principis quidam per iuvenilem licentiam,
quae tunc passim exercebatur, inanem metum fecerant. neque 4
servorum quisquam neque clientium Sullae adgnitus, maximeque
despecta et nullius ausi capax natura eius a crimine abhorrebat:
proinde tamen quasi convictus esset, cedere patria et Massiliensium
moenibus coerceri iubetur.

his character here given may be compared with that in 14. 57, 4.

1. **trahens . . . interpretando.** On this coordination see Introd. i. v. § 91, 6: on the sense of 'trahere' cp. 1. 62, 3, and note.

2. **libertis Caesaris.** He would be Nero's freedman, even supposing that he had been freed by Tiberius (see on c. 12, 1).

3. **abusque,** a correction of Lips. for Med. 'auo usque.' This prep. is used by Tacitus in 15. 37, 5, and is taken from Verg. Aen. 7, 289. On the anastrophe, see Introd. i. v. § 77. 1.

domum . . . edoctus, i.e. trained in arts of intrigue.

intendit, 'increases': cp. 2. 38, 6, and note.

pons Mulvius (also called 'Milvius'), the 'Ponte Molle,' on the via Flaminia, two miles outside the city, mentioned in the Histories (1. 87, 1, etc.) and in other authors.

4. **in eo tempore,** for simple abl.: cp. 11. 29, 1, and note.

celebris nocturnis inlecebris, 'famous for' (or 'crowded with') places of nightly attraction.' The latter interpretation is perhaps best supported by parallel instances in Tacitus (e.g. 4. 67, 6; 14. 33, 1; 15. 22, 4; H. 1. 81, 1). On this form of the masc. cp. 2. 88, 4, and note.

6. **regredienti,** taken with 'compositas insidias,' and used concisely with the force of a hypothetical clause (='si regrederetur'): see Introd. i. v. § 54. They had supposed that he would return by the Flaminian way, and had laid a plot accordingly.

7. **Sallustianos.** These gardens lay in the valley between the Quirinal and Pincian hills, near the Barberini palace, in the gardens of which some remains, taken to be those of the villa, still exist (see Middleton, p. 405, foll.). They were laid out by the historian Sallust, and inherited by his adoptive son (see 3. 30, 3), from whom they had probably passed to Tiberius. To reach them, Nero would turn off from the Flaminian way to the left (see H. 3. 82, 4).

9. **redeuntibus,** sc. 'per viam Flaminiam.'

iuvenilem. Bekk. and Orelli retain the Med. 'iuvenalem'; which form is generally read in Verg. Aen. 2, 518; 5, 475; 8, 163; but Tacitus appears to use this form only in naming the games of Nero (14. 15, 1, etc.), and elsewhere in seven places 'iuvenilis' and 'iuveniliter.' On the practice alluded to see c. 25, 1, foll., Suet. Oth. 2.

12. **ausi**: for this substantive, cp. 2. 39, 3, and note.

a crimine abhorrebat, 'was inconsistent with the charge': the verb has this sense in H. 5. 24, 1, and in Cic., Liv., etc.

13. **proinde,** corrected by Halm. and others to 'perinde': see c. 21, 3, and note.

Massiliensium. Other instances of this city being a place of real or virtual banishment are seen in 4. 43, 8; 44, 5. For the subsequent fate of Sulla see 14. 57, 6.

1 **48.** Isdem consulibus auditae Puteolanorum legationes, quas diversas ordo plebs ad senatum miserant, illi vim multitudinis, hi
2 magistratuum et primi cuiusque avaritiam increpantes. eaque seditio ad saxa et minas ignium progressa ne caedem et arma
3 proliceret, C. Cassius adhibendo remedio delectus. quia severitatem eius non tolerabant, precante ipso ad Scribonios fratres ea cura transfertur, data cohorte praetoria, cuius terrore et paucorum supplicio rediit oppidanis concordia.

1 **49.** Non referrem vulgarissimum senatus consultum, quo civitati Syracusanorum egredi numerum edendis gladiatoribus finitum permittebatur, nisi Paetus Thrasea contra dixisset prae-

iubetur, i.e. by mere message from Nero.

1. **Puteolanorum**, the people of Puteoli, originally Dicaearchia, the ancient port of Cumae (Strab. 5, 4, 6, 245), now Pozzuoli. On its status see 14, 27, 2, and note.

2. **ordo plebs.** Many read 'ordo plebsque' (with some inferior MSS. and corr. of Med.), but the asyndeton is suitable to the contrast in the next clause (cp. Introd. i. v. § 65). 'Ordo' is so used for the municipal senate, or 'ordo decurionum,' in H. 2. 52, 3, and often in inscriptions. Orelli cites one from Capacci, Hist. Puteol. p. 6 ('splendidissimus ordo et populus Puteolanorum'). On the constitution of these municipal senates see Marqu. Staatsv. i. p. 501, foll.).

ad senatum. The authority of the consuls and senate over the Italian communities had been expressly guaranteed by Nero (c. 4, 3), who in another case, where the matter was first brought before him, refers it to the senate (14. 17, 3), and must here have so far acted with them as to send the cohort mentioned below. See an instance of similar action by the senate in H. 4. 45, 1, and the remarks in Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1196.

3. **primi cuiusque.** The form of expression shows that the wealthier citizens in general are meant, not such smaller bodies as are called 'decem primi' (Cic. Rosc. Am. 9, 25), 'quindecim primi' (Caes. B. C. 1. 35, 1), etc.

4. **ne caedem**: so Halm and others, after Nipp. for Med. 'necem,' for which Orelli and others (after a suggestion of Walther) read 'ne necem.' The old edd. read (with G.) 'cumque seditio . . . necem,' etc.

5. **C. Cassius**: see 12. 11. 4, etc. For a special commissioner thus sent to restore order in an Italian community see Liv. 41. 27, 3, and other instances given in Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1203, 2.

6. **Scribonios fratres**: so named also in H. 4. 41, 3. Their respective surnames were Rufus and Proculus, and they were for some years contemporaneously legati of Upper and Lower Germany. Nero sent for them to Greece in 820, A. D. 67, and compelled them to commit suicide (Dio, 63. 17, 2, foll.).

9. **vulgarissimum**, 'most commonplace' (i. e. most unimportant): cp. 'vulgaribus patrum consultis' (16. 22, 1), 'nihil tam vulgare . . . agebatur' (Plin. Pan. 54); whence Haase (followed by all recent edd. except Ritt.) thus corrects here the Med. 'uulgatissimum,' which would mean 'most generally known.' No comparative or superlative of 'vulgaris' is however elsewhere found. In Dial. 6, 5, to which Ritt. refers, 'vulgaria' is now generally read.

10. **numerum . . . finitum.** Augustus had established the rule in 732, B. C. 22, that in Rome there should not be, except by special decree, more than two public gladiatorial shows in the year, and that the number of gladiators should not exceed 120 (Dio, 54. 2, 4); Tiberius appears to have made some further reduction (Suet. Tib. 34), but the rule was relaxed by Gaius (Dio, 59, 14, 3). The number permitted in Italian towns is not known, but we find as many as thirty and thirty-five pairs contending at Pompeii (Insc. Or. 2530). Requests similar to the present must have been of constant occurrence, as Plin. (l. l.) gives as a type of a common-place question 'de ampliando numero gladiatorum . . . consulebamur.'

11. **Paetus Thrasea**, here first mentioned in the extant narrative. A tablet

buissetque materiem obtrectatoribus arguendae sententiae. cur 2
enim, si rem publicam egere libertate senatoria crederet, tam
levia consectaretur? quin de bello aut pace, de vectigalibus et
legibus, quibusque aliis *res* Romana contineretur, suaderet dis-
suaderetve? licere patribus, quotiens ius dicendae sententiae
accepissent, quae vellent expromere relationemque in ea postu-
lare. an solum emendatione dignum, ne Syracusis spectacula 3
largius ederentur: cetera per omnes imperii partes perinde egre-
gia, quam si non Nero sed Thrasea regimen eorum teneret?
quod si summa dissimulatione transmitterentur, quanto magis 4
inanibus abstinendum? Thrasea contra, rationem poscentibus 5
amicis, non praesentium ignarum respondebat eius modi con-
sulta corrigere, sed patrum honori dare, ut manifestum fieret
magnarum rerum curam non dissimulaturos, qui animum etiam
levissimis adverterent.

50. Eodem anno crebris populi flagitationibus, inmodestiam 1

found at Pompeii (see Mommsen in Hermes, xii. 128) shows his full name to have been 'P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus,' and that he was consul with Duvius (or Dubius) Avitus (c. 54, 3) in the latter months of 809, A. D. 56. His name had been previously supposed, from that of his daughter (see on 16. 28, 2), to be Fannius.

1. **arguendae sententiae**, 'for blaming his vote': cp. 'arguens insolentiam sententiae' (3. 59, 2).

3. **consectaretur**: cp. c. 42, 6, on this subjunct., as also 'suaderet dissuaderetve' below (a correction of Lips. for the infin. in Med., which Ritt. retains, thinking that 'vellet' has dropped out after 've').

4. **res Romana contineretur**, 'on which the Roman commonwealth depended': cp. H. 1. 84, 3: 3. 86, 3; Dial. 33, 3; also 'quibus (legibus) . . . respublica continetur' (Cic. Off. 3. 5, 23). Many edd. follow Lips. in reading 'res Romana continetur' for the Med. 'Romana continentur': the further change to 'contineretur' is introduced by Halm (with MS. Bud.), and followed by Nipp., Dr., Jacob. Ritt. reads 'res Romanae continentur,' supporting the plural by reference to 6. 14, 3; 12. 7, 5; 16. 16, 3, etc. The indicative can stand, taken as a parenthesis interposed in the oratio obliqua (Introd. i. v. § 49).

6. **quae vellent expromere**; i.e. 'per egressionem': see c. 26, 2, etc. An ordinary senator had no 'ius relationis,' but had power thus to call attention to a question, and to ask that it should be formally brought before the house by the consuls ('relationem postulare').

8. **partes**, 'departments': cp. 'quaecumque pars (reipublicae) mandaretur' (1. 12. 1).

perinde quam si: cp. 1. 73, 5, and note.

10. **si summa**, etc., 'if the highest questions are passed over by ignoring them': for this use of 'dissimulatio' cp. 'conatus per dissimulationem aluit' (H. 4. 18, 1); also Agr. 6, 2; 18, 7; and the use of 'dissimulatus' in 4. 19. 4. 'Transmittere' is so used in 15. 31, 2, etc.

12. **non . . . ignarum** (sc. 'se'), 'it was not because he had no perception of the present situation' (as a whole).

13. **corrigere** = 'corrigenda censere': see note on 4. 20, 2.

dare, 'he paid this tribute to': cp. 1. 7, 10, where, as here, the object is supplied from the following clause.

14. **curam non dissimulaturos**, 'would not conceal their interest in,' i. e. that they would speak on great matters if they thought fit.

16. **crebris flagitationibus**, abl. abs. Such complaints generally found expression at public entertainments, etc.: see 6. 13, 1, and note.

publicanorum arguentis, dubitavit Nero, an cuncta vectigalia omitti iuberet idque pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium
2 daret. sed impetum eius, multum prius laudata magnitudine animi, attinuere senatores, dissolutionem imperii docendo, si fructus quibus res publica sustineretur deminuerentur: quippe sublatis portoriis sequens ut tributorum abolitio expostularetur.
3 plerasque vectigalium societates a consulibus et tribunis plebei constitutas acri etiam tum populi Romani libertate; reliqua mox ita provisa, ut ratio quaestuum et necessitas erogationum
4 inter se congrueret. temperandas plane publicanorum cupidines,

1. **publicanorum**: see 4. 6, 4, and note: their 'inmodestia' ('extortionateness') is explained by 'cupidines' below (§ 4), and by the regulations laid down (c. 51).

dubitavit, 'considered the question': cp. 4. 57, 5, and note.

cuncta vectigalia, 'all indirect taxes' (opposed to 'tributa' below and in 1. 11, 6). The 'portoria,' so far the most important class of them as to be mentioned below as a synonym for the whole, were the customs or import duties, levied at the frontiers of the empire and at those of each of its great financial districts (comprising in most cases more than one province each), and also minor local tolls or dues (see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 269, foll.). That Nero contemplated universal free trade throughout the empire is difficult to believe; but the words 'donum generi mortalium' point to such a conception. Merivale, who thinks that the proposal was more limited (see Introd. p. 58, 10), holds that Tacitus must have misunderstood the question (Hist. Rom. ch. 52, p. 105, foll.).

3. **impetum**, 'his impulse': cp. c. 54, 6; 12. 12, 3, etc.; also 'occidendi regis . . . impetum ceperat' (Curt. 5. 12, 1), 'impetus moriendi' (Suet. Oth. 9).

4. **senatores**. The term used would support the explanation that the advice of individual senators, not any corporate action of the senate as such, is meant. But there is much to be said for the view of Lips. adopted by Nipp., that 'seniores' should be read, and that the question was discussed in the private cabinet of the princeps. The regulations made are by imperial edict, without any senatorial decree (c. 51, 1); and it is a moot point whether the transference of the 'vectigalia' from the aerarium to the fiscus, certainly an established fact in the time of Ulpian (see Hirschf. 20, 1), had not already taken place, as seems indicated by Plin. N. H. 6. 22, 24, 84 ('Claudii principatu . . . Anni Plocami, qui maris Rubri vectigal a fisco redemerat, libertus').

6. **sequens**, sc. 'esse.' Cic. thus has 'consequens esse' (de Or. 2. 53, 215; Tusc. 5. 8, 21).

tributorum. These denote all direct taxes, not only those paid in money, as poll-tax, etc., but also those levied in kind, as the corn tithe (4. 6, 4), etc. It would be really necessary for the 'tributa' to be vastly increased if 'vectigalia' were abolished; and as Roman citizens paid no tribute, the whole cost of the empire would fall on the subjects.

7. **vectigalium societates**, the 'societates equitum Romanorum' of 4. 6, 4 (where see note). The institution of a 'vectigal' carried with it that of a corresponding 'societas'; and the reason for using this expression rather than 'pleraque vectigalia' may possibly be to remind Nero of the great interests of Roman citizens involved in the collection of these revenues.

a consulibus et tribunis plebei, i. e. by 'leges' or 'plebiscita' proposed by them, especially on occasion of the organisation of the several provinces (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 108, 2). A still earlier instance would be that of the 'lex de vicesima eorum qui manumitterentur' (Liv. 7. 16, 7).

8. **acri**, 'being in full vigour.' Cp. 'acrius servitium' (6. 48, 5). Muretus has been generally followed in placing 'tum' before, instead of (as in Med.) after 'populi Romani.'

9. **quaestuum** = 'redituum,' 'sources of income.'

10. **congrueret**. The final 't' has been lost in Med. before 'temperandas.' Most edd. read 'congruerent,' with G.

plane, concessive, as in 3. 34, 4, etc.

ne per tot annos sine querella tolerata novis acerbitatibus ad invidiam verterent.

51. Ergo edixit princeps, ut leges cuiusque publici, occultae 1
ad id tempus, proscriberentur; omissas petitiones non ultra
annum resumerent; Romae praetor, per provincias qui pro
praetore aut consule essent iura adversus publicanos extra or-
dinem redderent; militibus immunitas servaretur, nisi in iis
quae veno exercerent; aliaque admodum aequa, quae brevi
servata, dein frustra habita sunt. manet tamen abolitio qua- 2
dragensimae quinquagensimaeque et qua alia exactionibus in-

1. **acerbitatibus**, 'embitterments': for the plural, cp. 6. 4, 4, and note. Such illegal exactions as those mentioned in c. 51, 2 are referred to.

3. **edixit princeps.** This introduction of these regulations in respect of taxation by a mere imperial edict is perhaps to be explained by a supposition that these were already fiscal revenues (see on c. 50, 2), and is certainly in accordance with later practice (Momms. ii. 1015, foll.); also the reduction of the 'centesima' (2. 42, 6), which belonged to the 'aerarium militare' (1. 78, 2), is given as the ordinance of Tiberius, without mention of any action through the senate.

leges cuiusque publici, 'the regulations respecting each tax,' the contracts into which the publicans had entered respecting it, and the rules by which it was to be managed. For this sense of 'publicum' cp. 'conducere publica' (Hor. Ep. 1. 1, 77), and several other passages in Cic., etc.

4. **proscriberentur**, 'should be posted up,' so that all might read them. By 'occultae,' it is meant that the publicani had hitherto kept this knowledge to themselves.

omissas, etc., 'that revenue claims which had been let drop should not be taken up after a year.'

5. **Romae praetor**, etc. These would be the ordinary judicial tribunals at home and abroad, those of the praetors in the one case, the governors of the senatorial or greater Caesarian provinces in the other. It is to be noted that no mention is made of procurators governing provinces. The jurisdiction in revenue causes under the Republic had belonged to the province of the censor, during the abeyance of whose office the competence of consular or praetorian tribunals was ipso facto revived; but such questions had frequently been committed by the magistrates to 'reciperatores' (cp. 1. 74, 7, and note): see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 462, 467, 1020.

6. **extra ordinem**, without making these causes await their regular turn in the list for trial: cp. Sen. Ep. 106, 2 'dubitavi utrum differrem te an . . . ius tibi extra ordinem dicerem'; also 'extraordinarius reus' (Cic. ad Fam. 8. 8, 1). This rule would appear to have been intended to ensure a decision of old claims before fresh ones had accrued.

7. **militibus**, etc. Soldiers were liable to no excise or custom in respect of anything brought from home, or purchased for their own use, or taken as booty.

8. **veno**, dative: cp. 'veno dedisse' 4. 1, 3 (and note). On the traffic carried on by soldiers see c. 35, 3. It would seem that their immunity had hitherto extended even to this. 'Exercerent' is used as in such expressions as 'exercere faenus.'

9. **frustra habita**, 'were evaded': cp. the sense in which the phrase is used of a person in c. 37, 2.

quadragensimae quinquagensimaeque. Nothing is known of these 2½ per cent. and 2 per cent. duties. They were evidently fictions under which the publicans levied illegal exactions, and therefore must not be identified with any known lawful duties under such names. Several such fraudulent exactions are mentioned in Cic. Verr. 3. 49, 116; 78, 181; others in Caes. B. C. 3. 32, but rather as levied by governors than by publicans.

10. **alia.** It appears that the right of distress or 'pignoris capio' (see on c. 28, 4) had belonged to publicans under the Republic (Cic. Verr. 3. 11, 27), but had been abolished before Gaius wrote (4. 32).

3 licitis nomina publicani invenerant. temperata apud transmarinas provincias frumenti subvectio, et ne censibus negotiatorum naves adscriberentur tributumque pro illis penderent, constitutum.

1 **52.** Reos ex provincia Africa, qui proconsulare imperium illic habuerant, Sulpicium Camerinum et Pompeium Silvanum absolvit Caesar, Camerinum adversus privatos et paucos, saevitiae
2 magis quam captarum pecuniarum crimina obicientes. Silvanum magna vis accusatorum circumsteterat poscebatque tempus evo-
3 candorum testium: reus ilico defendi postulabat. valuitque pecuniosa orbitate et senecta, quam ultra vitam eorum produxit, quorum ambitu evaserat.

1 **53.** Quietae ad id tempus res in Germania fuerant, ingenio ducum, qui pervulgatis triumphi insignibus maius ex eo decus

1. **temperata**, 'was made easier': cp. 'annonam macelli temperandam' (Suet. Tib. 34). The facility given must have consisted in the abolition of dues or other vexatious regulations, such as are described in Agr. 19, 4.

2. **ne censibus**, etc., 'that the ships of merchants should not be assessed in their property, and that they should not pay property tax upon them.' Nipp. notes that, as Roman citizens paid no 'tributum,' the 'negotiatores' or corndealers (cp. 2. 87, 1; 14. 33, 1) must have been foreigners. It was no doubt seen that any tax laid on their ships was added to the cost of transport.

4. **Africa.** On this province and its proconsuls see Introd. i. vii. p. 97.

5. **Sulpicium Camerinum.** Q. Sulpicius Camerinus was cos. suff. in March 799, A. D. 46, with M. Iunius Silanus (C. I. L. v. 1. 5050), and is often mentioned among the Arvales in 810–812, A. D. 57–59 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2039–2041). He was put to death, with his son, by the freedman Helius during Nero's absence in Greece (Dio, 63. 18, 2). It is stated by Dio (l. l.) that he had the family surname 'Pythicus.'

Pompeium Silvanum: so read generally after Lips. for the Med. 'pomponium,' on the supposition that the person spoken of is the same who is mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 20. 1, 2) as cos. suff. in 798, A. D. 45, and in the Histories (2. 86, 4, etc.) as legatus of Delmatia, and by Frontinus (Aq. 102) as curator aquarum in 824–826, A. D. 71–73. An inscription cited by Nipp. gives him a second consulship of uncertain date.

absolvit Caesar. The trial was probably, as usual in such cases, before the senate. The meaning would probably be that Caesar procured the acquittals by giving the first vote for them (see 1. 74, 7, and note).

8. **tempus**, etc.: see c. 43, 2.

9. **ilico defendi postulabat**, 'was demanding to be heard at once in defence.' A similar construction with 'postulo' is found in 2. 50, 2; H. 4. 2, 3, etc.; also in Cic. Verr. 3. 60, 138, and in other writers.

10. **orbitate**: see c. 48, 7; 3. 25, 2, and note.

11. **quorum ambitu**, 'by whose intercession' (cp. 4. 2, 4, etc.) with the senate and Caesar. The persons hoped to be rewarded in his will, but were baulked by his outliving them. He is called 'dives senex' in H. 2. 86, 4.

12. **ad id tempus.** The last notice of German affairs was under the year 803, A. D. 50 (12. 27–28). The events mentioned in these chapters must however have begun before the current year (see notes on § 3, and on c. 56, 4): it is plain that the narrative extends over some time, and it is probable that, as Schiller (p. 115) thinks, the occupation of the lands by the Frisii and their expulsion belong to the year 810, A. D. 57, and the affairs with the Ampsivarii to that and the following year.

13. **pervulgatis**: on the prodigal distribution of these honours see 11. 20, 5, and note.

sperabant, si pacem continuavissent. Paulinus Pompeius et 2
L. Vetus ea tempestate exercitui praeerant. ne tamen segnem 3
militem attinerent, ille inchoatum ante tres et sexaginta annos
a Druso aggerem coercendo Rheno absolvit, Vetus Mosellam
atque *Ararim* facta inter utrumque fossa conectere parabat, ut
copiae per mare, dein Rhodano et Arare subvectae per eam
fossam, mox fluvio Mosella in Rhenum, exim Oceanum decur-
rerent, sublatisque itineris difficultatibus navigabilia inter se
occidentis septentrionisque litora fierent. invidit operi Aelius 4
Gracilis Belgicae legatus, deterrendo Veterem ne legiones alienae
provinciae inferret studiaque Galliarum adfectaret, formidolosum

1. **Paulinus Pompeius et L. Vetus.** The latter, on whom see c. 11, 1, and note, had the Upper Province; Paulinus, the legatus of the Lower, is mentioned again as a consular in 15. 18, 4, and was father, or perhaps brother, of Pompeia Paulina, the wife of Seneca (15. 60, 8). Pliny, who mentions him as taking a quantity of plate with him to an army surrounded by savage tribes, states (N. H. 33. 11, 50, 143) that he was the son of a knight of Arelate (Arles). Seneca dedicates his treatise 'De brevitate vitae,' written in or before 802, A. D. 49 (see note on 12. 23, 5), to a Paulinus, who appears from it (18, 3) to have been then 'praefectus annonae,' and may have been the equestrian father mentioned by Pliny.

2. **ne tamen segnem,** etc.: cp. 1. 35, 5; 11. 20, 2.

3. **ante tres et sexaginta annos.** Drusus died in 745, B. C. 9; whence it would appear that the work of Paulinus was taken up in 808, A. D. 55. Vetus, who was consul in that year (c. 11, 1), may have been sent to Germany when his suffectus succeeded him, and appears to have only held his province for a year from that date (see on c. 56, 4).

4. **aggerem.** This dam is that mentioned in H. 5. 19, 3, as constructed to prevent inundations on the Gallic side. Thierry (Hist. des Gaul. iii. p. 439) supposes it to have been constructed at the bifurcation of the old Rhine and the Waal (see 2. 6, 5), and to have been intended to keep up the supply of water in the former, with which the canal of Drusus (2. 8, 1) communicated.

Mosellam atque Ararim. The context shows the name of the latter river (the Saône) to have dropped out.

6. **copiae,** 'merchandise,' products: cp. 'provinciarum copiae' (3. 54, 7), etc. Nipp. notes that the word cannot here mean 'troops,' as these were rather raised in the provinces than despatched in any numbers from Italy. This route from the Mediterranean to the German Ocean would be of more importance since the conquest of Britain.

Rhodano et Arare, abl. of direction (Introd. i. v. § 25).

7. **Oceanum.** The prep. is left to be supplied, as in 2. 68, 1, etc.

8. **navigabilia,** apparently here alone used of coasts connected by internal routes for ships.

10. **Belgicae.** This province, including all between the Seine and Rhine, except what belonged to the 'Germaniae,' was governed by a legatus of praetorian rank, who resided at Durocortorum Remorum (Rheims): see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. pp. 115, 122.

deterrendo, etc. The sentences introduced by 'ne' here express not so much what he was deterred from doing as the arguments urged upon him: cp. 15. 73, 4.

alienae provinciae. The legions of Upper Germany would have to enter Belgica in the construction of these works. The provinces were now wholly distinct, though they had not been always so: see Marquardt, i. p. 123.

11. **studia Galliarum.** The Med. 'in studia' is taken to be a repetition from 'inferret.' On the elements of rebellion still supposed to exist in Gaul, cp. 11. 1, 2, etc.

formidolosum, 'alarming': cp. 1. 76, 5, etc. The emperor would consider his position threatened, if such great works

id imperatori dictitans, quo plerumque prohibentur conatus honesti.

1 **54.** Ceterum continuo exercituum otio fama incessit ereptum
2 ius legatis ducendi in hostem. eoque Frisii iuventutem saltibus aut paludibus, inbellem aetatem per lacus admovere ripae agrosque vacuos et militum usui sepositos insedere, auctore Verrito et Malorige, qui nationem eam regebant, in quantum Germani
3 regnantur. iamque fixerant domos, semina arvis intulerant utque patrium solum exercebant, cum Dubius Avitus, accepta a Paulino provincia, minitando vim Romanam, nisi abscederent Frisii veteres in locos aut novam sedem a Caesare inpetrarent, per-
4 pulit Verritum et Malorigem preces suscipere. profectique Romam dum aliis curis intentum Neronem opperiuntur, inter ea quae barbaris ostentantur intravere Pompei theatrum, quo
5 magnitudinem populi viserent. illic per otium (neque enim ludicris ignari oblectabantur) dum consessum caveae, discrimina

were associated with the name of a mere legatus.

4. **ducendi**: the object is supplied from 'exercituum' in the context.

eoque, 'and therefore' (under this persuasion).

Frisii. This people have been mentioned as compelled in 800, A. D. 47, to accept terms from Corbulo (11. 19, 2), but appear here to be independent. Probably, as Mommsen suggests (Hist. v. 115, 2; E. T. i. 126, 2), a distinction is to be drawn between the western and eastern portion, the Frisii minores and maiores of G. 34, 1, the Frisii and Frisiavones of Plin. N. H. 4. 15, 29, 101.

saltibus aut paludibus, abl. of direction: cp. Introd. i. v. § 25.

5. **lacus**, those now absorbed in the Zuider Zee: see 1. 60, 3.

ripae: that of the old Rhine (cp. c. 53, 3).

6. **militum usui sepositos.** This is explained in c. 55, 3 to be land set apart as pasture for the beasts kept for provisioning the troops. It is also evident that under this pretext a far greater amount of land than was necessary was reserved, possibly with the object of keeping the people of the country at a distance from the quarters of the army. On the district here spoken of, see c. 55, 5, and note.

Verrito et Malorige. Ruperti takes the German names to have been 'Werreit' and 'Malrich.'

7. **in quantum**, etc., 'so far as Germans submit to princes'; cp. 'nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas' (G. 7, 1), and the description (Id. c. 11) of their method of government. 'In quantum' is so used in 14. 47, 1; Dial. 2. 2; 21, 9; 41, 5, also in Ov. M. 11. 71, and in post-Augustan prose. The personal use of 'regnari' (cp. H. 1. 16, 11; G. 25, 3; 44, 1) is also adopted from Augustan poets by Plin. (N. H. 6. 20, 23, 76), etc.: cp. 'triumphari' (12. 19, 3), 'dubitari' (14. 7, 1), 'ministrari' (G. 44, 2).

9. **exercebant**: cp. 11. 7, 4, and note.

Dubius Avitus. In the record of his consulship with Thrasea (see on c. 49, 1) his name is given as 'Duvius,' with the praenomen 'L.' He is mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 34. 7, 18, 47) as legatus of Aquitania (which province he would naturally have held before his consulship), and also as nephew of Cassius Salanus, a friend of Ovid (ex P. 2. 5).

11. **perpulit**: on the inf. with this verb, cp. 6. 33, 1, and note.

14. **Pompei theatrum**: see 3. 23, 1, and note.

15. **per otium**, 'while unoccupied.'

neque enim . . . oblectabantur, = 'ignari enim . . . non oblectabantur.' They could not understand the play itself or derive amusement from it.

16. **consessum caveae.** This expression is taken from Lucr. (4, 78) and Vergil

ordinum, quis eques, ubi senatus percontantur, advertere quos-
dam cultu externo in sedibus senatorum; et quinam forent
rogitantes, postquam audiverant earum gentium legatis id honoris
datum, quae virtute et amicitia Romana praecellerent, nullos
mortalium armis aut fide ante Germanos esse exclamant degre-
diunturque et inter patres considunt. quod comiter a visentibus 6
exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui et bona aemulatio. Nero
civitate Romana ambos donavit, Frisios decedere agris iussit.
atque illis aspernantibus auxiliaris eques repente immissus ne- 7
cessitatem attulit, captis caesisve qui pervicacius restiterant.

55. Eosdem agros Ampsivarii occupavere, validior gens non 1
modo sua copia, sed adiacentium populorum miseratione, quia
pulsi a Chaucis et sedis inopes tutum exilium orabant. aderat- 2

(Aen. 5, 340), both of whom use it of the mass of spectators, as distinct from the position occupied by senators, the 'patrum coetumque decorum' of Lucr., the 'ora prima patrum' of Verg.: here it is similarly contrasted with 'discrimina ordinum'; i. e. the knights in the 'quatuordecim ordines' and the senators in the orchestra.

1. **quis** = 'quibus sedibus.'

percontantur, taken by zeugma with 'consessum' and 'discrimina.'

advertere: cp. 12. 51, 5, and note.

4. **amicitia Romana**, 'friendship towards Rome.' This privilege of a seat among the senators had been granted in old times to the Massilians (Just. 43, 5, 10), and that of a similar place in the amphitheatre, in the time of the dictator Caesar, to Hyrcanus and his sons and any ambassadors from them (Jos. Ant. 14. 10, 6). Augustus forbade the introduction of any ambassadors of foreign states into the orchestra (Suet. Aug. 44); but his prohibition had evidently been already set aside. Trajan gave a similar honour to a large gathering of such embassies (Dio, 68. 15, 2).

5. **ante**, 'superior to,' cp. Sall. Cat. 53, 3 ('facundia Graecos . . . ante Romanos fuisse'), and the use of 'ante alios' by Tacitus (1. 27, 1 and note) in sentences in which the idea of a participle of 'sum' is supplied.

6. **inter patres considunt.** Suet. tells the same story as having happened in the time of Claudius (Cl. 25), and makes the ambassadors whom the Germans saw sitting among the senate to have been Parthians and Armenians.

7. **impetus antiqui**, 'a trait of old-fashioned impetuosity' (such impulses being generally restrained by civilisation). So Suet. (l. l.) speaks of it as a trait of 'simplicitas' ('frankness'). 'Impetus' is so used in c. 50, 2, etc., and 'antiquus' and 'antiquitas' are used of character as terms of praise in 3. 4, 5; 55, 5, etc. The genit. 'impetus' is used like 'moris,' etc.

bona aemulatio: so Halm and Nipp., after Rhen., for the Med. 'aemulatione' (the 'ne' being supposed to have arisen out of a repetition from the following word). Others retain the Med.; and Dr. compares the coordination of a genit. and abl. of quality in Sall. Fr. H. inc. 75 D, 41 K, 2. 21 G ('oris probi, animo inverecundo'), and Nep. Dat. 3 ('hominem maximi corporis terribilique facie'). But here the genit. is not strictly that of quality, and the abl. could hardly be other than causal, and we should have to explain the sentence (with Gron.) as 'quasi impetus antiqui esset, et aemulatione bona fieret.'

9. **aspernantibus**, 'treating the order with contempt': cp. 1. 23, 6, etc.

11. **Ampsivarii.** This name is read by Nipp. and Halm (ed. 4) in 2. 8, 4 (where see note); 23, 3; 24, 5. Med. has here 'amsibarii,' but in c. 56, 2 'ampsiuarii.' Their name shows them to be locally connected with the Amisia (Ems).

13. **Chaucis.** This tribe was powerful and aggressive in the time of Claudius (11. 18–19).

aderat iis, 'pleaded for them'; so used often of advocates, and here suited to 'orabant' and 'referens.'

que iis clarus per illas gentes et nobis quoque fidus, nomine
Boiocalus, vinctum se rebellione Cherusca iussu Arminii referens,
mox Tiberio, Germanico ducibus stipendia meruisse, et quin-
quaginta annorum obsequio id quoque adiungere, quod gentem
3 suam dicioni nostrae subiceret. quo tantam partem campi
iacere, in quam pecora et armenta militum aliquando transmit-
4 terentur? servarent sane receptus gregibus inter hominum
famem, modo ne vastitatem et solitudinem mallent quam amicos
5 populos. Chamavorum quondam ea arva, mox Tubantum et
post Usiporum fuisse. sicuti caelum deis, ita terras generi
6 mortalium datas; quaeque vacuae, eas publicas esse. solem
inde suspiciens et cetera sidera vocans quasi coram interrogabat,

1. **clarus . . . fidus.** Nipp. notes that these are taken as in apposition to 'Boiocalus' notwithstanding the interposition of 'nomine': cp. 2. 74, 2, and note.

2. **rebellione Cherusca,** the rising against Varus in 762, A. D. 9. Tiberius had commanded in Germany during the two years after that date, and Germanicus in 766–769, A. D. 13–16. The fifty years are reckoned from the time of Varus to the current year.

5. **subiceret,** 'was keeping obedient,' throughout that time generally.

quo tantam partem: so most recent edd., after Lips. for the Med. 'quotam partem'; 'quo' being taken to mean 'with what object,' as 'quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti' (Hor. Ep. 1. 5, 12)? Inasmuch as an object is assigned in the following words ('in quam' = 'ut in eam'), the stress is to be laid on 'tantam'; the meaning being 'why does so much more land lie idle than is needed for this purpose?' Nipp. retains the Med. 'quotam,' bracketing 'iacere' as a gloss, and supplying 'esse'; taking the sentence to mean 'how small a portion of the reserved land is it which is really ever used for this purpose!'

6. **aliquando,** 'now and then'; cp. c. 3, 7; 21, 8, etc.

7. **receptus gregibus inter hominum famem:** so recent edd. generally after Freinsh. and Lips. (with some inferior MSS.) for Med. 'receptos . . . famam'; which Ern. and Walth. are hardly successful in endeavouring to explain. The words are spoken bitterly, and mean 'reserve, if you please, retreats for your flocks, while men are left to starve (treat the lives of your flocks as more precious than those of men), only do not reserve so much as to destroy your own interests by surrounding yourselves with a wilderness, instead of with friendly tribes.' For the use of 'inter hominum famem' with the force of 'cum homines interea fame laborarent,' cp. 1. 50, 7, and note. Ritt. adopts the correction 'receptus,' but reads 'modo inter hominum famam,' thinking that 'modo' has been lost through 'modo ne' following, and taking the meaning to be 'so that it be among the voices of men,' within range of human intercourse, and not in a desert.

9. **Chamavorum,** etc. The meaning is that other tribes had formerly occupied these tracts at pleasure. The Chamavi, living apparently further in the interior in the time of Tacitus (see G. 33, 1; 34, 1), are thought to have been a subdivision of the Marsi, on whom see 1. 50, 6, and note. On the Tubantes and Usipi (or Usipetes) see 1. 51, 4, and note. The district here spoken of would appear to be that near Münster (Momms. Hist. v. 115; E. T. i. 126), between the Rhine, the Lippe, and the Ems.

11. **publicas esse,** 'are common property'; not in the usual sense, of that which belongs to the state, but of that which any one might take possession of.

12. **suspiciens:** so most recent edd., after Heins., for Med. 'despiciens': cp. 'caelum suspiciens' (G. 10, 2). The older edd. generally read 'deinde respiciens' (or 'aspisciens'); Ritt. reads 'Solem inde aspiciens,' and, supposing the Sungod alone to be addressed, reads 'vellet' and 'superfunderet.'

vocans. The use of this verb in

vellentne contueri inane solum: potius mare superfunderent adversus terrarum ereptores.

56. Et commotus his Avitus: patienda meliorum imperia; 1
id dis quos inplorarent placitum, ut arbitrium penes Romanos
maneret, quid darent quid adimerent, neque alios iudices quam
se ipsos paterentur. haec in publicum Ampsivariis respondit, 2
ipsi Boiocalo ob memoriam amicitiae daturum agros. quod ille 3
ut proditionis pretium aspernatus addidit 'deesse nobis terra in
vitam, in qua moriamur, non potest:' atque ita infensis utrimque
animis discessum. illi Bructeros, Tencteros, ulteriores etiam 4
nationes socias bello vocabant: Avitus scripto ad Curtilium
Manciam superioris exercitus legatum, ut Rhenum transgressus
arma a tergo ostenderet, ipse legiones in agrum Tencterum
induxit, excidium minitans, ni causam suam dissociarent. igitur 5
absistentibus his pari metu exterriti Bructeri; et ceteris quoque

the sense of 'invoco' is constant in Vergil and other poets.

quasi coram, 'as if face to face,' as if addressing them: cp. 4. 54, 3, and note.

1. **mare superfunderent.** Such an imprecation would naturally suggest itself to a person familiar with the inundations of the Low Countries, though the district here spoken of is far from the sea.

3. **commotus**, 'moved to sympathy.' This is shown by his abstaining from threats, and trying to induce them to submit to the inevitable.

patienda, etc. The verb of speaking can be supplied from the sense (Introd. i. v. § 38); but it is possible that 'ait' may have dropped out, as Ritt. thinks, between 'imperia' and 'id,' or may have been, as Lips. thought, corrupted into the latter word.

6. **in publicum**, 'addressed to them as a people.' The answer was given through Boiocalus; so that 'respondit' is repeated in thought with 'ipsi.'

7. **amicitiae**, his fidelity to Rome (c. 55, 2).

8. **deesse**, sc. 'potest'; so probably in Cic. Fin. 1. 1, 2 'veritus ne movere hominum studia viderer, retinere non posse': see also 12. 64, 6, and note.

terra in vitam: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., with Jac. Gron. for the Med. 'terram uiuam.' Older edd. read 'terra in qua vivamus,' with Rhen. and MS. Agr.; Orelli and Ritt. follow Sillig in preferring 'terra ubi vivamus,' as a reading more likely to have been corrupted into the Med. text.

9. **atque ita . . . discessum**, repeated almost verbatim from Agr. 27, 3.

10. **Bructeros**: see 1. 51, 4, and note.

Tencteros. This tribe, living next to the Usipi, and on the Rhine frontier, were famed as a race of horsemen (G. 32, 2). In the narrative of the rising of Civilis they are closely joined with the Bructeri (H. 4. 21, 3; 77, 1), and are seen to have occupied the tract opposite to Köln (Id. 64, 1). They were well known in Caesar's time (B. G. 4. 4–16), were reduced to temporary subjection by Drusus (Liv. Epit. 138), and continued to be important in later history.

11. **socias bello**, 'to join them in war.'

scripto, not elsewhere used as abl. abs. Cp. similar rare uses of other words thus in Introd. i. v. § 31 a.

Curtilium Manciam. His name is given in an Arval table of Dec. 808, A. D. 55 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2037), as T. Curtilius Mancia; and he was probably at that time cos. suff. with Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus (Hermes, 12. 127). His will is mentioned in Plin. Ep. 8. 18, 4. According to Phlegon, De reb. adm. c. 27 (cited by Nipp.), he was already legatus of Upper Germany in 809, A. D. 56; which would make the tenure of L. Vetus to have been for one year only (see c. 53, 2).

15. **exterriti**, were scared away from joining them: cp. c. 37, 1.

aliena pericula deserentibus sola Ampsivariorum gens retro ad
6 Usipos et Tubantes concessit. quorum terris exacti cum Chattos, dein Cheruscos petissent, errore longo hospites, egeni, hostes, in alieno quod iuventutis erat caeduntur, inbellis aetas in praedam divisa est.

1 **57.** Eadem aestate inter Hermunduros Chattosque certatum magno proelio, dum flumen gignendo sale fecundum et conterminum vi trahunt, super libidinem cuncta armis agendi religione insita, eos maxime locos propinquare caelo precesque mortalium
2 a deis nusquam propius audiri. inde indulgentia numinum illo in amne illisque silvis salem provenire, non ut alias apud gentes

1. **deserentibus**: so Halm and Nipp., with Rhen.; most others retain the Med. 'defendentibus,' in the sense of 'warding off from themselves' (declining to encounter): cp. 15. 38, 8; also 'defende furorem' (Verg. Aen. 10, 105), 'defendit aestatem' (Hor. Od. 1. 17, 3).

sola, 'isolated.'

2. **Chattos, Cheruscos.** On these tribes see 1. 55, 1; 56, 7, and notes.

3. **errore longo**, etc. It seems best to take 'errore longo' as an abl. abs., to suppose that the next three words describe in a climax their treatment by the various tribes which they reached ('first received hospitably, then left destitute, then treated as enemies'), and that 'in alieno' (the reading of most edd., after G., for the Med. 'in alio') adds a pathetic touch to 'caeduntur.' Halm stops the words so as to take 'hostes in alieno' closely; Nipp. puts commas at 'hostes' and at 'alieno,' and takes the words to mean that they were 'hospites' here, 'hostes' there, 'egeni' and 'in alieno' everywhere. The order of the words seems against this interpretation.

4. **caeduntur**, etc. Tacitus evidently supposed them to have been exterminated; nor are they mentioned in the Germania; but a name apparently the same ('Ampsuarii') is noted by Orelli as mentioned by Sulpicius Alexander (cited by Gregory of Tours 2. 9) in the year A. D. 392.

6. **Hermunduros.** On this people, inhabiting parts of Franconia and Thuringia, see 2. 63, 6, and note; they are also mentioned in 12. 29, 2; 30, 1.

7. **dum flumen**, etc. The river is probably the Werra, the eastern branch of the Weser, near to which are the salt springs of Salzungen, not far from Meiningen. Some suppose the river to be the Franconian Saale, a tributary of the Main, and the springs those of Kissingen: others have taken it to be the upper part of the Saxon Saale, a tributary of the Elbe. In none of these cases is it strictly true that the river itself is a salt spring.

8. **vi trahunt**, 'they each forcibly appropriate': cp. 'in se trahere' (1. 2, 1).

super libidinem, etc.; i.e. besides their general propensity to decide disputes by the sword, there was a deeply rooted belief which gave each the additional desire to possess what they considered to be hallowed ground.

10. **propius**, 'from a nearer point': cp. 2. 70, 4, and note. Many have supposed that mountain heights are meant, and have endeavoured by this means to identify the site. But no mountains are alluded to in the context, and the physical nearness of such spots to heaven would hardly be spoken of as recognised by faith. It appears therefore better to understand 'propinquare' and 'propius' of mystical nearness. Woods and groves and streams were generally looked upon as the abodes of deities by the Germans (see G. 9, 3, and Schweizer-Sidler ad loc.); and Tacitus appears to say that the presence of such a divine gift as salt in these woods and springs was taken as evidence that they were peculiarly sacred.

11. **non . . . concretum.** Nipp. seems hardly right in taking this to be a note of the writer, forming no part of the oratio obliqua. It would rather seem that the process itself, so strongly contrasted with the common-place mode of obtaining salt from sea water, had added to the belief that a special Providence was traceable.

eluvie maris arescente unda, sed super ardentem arborum struem
fusa ex contrariis inter se elementis, igne atque aquis, concretum.
sed bellum Hermunduris prosperum, Chattis exitiosius fuit, quia 3
victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacravere, quo voto
equi viri, cuncta viva occidioni dantur. et minae quidem hostiles 4
in ipsos vertebant. sed civitas Ubiorum socia nobis malo in-
proviso adflicta est. nam ignes terra editi villas arva vicos 5
passim corripiebant ferebanturque in ipsa conditae nuper co-
loniae moenia. neque extingui poterant, non si imbres caderent, 6
non fluvialibus aquis aut quo alio humore, donec inopia remedi-

1. **eluvie maris**, 'by means of pools of salt water (cp. 12. 51, 5, and note), as evaporation takes place.' The various places in which salt was found and methods of obtaining it are described at length by Pliny (N. H. 31. 7, 39, 73–105).

super ardentem, etc. Pliny says (l. l. § 82) 'Galliae Germaniaeque ardentibus lignis aquam salsam infundunt,' and may possibly have given some fuller description elsewhere, which Tacitus may have followed without seeing that the salt was not obtained from the 'union of opposite elements,' but by employing heat for speedy evaporation. The process described is however so rude, and would yield so little, as to suggest that the description is incorrect, and that the heat may really have been used to boil down the water in pans. In some countries, the burning of wood by itself is described (Varr. R. R. 1. 7, 8; Plin. l. l. 83) as yielding a saline charcoal used by the natives as a substitute for salt.

4. **victores**, 'either side in the event of victory.' Nipp. compares the use of 'victores' in 3. 45, 4; 6. 34, 5; 12. 20, 2; 29, 2. 'Diversam aciem,' 'the army of the enemy,' as in 14. 30, 1, etc.

Marti et Mercurio, the Roman names for the gods Tiu or Ziu and Wuotan or Wodan (see G. 9, 1, and Schweizer-Sidler there). Caesar mentions (B. G. 6. 17, 3) a similar Gaulish practice of devoting their booty to Mars, by slaying what had life ('animalia'), and piling the rest in a heap. In the army of Varus the principal officers were sacrificed (1. 61, 5).

5. **cuncta viva**: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., after Danes., for the Med. 'uicta,' which is generally explained to mean 'all that had belonged to the conquered'; but Nipp. seems right in thinking that 'viva' is required by 'occidioni dantur.'

minae . . . hostiles. These contests might be thought to menace the peace of the frontier. The Chatti were enemies of Rome, the Hermunduri friendly, but both might be called 'hostes' in distinction to a race within the Roman empire ('gens socia nobis'), such as the Ubii. It is also possible that all the movements prescribed from c. 54, are here alluded to. 'Ipsos' is used as if the preceding expression had been 'minae hostium.'

6. **Ubiorum**. On this people see 1. 31, 3, and note. Here the Med. has 'uibonum'; but it is plain that the Ubii are meant, from the reference to their newly founded colony (12. 27, 1), which was so well known as not to need to be mentioned by name.

7. **ignes terra editi**. It does not seem possible that volcanic action can have taken place in that locality; but it is probable that the burning of peat moors by spontaneous combustion or other agency, spreading thence to pastures, is meant.

10. **fluvialibus**, a poetical word, but used also in Col. 6. 22; 8. 15, 5. The Med. 'si' before this word is rejected by most edd. after Ern. as a repetition from the line above.

quo = 'quoquam'; so in 14. 33, 6; 15. 38, 3; and 'aliamve quam urbem' Liv. 5. 54, 1.

humore: so Med. here; but in most places the MSS. of Tacitus (see Ritt. on 1. 68, 1) have 'umor,' 'umidus' and 'umeo,' and Ritt. so alters it in this place.

donec, with historical inf. only here and in the Med. text of H. 3. 10, 7, where 'fatiscere' is generally altered to 'fatisceret.'

orum et ira cladis agrestes quidam eminus saxa iacere, dein resistentibus flammis propius suggressi ictu fustium aliisque
7 verberibus ut feras absterrebant: postremo tegmina corpori derepta iniciunt, quanto magis profana et usu polluta, tanto magis oppressura ignes.

58. Eodem anno Ruminalem arborem in comitio, quae octingentos et triginta ante annos Remi Romulique infantiam texerat, mortuis ramalibus et arescente trunco deminutam prodigii loco habitum est, donec in novos fetus revivesceret.

1. **ira cladis** = 'ira ob cladem': so 'ereptae virginis ira' (Verg. Aen. 2, 413), 'ira praedae amissae' (Liv. 1. 5, 3), 'ira provinciae ereptae' (Id. 37. 51, 6).

2. **resistentibus**, 'coming to a standstill.' Nipp. notes that throwing in stones in sufficient quantity would really check the flames, but belief in the efficacy of the other means would be a superstition arising when the flame burnt itself out.

suggressi: this verb, taken by Tacitus from Sallust, is so used with 'propius' in 2. 12, 2; 14. 37, 1; 15. 11, 1.

aliis verberibus, 'blows inflicted with other instruments.'

4. **profana**, 'in common use': cp. 'in profanis usibus pollui laurum et oleam' (Pl. N. H. 15. 30, 40, 135).

6. **Ruminalem arborem in comitio.** The 'ficus Ruminalis' was believed to have been that under which the wolf was found suckling the twins; the name being derived from 'rumis' or 'ruma,' an old word for 'mamma' (Varr. ap. Fest. s. v. and L. L. 5. 54), which gave its name to a goddess 'Rumina' (see Seeley, Introd. to Liv. B. 1. p. 32). It was believed to have originally stood in the Lupercal, on the part of the Palatine called Germalus, but to have been miraculously removed by Attus Navius, the augur of Tarquinius Priscus, to the comitium, i.e. the part of Forum nearest to the Capitol, where the bronze group of the wolf and twins stood near it: see Plin. N. H. 15. 18, 20, 72.

octingentos et triginta. The Med. text has 'septingentos et quadraginta,' which must have arisen from an error in copying in words a date originally written in figures. The first word was corrected by the oldest edd. from an inferior MS. (Vat. 1958), the other by Lips., whom some have declined to follow, thinking that Tacitus may have adopted some other legend, making the twins twenty-eight, instead of eighteen years old (Dion. Hal. 1. 79), at the founding of Rome.

8. **ramalibus**, 'its shoots,' a word used by Ov., Pers., Sen.

deminutam, 'mutilated.'

prodigii loco. Plin. (l. l.) speaks as if this occurred not once only but occasionally ('nec sine praesagio aliquo arescit, rursusque cura sacerdotum seritur').

9. **fetus**, 'shoots': cp. 'inseritur . . . fetu nucis' (Verg. G. 2, 69, etc.).

revivesceret. The more common form 'revivisceret' is read by Nipp. and Ritt. after some inferior MSS. Pichena reads 'reviresceret.'

BOOK XIV.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59. C. Vipstanus Apronianus, C. Fonteius Capito, coss.

Ch. 1–13. Murder of Agrippina.

1. Nero urged against his mother by Poppaea. 2. Story of her schemes for the recovery of her influence. 3. Difficulty of perpetrating the murder: a ship contrived for the purpose by Anicetus. 4. Nero receives her at Bauli with great show of affection. 5, 6. Her friends Crepereius Gallus and Acerronia killed; she escapes with life. 7. Nero in alarm consults Seneca and Burrus. 8. Anicetus, with a body of 'classiarii,' kills her. 9. Her burial: prediction of her fate. 10. Nero's terror composed by his courtiers. 11. Story made up to the senate by Seneca. 12. Servility of the senate except Thrasea: persons exiled by Agrippina restored. 13. Nero received in Rome with public demonstrations: he plunges into various excesses.

Ch. 14–19. Affairs at Rome.

14. Nero exhibits himself as a charioteer. 15. The Juvenalia: demoralisation of Roman society. 16. He composes verses, and listens to disputations. 17. Riot at Pompeii. 18. Pedius Blaesus condemned; Acilius Strabo acquitted. 19. Death of Domitius Afer and M. Servilius.

A. U. C. 813, A. D. 60. Nero Caesar IV, Cornelius Cossus Lentulus, coss.

Ch. 20–22. Affairs at Rome.

20, 21. Institution of quinquennial Greek games at Rome, and opinions on them: the prize of eloquence awarded to Nero. 22. Appearance of a comet: Rubellius Plautus induced to go into voluntary exile: illness of Nero ascribed to divine displeasure.

Ch. 23–26. Affairs in the East.

23. Corbulo advances from Artaxata and chastises the Mardi. 24. He escapes assassination and occupies Tigranocerta. 25. He takes Legerda and receives a friendly embassy from the Hyrcanians. 26. Tigranes sent from Rome and set up as king of Armenia: Corbulo retires to the government of Syria.

27. Earthquake at Laodicea: Puteoli made a colony: colonists sent to Antium and Tarentum. 28. Election of praetors arranged: regulation of appeals to senate: Vibius Secundus condemned.

A. U. C. 814, A. D. 61. L. Caesennius Paetus, P. Petronius Turpilianus, coss.

Ch. 29–39. Affairs in Britain.

29–30. Suetonius Paulinus attacks and overcomes the Druids in Mona. 31. Causes of the insurrection of the Iceni, under Boudicca, and of the Trinovantes. 32. Camulodunum sacked: the Ninth legion cut to pieces. 33. Suetonius reaches but abandons Londinium: great massacre there and at Verulamium. 34–37. Great battle: speeches of Boudicca and Suetonius: the Britons defeated with great slaughter: suicide of Boudicca by poison, and of Poenius Postumus, in command of the Second legion. 38. Complaint by the procurator Classicianus of the extreme severity of Suetonius. 39. Polyclitus the freedman sent to inspect and report: Suetonius succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus.

Ch. 40–47. Affairs in Rome.

40, 41. Condemnation of Fabianus, Antonius Primus, and others, on charges connected with a forged will. 42. Murder of Pedanius Secundus, the praefectus urbis, by one of his own slaves. 43–45. Question respecting the execution of the whole household; speech of C. Cassius; the sentence carried out with difficulty. 46. Condemnation of Tarquitius Priscus for extortion: census held in Gaul. 47. Death and character of Memmius Regulus: a gymnasium dedicated.

A. U. C. 815, A. D. 62. P. Marius, L. Afinius, coss.

Ch. 48–65. Affairs at Rome.

48, 49. Revival of the law of 'maiestas,' after long interval, against L. Antistius the praetor; Thrasea speaks against the punishment of death; his opinion followed by the senate and allowed by Nero. 50. Fabricius Veiento banished for libels and venality. 51. Death of Burrus, alleged to be by poison: Faenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus made praefecti praetorio in his place. 52–56. The position of Seneca imperilled by accusers; interchange of speeches between him and Nero; his retirement from publicity. 57–59. Murder of Sulla at Massilia and Rubellius Plautus in Asia at the instigation of Tigellinus: mockery of senatorial sentence after their deaths. 60. Divorce of Octavia notwithstanding the break-down of the charge against her: marriage of Nero to Poppaea. 61. Popular rising in favour of Octavia; alarm of Poppaea. 62–64. New charge fabricated by Anicetus: Octavia banished to Pandateria and there murdered: servile decrees of the senate. 65. Deaths of Pallas and Doryphorus, supposed to have been poisoned by Nero: charge of Romanus, leading to the conspiracy of Piso.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XIV.

1 **1.** GAIO VIPSTANO C. FONTEIO consulibus diu meditatum scelus non ultra Nero distulit, vetustate imperii coalita audacia et flagrantior in dies amore Poppaeae, quae sibi matrimonium et discidium Octaviae incolumi Agrippina haud sperans, crebris criminationibus, aliquando per facetias incusaret principem et pupillum vocaret, qui iussis alienis obnoxius non modo imperii
2 sed libertatis etiam indigeret. cur enim differri nuptias suas? formam scilicet displicere et triumphales avos, an fecunditatem
3 et verum animum? timeri ne uxor saltem iniurias patrum, iram

1. **Gaio Vipstano,** etc. The full names are C. Vipstanus Apronianus, C. Fonteius Capito (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2041; I. R. N. 3067). The former, probably son or nephew of the consul given in 11. 23, 1, is frequently mentioned among the Arvales from 810–839, A.D. 57–86 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2039–2064), and was proconsul of Africa in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 1. 76, 8). The latter, a son apparently of the one mentioned in 4. 36, 4, bore an evil name for avarice and other vices as legatus of Lower Germany in 821, A.D. 68, and was killed by some of his own officers (H. 1. 7, 1, etc.). Med. reads here 'uipsano' (a similar error to that in 11. 23, 1), and omits the praenomen of Fonteius.

2. **coalita**: cp. 13. 26, 2, and note.

3. **flagrantior,** 'more ardent': cp. 'cupidinibus flagrans' (13. 2, 3): the sense of 'flagrantissimus' in 13. 45, 4 is different.

Poppaeae: see 13. 45, 1, etc.

4. **incolumi,** 'while she lived': cp. 3. 56, 5; 4. 7, 2, etc.; also Caes. B. G. 1. 53, 7, etc.

5. **incusaret.** Orelli seems hardly right in taking 'quae' here as causal: the subjunct. may well be that of repeated action, so used with 'qui' in 6. 8, 4, etc. (see Introd. i. v. § 52). 'Criminationibus,' as opposed to 'per facetias,' would seem here to denote passionate reproaches, but may be taken of charges against Agrippina and Octavia.

8. **avos,** rhetorical pl. (cp. 1. 10, 3, etc.); only Poppaeus Sabinus (13. 45, 1) being referred to.

fecunditatem. She had a son (13. 45, 4), whereas Octavia was barren.

9. **verum animum,** 'sincere affection.' The neut. 'verum' and 'veritas' are often used of 'right' and 'rectitude,' and 'verus' is sometimes so used of persons, as 'verissimus . . . iudex' (Cic. Rosc. Am. 30, 84). A contrast is implied to Octavia, the 'nurus filio infesta' below.

ne uxor saltem, etc., i.e. lest as a wife she might at least have power enough to open Nero's eyes.

iniurias patrum, 'her oppression of senators': cp. c. 11, 1. On her avarice see 12. 7, 7, etc.

populi adversus superbiam avaritiamque matris aperiat. quod 4
si nurum Agrippina non nisi filio infestam ferre posset, reddere-
tur ipsa Othonis coniugio: ituram quoquo terrarum, ubi audiret
potius contumelias imperatoris quam viseret periculis eius in-
mixta. haec atque talia lacrimis et arte adulterae penetrantia 5
nemo prohibebat, cupientibus cunctis infringi potentiam matris
et credente nullo usque ad caedem eius duratura filii odia.

2. Tradit Cluvius ardore retinendae Agrippinam potentiae 1
eo usque provectam, ut medio diei, cum id temporis Nero per
vinum et epulas incalesceret, offerret se saepius temulento comp-
tam et incesto paratam. iamque lasciva oscula et praenuntias 2
flagitii blanditias adnotantibus proximis, Senecam contra mulie-
bres inlecebras subsidium a femina petivisse, inmissamque Acten
libertam, quae simul suo periculo et infamia Neronis anxia
deferret pervulgatum esse incestum gloriante matre, nec tolera-
turos milites profani principis imperium. Fabius Rusticus non 3
Agrippinae, sed Neroni cupitum id memorat eiusdemque libertae
astu disiectum. sed quae Cluvius, eadem ceteri quoque auctores 4
prodidere, et fama huc inclinat, seu concepit animo tantum in-
manitatis Agrippina, seu credibilior novae libidinis meditatio in
ea visa est, quae puellaribus annis stuprum cum Lepido spe

3. **Othonis.** He had been probably already got out of the way to Lusitania: see 13. 46, 5, and note on c. 4, 6.

quoquo terrarum. This use of 'quoquo' with a genit., analogous to 'ubi,' appears to be taken from Plaut. Merc. 5. 2, 17; Ter. Phorm. 3. 3, 18.

4. **viseret** = 'continuo videret' (13. 46, 4).

periculis . . . inmixta: so in H. 4. 85, 6.

5. **penetrantia,** sc. 'animum Neronis': cp. 'Tiberium . . . penetrabat' (3. 4, 3).

7. **duratura,** 'that his hatred would steel him': cp. 1. 6, 3, and note.

8. **Cluvius:** see 13. 20, 3.

ardore, etc. The order of words seems an affectation of style similar to that noted in 1. 67, 1, and may here be designed to make the statement more impressive in recitation.

9. **medio diei . . . id temporis:** cp. 11. 21, 2; 12. 8, 2, and notes. That Nero constantly feasted from midday is stated in Suet. 27; nor was such a practice unknown in earlier times (Hor. Sat. 2. 8, 2; Ep. 1. 14, 34): cp. note on 11. 37, 2. It was usually the time of 'prandium' (see Marq. Privatl. 266, 1).

13. **inmissam:** cp. the similar metaphor in 4. 19, 1; 11. 1, 1. On Acte see 13. 12, 1, and note. To her, any restoration of the ascendancy of Agrippina would no doubt be fatal.

16. **profani,** 'impious,' one who outraged divine law: cp. 'profanos ritus' (2. 85, 5); also H. 5. 5, 6, etc.

Fabius Rusticus: see 13. 20, 2. His version appears to be followed by Suet. (Ner. 28).

18. **disiectum,** 'the plot was broken up': so 'consilia . . . disiecit' (Liv. 25. 14, 3); 'disice compositam pacem' (Verg. Aen. 7, 339).

19. **fama huc inclinat,** repeated from H. 1. 42, 2. Tacitus declines to affirm the truth of the story, as does also Dio (61. 11, 4). Suetonius (c. 28), in his usual manner, gives the story (in the form adopted by Rusticus) as an undoubted fact, and even adds to it.

21. **puellaribus annis.** She was then about twenty-four years old, and had been more than ten years married: 'puella' is

dominationis admiserat, pari cupidine usque ad libita Pallantis
provoluta et exercita ad omne flagitium patrui nuptiis.
1 **3.** Igitur Nero vitare secretos eius congressus, abscedentem in
hortos aut Tusculanum vel Antiatem in agrum laudare, quod
2 otium capesseret. postremo, ubicumque haberetur, praegravem
ratus interficere constituit, hactenus consultans, veneno an ferro
3 vel qua alia vi. placuitque primo venenum. sed inter epulas
principis si daretur, referri ad casum non poterat tali iam Britannici exitio; et ministros temptare arduum videbatur mulieris usu
scelerum adversus insidias intentae; atque ipsa praesumendo
4 remedia munierat corpus. ferrum et caedes quonam modo

used of a very young married woman in c. 64, 1.

Lepido. Nipp. would insert the praenomen 'M.,' which may easily have dropped out; but the Lepidus here spoken of was no doubt well known to those who had the complete work of Tacitus. He could himself claim descent from Augustus (see the pedigree, Introd. i. ix. p. 139), and had been husband of Agrippina's sister Drusilla, and was associated with many of the worst outrages of Gaius, who put him to death in 792, A. D. 39, as connected with the conspiracy of Lentulus Gaetulicus (see Introd. pp. 8, 18).

spe dominationis. Gaius is said to have contemplated making Lepidus his heir (Dio, l. l.); but the reference is here probably to the conspiracy above mentioned.

1. **admiserat,** 'had incurred the guilt of': so often used with 'scelus,' 'facinus,' etc. in a sense slightly different from that of 'committere': cp. 'admissum scelus' (c. 62, 3), and the subst. 'admissa' (11. 4, 7).

2. **provoluta,** 'prostrating herself to,' noted by Dr. as in this sense ἅπ. εἰρ. On her adultery with Pallas see 12. 25, 1, etc.

exercita = 'exercitata': cp. c. 56, 5; 3. 20, 2; 4. 11, 2; H. 4. 4, 4, and many other places. This meaning seems hardly to be found earlier than Tacitus, who also uses the word in the more regular sense of 'harassed' (1. 17, 7, etc.).

patrui nuptiis. On the incestuous character of this union see 12. 5, 1, etc.

3. **Igitur,** i. e. in consequence of the representations of Acte (c. 2, 2).

secretos congressus, 'private interviews with her.'

4. **vel,** here subordinate to 'aut'; the true opposition being between 'in hortos' (probably the gardens of Lucullus, 11. 1, 1) and 'in agrum' (some place in the country wholly removed from Rome); Tusculum and Antium being alternative places of rural resort. The latter of these, an ancient colony (see c. 27, 3, and note), the birthplace of Gaius and of Nero (Suet. Cal. 8; Ner. 6), was a favourite imperial residence at this time (cp. c. 4, 3; 15. 23, 1; 39, 1) and long afterwards; and the most important ruins on the spot, believed to have belonged to the Neronian villa, have been the place of discovery of famous works of art, especially the Apollo Belvedere, and the so-called Gladiator in the Louvre.

5. **capesseret:** so all recent edd. after Heins. for the Med. 'lacesseret,' which appears to give no satisfactory sense. Cp. the frequent expressions 'capessere honores,' 'imperium,' etc.

haberetur, so used of persons more or less in custody: cp. 2. 58, 1, and note.

6. **hactenus consultans,** 'deliberating on this question only': for this use of 'hactenus' cp. 12. 42, 5, and note.

7. **vel,** here subordinate to 'an,' as above to 'aut.' The use of the sword or any other open violence is opposed to insidious assassination by poison.

9. **ministros temptare,** i. e. to get her own servants to poison her at her own house, which was now distinct from Nero's (13. 18, 6).

10. **praesumendo,** here in the literal sense, as in Ov. A. A. 3, 757 (' neve domi praesume dapes'). Suet. (Ner. 34) is so circumstantial as to state that three vain attempts to poison her were actually made.

11. **ferrum et caedes,** generally taken

occultaretur, nemo reperiebat; et ne quis illi tanto facinori
delectus iussa sperneret metuebant. obtulit ingenium Anicetus 5
libertus, classi apud Misenum praefectus et pueritiae Neronis
educator ac mutuis odiis Agrippinae invisus. ergo navem posse 6
componi docet, cuius pars ipso in mari per artem soluta effun-
deret ignaram: nihil tam capax fortuitorum quam mare; et si 7
naufragio intercepta sit, quem adeo iniquum, ut sceleri adsignet
quod venti et fluctus deliquerint? additurum principem defunctae
templum et aras et cetera ostentandae pietati.

4. Placuit sollertia, tempore etiam iuta, quando Quinquatruum 1
festos dies apud Baias frequentabat. illuc matrem elicit, ferendas 2
parentium iracundias et placandum animum dictitans, quo ru-
morem reconciliationis efficeret acciperetque Agrippina, facili

as a hendiadys; but the latter, as a more general word, seems to answer to 'vel qua alia vi' above.

2. **metuebant**, sc. 'Nero et conscii.' The presence of advisers is implied in 'consultans,' 'nemo reperiebat,' etc.

obtulit ingenium. Nipp. gives several instances (e.g. H. 4. 25, 5) in which a verb acquires by such a position a force as if 'tum' had preceded it. For the sense of 'ingenium' cp. 12. 66, 5, and note.

3. **classi**, etc.: see 4. 5, 1, and note. The 'praefectus' was usually a knight (cp. 13. 30, 2; Introd. i. vii. p. 108); but a freedman is found in this position under Claudius (Plin. N. H. 9. 17, 29, 62), and another of similar rank just after Nero's death (H. 1. 87, 2): see the full list of 'praefecti' in Hirschf. Unters. 124, foll.

4. **educator**: cp. 11. 1, 2, and note.

mutuis . . . invisus, 'hating Agrippina and hateful to her.'

navem. Suet. gives a story (l. l.) of a previous plan to make the ceiling of her bed-chamber fall, which was frustrated by betrayal. Dio says (61. 12, 2) that the idea of a ship falling to pieces was taken from one seen on the stage.

6. **ignaram**: cp. 11. 35, 1, and note.

tam capax, 'giving so much room for': with the genit., the word is generally used of persons (as in H. 1. 49, 8), or personal qualities (as in 13. 47, 4).

7. **intercepta**: so used of unnatural death in 2. 71, 3, etc.

8. **additurum**, 'would further ordain' (besides reaping the fruit of this explanation of her death). Nipp. notes that 'defunctae' does not depend on the participle, but is taken closely with 'templum et aras' (cp. 12. 41, 3; 15. 23, 3, etc.), and 'ostentandae pietati' with 'cetera' (cp. 'cetera expugnandis urbibus' H. 3. 20, 4).

10. **sollertia**, i. e. the plan of Anicetus was preferred to open violence.

iuta = 'adiuta': this participle is only found here, unless read in 3. 35, 3.

Quinquatruum. This festival of Minerva was held March 19–23; the name being (acc. to Varro, L. L. 6. 3, 14, and Fest. 254, Müll.) a Tusculan word for 'quintus,' and denoting that the feast began on the fifth day (reckoned inclusively) from the Ides (Gell. 2. 21). Ovid, who erroneously derives the name from its lasting five days, describes it as especially a festival for workers in the arts (Fast. 3. 809, foll.) and for children (cp. Hor. Ep. 2. 2, 197). For an account of its ceremonies see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 435.

11. **frequentabat**, 'he used to attend.' Nipp. notes that the word is used of a single person viewed as part of a great gathering: cp. 15. 35, 1, also 'sponsalia aut nuptias frequentavi' (Pl. Ep. 1. 9, 2), 'illustrium exequias . . . frequentavit' (Suet. Tib. 32). The subject is sufficiently indicated throughout the passage to make it needless to follow Ritt. in inserting 'Nero.'

12. **animum**, i. e. his own: 'dictitans' would imply that he kept saying this to those about him, intending it to be reported to Agrippina.

13. **facili . . . ad gaudia**: so 'facili civitate ad accipienda . . . omnia nova' (H. 1. 19, 4); a similar sense to that of

3 feminarum credulitate ad gaudia. venientem dehinc obvius in
litora (nam Antio adventabat) excepit manu et complexu ducit-
4 que Baulos. id villae nomen est quae promunturium Misenum
5 inter et Baianum lacum flexo mari adluitur. stabat inter alias
navis ornatior, tamquam id quoque honori matris daretur:
6 quippe sueverat triremi et classiariorum remigio vehi. ac tum
invitata ad epulas erat, ut occultando facinori nox adhiberetur.
satis constitit extitisse proditorem, et Agrippinam auditis insidiis,
7 an crederet ambiguam, gestamine sellae Baias pervectam. ibi

'facilis' with a dative (cp. 2. 27, 2, and note).

2. **Antio**: cp. c. 3, 1; she came thence by ship. Dio states (61. 12, 3) that Nero took her up and brought her with him by sea, using the ship which had been prepared for the murder, in order to accustom her to it. According to the account of Suet. (Ner. 34), she had arrived in a ship of her own, which Nero caused to be disabled, as if by an accidental collision, so as to oblige her to use for her return from Baiae to Bauli the one which he had prepared for her.

3. **Baulos.** The situation of this villa is shown in the context to have been just beyond Baiae in the direction of Misenum. It had belonged to the orator Hortensius, and afterwards to Antonia (Plin. N. H. 9. 55, 81, 172), through whom it became imperial property. The name of the place was believed to be derived from its having been the resting-place (βοαύλια) of Hercules and the herds of Geryon (Symm. Ep. 1. 1); whence it has the epithet 'Herculei' in Sil. 12, 156. We are to understand the version here given to be that Nero conducts her from the landing-place to this villa as her residence during her stay, and invites her to dine with him at another villa at Baiae (see note and reading on § 6), that the highly decorated ship was awaiting her arrival, and was supposed to be placed at her disposal during her visit as a mark of honour, that she went on to Baiae in a litter, but was afterwards induced to use the ship for her return. So Suet. (l. l.) after saying 'Baias evocavit,' makes the shipwreck happen 'repetenti Baulos.'

4. **Baianum lacum.** This must mean the innermost portion of the bay, that enclosed between Baiae and Puteoli. It seems impossible to take it, with Nipp. and other recent commentators, to be the same as the Lucrine lake (see note on c. 5, 7).

flexo mari, 'by a bend of the sea' (a creek). On the anastrophe of 'inter' see Introd. i. v. § 77, 2.

6. **sueverat.** This appears to refer to the time before her estrangement from Nero (13. 18, 4). The ship in which she had arrived appears from Suet. (Ner. 34) to have been not a trireme but a 'liburnica.'

classiariorum. The marines of the fleet were a more select class than the ordinary 'remiges,' but were not usually Roman citizens (Introd. i. vii. p. 108).

7. **invitata ad epulas.** Tacitus knows nothing of the story (Suet. Oth. 3) that Otho acted as nominal host, which, if true at all, may possibly be referred to some previous attempt on Agrippina's life. See notes on 13. 46, 5; c. 1, 4.

8. **satis constitit;** so used of a well-established belief in 13. 35, 3.

auditis, 'having been reported': cp. 4. 23, 2, and note.

9. **ambiguam,** 'doubting': cp. c. 33, 2; 2. 67, 1, etc.

gestamine sellae, genit. of definition: cp. 15. 57, 3, 'lecticae gestamine' (2. 2, 5), and 'gestamine' alone (11. 33, 3).

Baias (see note on § 3): so nearly all edd. after Put. for 'Baulos' (Med. and other MSS.), which Pfitzn. and Ritt. retain, the latter marking a lacuna before 'Baulos' in § 3, and thinking that 'ducitque Baias, inde Baulos' should there be read. The Med. text would be so far in accordance with the version of Dio, who makes the feast to take place at Bauli and last several days. The difficulty with this reading lies in the word 'ducit' (§ 3), which can hardly be taken of even an imperfect or contemplated action on Nero's own part (for if he had

blandimentum sublevavit metum: comiter excepta superque ipsum collocata. iam pluribus sermonibus, modo familiaritate 8
iuvenili Nero et rursus adductus, quasi seria consociaret, tracto in longum convictu, prosequitur abeuntem, artius oculis et pectori haerens, sive explenda simulatione, seu periturae matris supremus aspectus quamvis ferum animum retinebat.

5. Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quietam quasi 1
convincendum ad scelus di praebuere. nec multum erat pro- 2
gressa navis, duobus e numero familiarium Agrippinam comitantibus, ex quis Crepereius Gallus haud procul gubernaculis adstabat, Acerronia super pedes cubitantis reclinis paenitentiam filii et reciperatam matris gratiam per gaudium memorabat, cum dato signo ruere tectum loci multo plumbo grave, pressus-

purposed to accompany her on the ship she would have felt safe), and could only have some such meaning as 'ducendam committit,' which Tacitus would probably have expressed more plainly. Nor can we see to what place of residence she was returning by ship from Bauli after the feast, unless the supposition that she had a villa of her own on the Lucrine lake (see on c. 5, 7) be adopted.

1. **excepta . . . collocata.** According to the stopping here adopted by Halm, Orelli, and Dräger, after Heins., 'est' would be supplied; Nipp., who places only a comma after 'metum,' takes the words as a nominative in apposition to 'blandimentum,' the participles being equivalent to a concise statement of fact, as in 3. 9, 3, etc. Others, with Walther, take the words as abl. abs., with 'ea' supplied.

superque ipsum. Probably these two occupied the 'lectus medius' alone: see note on 3. 14, 2.

2. **iam:** so Halm, Orell., Nipp., Dr., after Heins., for the Med. 'nam,' which Walther, Jacob, and others retain, and which could be explained by taking 'excepta,' etc. as abl. abs., and the incidents denoted by 'sermonibus' and 'tracto . . . convictu' as explanatory of 'blandimentum.'

modo . . . rursus, for 'modo . . . modo.' Dr. compares H. 3. 20, 3, and notes that Tacitus is preceded in this usage by Propert. (1. 3, 41), and that he also coordinates 'modo' with 'aliquando,' 'nunc,' 'saepius,' but only in the Hist. and Ann.

3. **adductus,** 'grave,' apparently nowhere else used of persons. The meaning is equivalent to that of 'adducto vultu' in Suet. Tib. 68 (cp. 'vultum adducet' Sen. Ep. 57, 4). In 12. 7, 6, etc. the metaphor is different.

4. **in longum:** so in 3. 27, 4, and (in a somewhat different sense) in 1. 69, 7. Dr. notes the phrase as originating in Verg. Ecl. 9. 56 ('in longum ducis amores').

oculis, dat., like 'pectori' ('imprinting kisses on them'). So Dio says (61. 13, 2) *περιλαμβάνει τε αὐτὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ στέρνον προσαγαγὼν καὶ φιλήσας καὶ τὰ ὄμματα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας*: Suet. Ner. 34 'in digressu papillas quoque exosculatus.'

5. **explenda simulatione.** Few have followed Lips. in altering the case to a dative; but the abl. is very difficult to explain. In the passages generally referred to (3. 19, 2; 6. 32, 6), recent editors have mostly inserted 'in,' and the sense is somewhat different. It is perhaps possible to take it as somewhat between an abl. abs. and causal abl., with the force of 'dum explet simulationem.'

8. **convincendum,** 'to prove': cp. 2. 13. 2, and note.

11. **Acerronia.** Dio (l. l.) gives her full name as Acerronia Polla. It is suggested that she may probably have been a daughter of the consul of 790, A. D. 37 (6. 45, 5).

reclinis: cp. 13. 16, 5. She was sitting on a lower seat and leaning over the feet of Agrippina, who lay on the couch.

13. **cum . . . ruere.** On this use of the historical inf. see Introd. i. v. § 46 b.

tectum loci, apparently the roof

3 que Crepereius et statim exanimatus est. Agrippina et Acer-
ronia eminentibus lecti parietibus ac forte validioribus, quam ut
4 oneri cederent, protectae sunt. nec dissolutio navigii sequebatur,
turbatis omnibus et quod plerique ignari etiam conscios impedie-
5 bant. visum dehinc remigibus unum in latus inclinare atque ita
navem submergere: sed neque ipsis promptus in rem subitam
consensus, et alii contra nitentes dedere facultatem lenioris in
6 mare iactus. verum Acerronia, inprudentia dum se Agrippinam
esse utque subveniretur matri principis clamitat, contis et remis
7 et quae fors obtulerat navalibus telis conficitur: Agrippina silens
eoque minus adgnita (unum tamen vulnus umero excepit) nando
deinde occursu lenunculorum Lucrinum in lacum vecta villae suae
infertur.

of a cabin on the deck ('camarae ruina' Suet. l. l.). This contrivance appears to have been intended to be put in action if (as proved to be the case) the sea was too calm to make the dissolution of the ship seem accidental, and resembles the earlier plan, mentioned also by Suet. (see note on c. 3, 6).

pressus, = 'oppressus' ('was crushed'). This verb is often used for its compounds: cp. c. 64, 3; 15. 64, 1; 16. 9, 4, and several other instances here cited by Nipp.

2. **parietibus**, the sides or framework above the actual couch.

4. **plerique ignari**. The plot had been confided to only a few of the crew, who were intended to carry it out.

5. **inclinare**, sc. 'se,' 'to throw their weight.'

6. **sed neque**, etc., their own action was not sufficiently in concert to deal with the emergency, besides being hindered by the counter effort of others (the 'ignari' mentioned above); the result being that Agrippina and Acerronia slipped gently overboard, instead of being thrown out with violence.

8. **inprudentia**, causal abl. (as in H. 2. 34, 2), or modal. She did not see the intention to destroy Agrippina, and hoped to be helped the more by passing for her.

dum, only here used by Tacitus in anastrophe, but analogously to the use of 'ubi' (12. 51, 2), etc.: see Introd. i. v. § 78.

12. **lenunculorum**, used of small skiffs in Caes. B. C. 2. 43, 3, and in Sall. Fr. H. 2. 66 D, 75 K, 88 G. The 'lenuncularii' (probably fishermen) of the Tiber were a corporation (Or. Inscr. 4054, 4104).

Lucrinum. This lake, now reduced to a small marshy pool by the volcanic action of 1538, was separated from the northern recess of the bay of Baiae by a sandy bar, through which a passage had been made and secured by masonry; as well as a further passage from this lake to that of Avernus. The 'portus Iulius,' for the construction of which these works had been undertaken by Octavianus and Agrippa (Verg. G. 2, 161; Hor. A. P. 64), appears to have soon fallen into disuse.

villae suae infertur. Sir E. Bunbury (Dict. of Geog. s. v. 'Bauli') and Professor Holbrooke take this to mean that she had a villa of her own on the Lucrine lake, to which she hastily retreated, and where all that followed took place; but it seems really that she must have returned by land to the villa at Bauli, which, if really Nero's, might be called hers as being her temporary residence. Her tomb was evidently near Bauli or between that and Misenum (c. 9, 3); nor can it be doubted that the site of this was also that of her funeral pile, and that the latter, by reason of the haste used (c. 9, 2), must have been close to the villa to which she fled and in which she was murdered. It is easy to suppose that considerations of safety led her to take an opposite direction to that which the ship had taken, and thus to land at the Lucrine lake, obtaining thence a litter to convey her back through Baiae to Bauli.

6. Illic reputans ideo se fallacibus literis accitam et honore 1
praecipuo habitam, quodque litus iuxta, non ventis acta, non
saxis inpulsa navis summa sui parte veluti terrestre machinamentum
concidisset, observans etiam Acerroniae necem, simul
suum vulnus aspiciens, solum insidiarum remedium esse *sensit*, si
non intellegerentur; misitque libertum Agerinum, qui nuntiaret filio
benignitate deum et fortuna eius evasisse gravem casum; orare
ut quamvis periculo matris exterritus visendi curam differret;
sibi ad praesens quiete opus. atque interim securitate simulata 2
medicamina vulneri et fomenta corpori adhibet; testamentum
Acerroniae requiri bonaque obsignari iubet, id tantum non per
simulationem.

7. At Neroni nuntios patrati facinoris opperienti adfertur 1
evasisse ictu levi sauciam et hactenus adito discrimine, ne auctor
dubitaretur. tum pavore exanimis et iam iamque adfore ob- 2
testans vindictae properam, sive servitia armaret vel militem

3. **summa sui parte.** The abl. is that of the part affected: on the use of the genit. of the personal pronoun see Introd. i. v. § 33 a.

veluti terrestre machinamentum, 'as any mechanism on dry land might act,' i. e. that the sea could have had nothing to do with it. Such contrivances were used on the stage (see on c. 3, 6); also at the feasts of rich men the ceiling was made sometimes to fly asunder and shower presents on the guests (Petron. 60; Suet. Ner. 31).

5. **sensit.** Halm, Or., Dr., Jacob follow Bezzenb. in inserting this verb; which might easily have been lost between 'esse' and 'si.' The sense of such a verb might no doubt be supplied from the context (see Introd. i. v. § 38 a); but the following 'misitque' appears here to presuppose a preceding verb.

si non intellegerentur; i. e. the only escape from the plot was to seem unconscious of it: cp. 1. 11, 5, and note; H. 4. 86, 1.

7. **fortuna eius,** 'by his happy star': so 'fortuna publica' (c. 11, 2), 'fortuna populi Romani' (Liv. 1. 46, 5), are used of occurrences from which great public good results. The expression is a compliment to her son, and implies that he would have regarded her death as a calamity.

10. **fomenta,** 'restoratives,' generally.

11. **id tantum,** etc., 'in this alone acting without pretence.' She was probably aware that she was Acerronia's heir, and the avarice which was her ruling passion (see 12. 7, 7, etc.) even at this moment asserted itself.

13. **opperienti,** so used of anxious expectation in 2. 69, 4.

14. **hactenus . . . ne,** 'she had gone far enough in peril to have no doubt as to the instigator': for the sense of 'hactenus,' cp. 2. 34, 5; 16. 15, 4, etc.; for that of 'auctor,' 4. 11, 2. The use of 'ne' (for 'ut non') appears to occur nowhere else in an assertion of fact; and can hardly, as Dr. suggests, be justified by such analogies as 'fieri ne,' 'fore ne'; but it is not impossible to suppose, with Mr. Frost, that some ironical idea of purpose is conveyed, i. e. that the plot seemed to have been expressly arranged to show Nero's guilt. The reading is that of an inferior MS. (G); Med. omits 'ne' (lost in the syllable preceding it) and reads 'dubitaret.' For the passive 'dubitor' cp. 3. 8, 4: the use with a personal subject is noted as occurring elsewhere only in poets (Ov. ex P. 2. 4, 2, etc.).

15. **obtestans:** cp. 12, 5, 4, and note.

16. **vindictae,** probably genit.: see 11. 26, 4, and note.

vel, subordinate to 'sive': cp. c. 3, 1, and note.

accenderet, sive ad senatum et populum pervaderet, naufragium et vulnus et interfectos amicos obiciendo, quod contra subsidium sibi? nisi quid Burrus et Seneca; quos expergens statim
3 acciverat incertum an et ante gnaros. igitur longum utriusque silentium, ne inriti dissuaderent, an eo descensum credebant, *ut*,
4 nisi praeveniretur Agrippina, pereundum Neroni esset. post Seneca hactenus promptius, *ut* respiceret Burrum ac sciscitaretur,

2. **quod contra**, etc. Here both 'fore' and a verb of asking are omitted. The construction appears to be designedly exclamatory, as in 1. 41, 2, etc. The stopping here given is that of Nipp. and makes 'sive servitia . . . obiciendo' the protasis to 'quod . . . sibi,' by which construction the difficulty is avoided of making 'sive ad senatum,' etc. (an action implying her immediate return to Rome) part of the epexegesis of 'adfore . . . vindictae properam.'

3. **nisi quid Burrus et Seneca; quos expergens**, etc. This reading, that of Pfitzn., has the merit of making no further change in the Med. text than the transposition of the two latter words; the omission of a verb being explained, as in the preceding sentence, as rhetorically suited to the character of the passage. All the events from the close of the feast (c. 4, 8; 5, 1) to the burning of the body (c. 9, 2) are comprised in one night; and the hour may well have been late enough for Seneca and Burrus to have been asleep when Nero summoned them. 'Expergens' is bracketed by Ritt. as a gloss, and altered by many (after the suggestion of a friend to Pich.) to 'expedirent.' Halm follows Wölfflin (Philol. 27. 114) in thinking that the true reading is 'experiens' ('trying their fidelity'), and that this word should come between 'incertum' and 'an.' The absence of a verb with 'nisi quid' would thus be explained as above; but 'experiens' stands in no good contrast to the following words. Nipp. reads 'incertum an aperiens ('disclosing his plot') et ante ignaros' (to which latter words the force of 'incertum an' is not to be extended); the supposed uncertainty being apparently as to whether the facts were disclosed in the message that summoned them. Other suggested restorations are given in the critical notes of Walther, Halm, Baiter, and Ritter.

4. **gnaros.** This correction of the Med. 'ignaros' seems required by the preceding 'et' ('et ante' = καὶ πρότερον, as in 2. 87, 2; 15. 55, 4, etc.); 'incertum an' having the affirmative sense of 'perhaps,' as in 6. 50. 5; 11. 18, 5, etc. The knowledge which it is suggested that they may have possessed would have been that of the plot of Nero, not that of its failure, which had only just happened. The statement of Dio (61. 12, 1) that Seneca had previously urged the murder seems improbable (see Introd. p. 64).

igitur. Nipp. takes this to refer to 'ante ignaros' (as read by him) and to their being thus taken by surprise. With the reading above given it may be referred, with Jacob, to 'pavore exanimis,' etc. The excitement of Nero made them hesitate to dissuade him from the murder, lest it should be useless. An alternative reason is suggested as possible, though less likely, in the following words.

5. **inriti**, 'to no purpose': cp. 1. 59, 7; 15. 25, 4, etc.

an . . . credebant, 'or perhaps they were really of opinion.' In several edd., the sentence is put as a question ('were they of opinion?'); the suggestion in either case being that they believed the murder to be necessary but shrunk from openly advocating it. For 'eo descensum' ('the crisis had come to this') cp. 'non eo ventum' (11. 26, 2, and note). 'Ut' is here wanting in Med., but inserted from other MSS.

6. **praeveniretur**: cp. 'praeventus' in Sall. Jug. 71, 5, and the act. with accus. in 16. 13, 3.

7. **hactenus promptius**, sc. 'egit,' 'was so far more resolute' as to put the thought of murder into the form of a suggestion. The conjecture of Heraeus, 'prompsit,' is supported by 15. 60, 4, and is advocated by Wölfflin (Philol. 27. 114), who compares ἐς τοσοῦτον παρεγύμνου (Hdt. 8. 19, 2). All recent edd. follow Doed. in here again inserting 'ut': older edd. generally read 'respicere,' as an inf. hist., and take 'scis-

an militi imperanda caedes esset. ille praetorianos toti Caesarum 5 domui obstrictos memoresque Germanici nihil adversus progeniem eius atrox ausuros respondit: perpetraret Anicetus promissa. qui nihil cunctatus poscit summam sceleris. ad eam 6 vocem Nero illo sibi die dari imperium auctoremque tanti muneris libertum profitetur: iret propere duceretque promptissimos ad iussa. ipse audito venisse missu Agrippinae nuntium 7 Agerinum, scaenam ultro criminis parat, gladiumque, dum mandata perfert, abicit inter pedes eius, tum quasi deprehenso vincla inici iubet, ut exitium principis molitam matrem et pudore deprehensi sceleris sponte mortem sumpsisse confingeret.

8. Interim vulgato Agrippinae periculo quasi casu evenisset, 1 ut quisque acceperat, decurrere ad litus. hi molium obiectus, hi 2 proximas scaphas scandere; alii, quantum corpus sinebat, vadere in mare; quidam manus protendere; questibus, votis, clamore diversa rogitantium aut incerta respondentium omnis ora compleri; adfluere ingens multitudo cum luminibus, atque ubi in-

citaretur' as a suggestion addressed to Nero (that he should ask this question of Burrus), or alter it to 'sciscitari.'

1. **militi**, the praetorians in attendance.

toti . . . domui. That the 'sacramentum' so far extended to the imperial house generally as to protect the person of its members is shown here and from the statement of Philo (Leg. ad Gaium 5) that Gaius ordered young Tiberius Gemellus to kill himself, *ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοκράτορος ἀπογόνους πρὸς ἑτέρων ἀναιρεῖσθαι*: see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 819, 6, and note on c. 11, 1. Here however 'obstrictos' seems rather to denote attachment, as in H. 1. 70, 2.

4. **summam sceleris.** The addition of 'poscit' suggests that this is best taken, with Nipp., to mean 'the chief part in executing the crime': cp. 'summa expeditionis' (H. 1. 87, 2), 'summa rerum' (H. 2. 33, 4, etc.), 'summa belli' (H. 4. 68, 1). Others take it to mean the 'accomplishment' of the crime undertaken but hitherto uncompleted: cp. 'summa pacis' (13. 38, 1) and note.

6. **libertum**, in contrast to Seneca and Burrus.

8. **scaenam ultro criminis parat.** He thinks that Agerinus is the bearer of an accusation from Agrippina, and instead of awaiting it turns the tables ('ultro') and accuses her, 'making up a stage effect to sustain a charge.' Cp. Caelius in Cic. ad Fam. 8. 11, 3 ('scaena rei totius haec'); Suet. Cal. 15 ('nec minore scaena').

dum mandata perfert, 'while he delivers his message': cp. 1. 23, 5, and note.

9. **deprehenso . . . deprehensi.** The repetition is apparently an inadvertence: cp. 1. 81, 1, and note.

12. **vulgato . . . quasi**, etc., 'made known as the result of an accident.' The narrative is taken up from the end of c. 5.

13. **ut quisque acceperat**, 'as each had heard the news.'

molium obiectus = 'obiectas moles'; the genit. being similar to those noted in Introd. i. v. § 32. 'Obiectus' is elsewhere used by Tacitus only in abl. (4. 67, 3; H. 3. 9, 2; 5. 14, 3), and in an abstract sense, as in Verg. Aen. 1, 160. Those who suppose her villa to have been on the Lucrine (see on c. 5, 7), would take the expression to mean the sandy bar, at that time strengthened by masonry, between that lake and the bay of Baiae, described by Strabo (5. 4, 6, 245) as about a mile long and broad enough for a carriage road, which was the means of land communication between Puteoli and Baiae. But it is plain from Horace (Od. 2. 18, 20) that embankments to reclaim

columem esse pernotuit, ut ad gratandum sese expedire, donec
3 aspectu armati et minitantis agminis disiecti sunt. Anicetus
villam statione circumdat refractaque ianua obvios servorum
abripit, donec ad fores cubiculi veniret; cui pauci adstabant,
4 ceteris terrore inrumpentium exterritis. cubiculo modicum lu-
men inerat et ancillarum una, magis ac magis anxia Agrippina,
quod nemo a filio ac ne Agerinus quidem: aliam fore laetae rei
faciem; nunc solitudinem ac repentinos strepitus et extremi mali
5 indicia. abeunte dehinc ancilla 'tu quoque me deseris' pro-
locuta respicit Anicetum, trierarcho Herculeio et Obarito cen-
turione classiario comitatum: ac, si ad visendum venisset, refotam
nuntiaret, sin facinus patraturus, nihil se de filio credere; non
6 imperatum parricidium. circumsistunt lectum percussores et
prior trierarchus fusti caput eius adflixit. iam in mortem centu-
rioni ferrum destringenti protendens uterum 'ventrem feri' ex-
clamavit multisque vulneribus confecta est.

land from the sea were common in that locality.

1. **ut ad gratandum.** This use of 'ut,' like that of 'tamquam' or 'quasi' (see Introd. i. v. § 67), need not necessarily imply that the intention was insincere (cp. 3. 74, 5; 12. 52, 1), but merely that such intention was to be inferred from the act. It is possible, as Nipp. suggests, that 'ut' may be an insertion arising from a repetition of the preceding 'et.'

3. **obvios servorum,** partitive genit.

4. **abripit,** seizes and drags away, that they should not give the alarm.

5. **exterritis,** 'frightened away' (cp. 13. 56, 5, and note). For the pleonasm 'terrore exterritis,' Nipp. compares 'pavor terruit' (H. 1. 63, 1), 'formidine territi' (Agr. 22, 1).

6. **anxia,** abl. abs. The following sentences are exclamatory; 'veniret' being supplied with 'quod nemo,' and 'esse' with 'solitudinem': cp. c. 7, 2; 1. 41, 2, etc.

7. **laetae rei:** so all recent edd. after Bezzenb. for the Med. 'lataeret,' corrected by some other MSS. to 'litore,' as also 'fore' by some to 'fere.' Various older emendations are collected in Walther's note.

8. **et . . . indicia:** no other signs appear to have been present; whence Dr. brackets 'et' as an insertion, and would take 'indicia' as predicate.

10. **respicit,** 'she looks behind her and sees': cp. c. 7, 4; also 'respexit . . . Basiliden' (H. 4. 82, 2), and several places in Vergil, e.g. Aen. 5, 168; 666; 10, 269.

trierarcho. This title and that of 'navarchus' (15. 51, 2) occur frequently in inscriptions as those of the commanders of triremes or 'liburnicae.'

11. **classiario.** On the 'classiarii' see c. 4, 5, and note. He had brought these soldiers because the praetorians could not be counted on (c. 7, 5).

refotam nuntiaret. Both 'esse' and 'iussit' are supplied.

14. **in mortem,** 'for the death-blow.' Med. has 'nam morte,' with 'ī' ('in') written above. The correction to the accus. is adopted by all, that of 'nam' to 'iam' (Faern.) by recent edd. generally.

15. **ventrem feri.** Dio (61. 13, 5) makes her add the reason, παῖε ταύτην, ὅτι Νέρωνα ἔτεκεν: cp. also Pseudo-Sen. Oct. 369, foll., a passage which, from having been apparently cited in the margin of an earlier MS. of Tacitus, was adopted almost verbatim into the text of several of the inferior MSS. and in the earlier editions down to that of Lips. It is necessary to suppose that the centurion's action of drawing the sword and her exclamation and gesture had preceded the blow on the head, and this seems to be indicated by 'iam.'

9. Haec consensu produntur. aspexeritne matrem exanimem 1
Nero et formam corporis eius laudaverit, sunt qui tradiderint, sunt
qui abnuant. cremata est nocte eadem convivali lecto et exsequiis 2
vilibus; neque, dum Nero rerum potiebatur, congesta aut clausa
humus. mox domesticorum cura levem tumulum accepit, viam 3
Miseni propter et villam Caesaris dictatoris, quae subiectos sinus
editissima prospectat. accenso rogo libertus eius cognomento 4
Mnester *se* ipse ferro transegit, incertum caritate in patronam an
metu exitii. hunc sui finem multos ante annos crediderat Agrip- 5
pina contempseratque. nam consulenti super Nerone responderunt Chaldaei fore ut imperaret matremque occideret; atque illa 'occidat' inquit, 'dum imperet.'

10. Sed a Caesare perfecto demum scelere magnitudo eius 1
intellecta est. reliquo noctis modo per silentium defixus, saepius pavore exsurgens et mentis inops lucem opperiebatur tamquam

1. **aspexeritne.** Instead of the natural construction with accus. and inf., a form of expression is used as if 'incertum est' followed. See the similar anacoluthon in 12. 52, 3, and note. Dio (61. 14, 2) makes him gaze on the body and remark οὐχ ᾔδειν ὅτι οὕτω καλὴν μητέρα εἶχον, nor does Suet. (Ner. 34) leave the question as open as it is left by Tacitus. The state of terror in which Nero is described as being (c. 10, 1), and the haste with which her burial was hurried over, make strongly against the truth of the story.

3. **convivali,** a couch taken from the dining-room, instead of a proper 'lectus funebris.'

4. **congesta aut clausa,** 'either raised in a mound or enclosed in a stone tomb.' That some sort of 'tumulus' marked her burial-place would appear from c. 10, 5. 'Mox' is used of a time some years later, as in 1. 13, 3; 32, 5; 4, 31, 6; and the 'levis tumulus' then erected was probably a small structure of stone (Nipp. notes the use of the term of stone structures in 3. 4, 1; 4. 44, 6; etc.).

5. **domesticorum,** 'those of her household,' her freedmen and slaves.

6. **propter:** for a similar position of the prep. after its case and a dependent genit. cp. 3. 1, 1; 13. 15, 8.

villam Caesaris dictatoris. Seneca notices (Ep. 51, 11) that Marius, Pompeius, and Caesar, had all villas on the heights overlooking Baiae, and supposes that such commanding situations especially pleased a military mind.

7. **prospectat,** so used of situation in 4. 67, 3, a sense found in Tibull., Phaedr., and M. Seneca.

8. **se ipse:** so Halm, Dr., after Nipp. Others insert 'se' after 'ipse,' where its loss is more easily explained; but Nipp. notes this as the usual form of expression (c. 37, 6; 4. 30, 3; 6. 18, 4).

incertum . . . an: cp. c. 51, 1; 1. 11, 7, etc.

10. **contempserat,** 'had made light of it': cp. 15. 57, 2, and note.

11. **Chaldaei:** see 2. 27, 2, and note. The prediction is also given by Dio (61. 2, 2) without any name of the astrologer, but may be that referred to by Tacitus in 6. 22, 6, as given by the son of Thrasyllus.

13. **perfecto demum,** 'not till it was completed.' The substitution of an abl. abs. for the genit. is here more required by the sense than in the other passages quoted: see 16. 14, 6; 17, 4, and other instances given by Nipp. here, and by Dr., who shows (Synt. und Stil, § 214) that the usage is common in Caes. and Livy, and found in Cic. and Sall.

14. **reliquo noctis:** so 'multo iam noctis' (H. 3. 79, 1), 'obscurum noctis' (H. 2. 14, 6): cp. 'medio diei' (c. 2, 1).

per silentium defixus: for the use of 'per silentium' as = 'silentio' cp. 11. 37, 5; for the sense of 'defixus' ('rooted to the spot,' 'paralysed') cp. 1. 68, 2, and note. Livy has 'silentio defixus' (8. 7, 21).

2 exitium adlaturam. atque eum auctore Burro prima centurionum tribunorumque adulatio ad spem firmavit, prensantium manum gratantiumque quod discrimen inprovisum et matris facinus
3 evasisset. amici dehinc adire templa, et coepto exemplo proxima Campaniae municipia victimis et legationibus laetitiam testari:
4 ipse diversa simulatione maestus et quasi incolumitati suae in-
5 fensus ac morti parentis inlacrimans. quia tamen non, ut hominum vultus, ita locorum facies mutantur, obversabaturque maris illius et litorum gravis aspectus (et erant qui crederent sonitum tubae collibus circum editis planctusque tumulo matris audiri), Neapolim concessit literasque ad senatum misit, quarum summa erat repertum cum ferro percussorem Agerinum, ex intimis Agrippinae libertis, et luisse eam poenas conscientia, quasi scelus paravisset.

1 **11.** Adiciebat crimina longius repetita, quod consortium im-

1. **centurionum tribunorumque,** those of the praetorians in attendance, who constituted his chief source of danger (c. 7, 5). Dio alone mentions (61. 14, 3) a gift of money to the praetorians, which may have been given to those present only.

5. **municipia,** used generally, like 'coloniae' in 3. 2, 2 (where see note), of the Italian towns.

6. **diversa simulatione,** 'an opposite pretence,' that of assumed grief: cp. 'diversa fama' (16. 2, 2). The famous saying of Julius Africanus, as spokesman of a Gaulish legation on this occasion, recorded by Quint. (8. 5, 15), adapts itself to this air of sorrow ('rogant te, Caesar, Galliae tuae, ut felicitatem tuam fortiter feras').

8. **facies:** cp. 'faciem loci' (4. 67, 3), also 1. 49, 1, and note.

10. **sonitum tubae,** *σαλπίγγων δή τινων πολεμικόν τι καὶ θορυβῶδες* (Dio, 61. 14, 4).

tumulo, local abl. (see Introd. i. v. § 25), answering to 'collibus.' It is however not unlikely that 'e' may have dropped out after 'que,' and Or. and Ritt. so read.

12. **percussorem,** in apposition, 'as a murderer,' i.e. with intent to murder. In representing Agrippina's death as an act of suicide, he follows the plan indicated in c. 7, 7.

13. **poenas:** so Nipp., Dr., Ritt., Pfitzn., for Med. 'poenam,' which Halm (ed. 4) and Baiter retain, but which seems an error of assimilation to 'eam': cp. 3. 16, 6; 6. 25, 4; 12. 54, 6; 13. 35, 9; H. 2. 54, 2 (an exception is to be noted in 6. 4, 1).

conscientia, 'from a sense of guilt'; causal abl., as in 1. 57, 2.

quasi scelus paravisset, explanatory of 'conscientia,' 'as having plotted murder.' 'Quasi' is here used obviously of a supposed real motive (see Introd. i. v. § 67). The word is here a correction of Halm, followed by Nipp. and Dr., for the Med. 'qua,' which most others retain, but which hardly gives a satisfactory sense. Other suggestions are 'quia,' 'quale,' 'quantum,' etc. The meaning is that expressed in c. 7, 7 by 'pudore deprehensi sceleris.'

15. **repetita,** 'traced back': cp. 3. 24, 2, etc.

consortium imperii. The terms 'consors' and 'particeps imperii' are used to designate such an almost full equality as that of Titus to Vespasian (Suet. Tit. 6), or other less definite and more honorary positions of successors designate (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1148, 3); and Tiberius is more exactly described as 'collega imperii (sc. 'proconsularis'), consors tribuniciae potestatis' under Augustus (1. 3, 3). What 'consortium regni' was promised by Seianus to Livilla (4. 3, 3), or what 'spes dominationis' was held out by Lepidus to Agrippina (c. 2, 4), cannot be known;

perii iuraturasque in feminae verba praetorias cohortes idemque
dedecus senatus et populi speravisset, ac postquam frustra habita
sit, infensa militi patribusque et plebi dissuasisset donativum et
congiarium periculaque viris inlustribus struxisset. quanto suo 2
labore perpetratum, ne inrumperet curiam, ne gentibus externis
responsa daret. temporum quoque Claudianorum obliqua insectatione cuncta eius dominationis flagitia in matrem transtulit,
publica fortuna exstinctam referens. namque et naufragium 3
narrabat: quod fortuitum fuisse, quis adeo hebes inveniretur ut
crederet? aut a muliere naufraga missum cum telo unum, qui
cohortes et classes imperatoris perfringeret? ergo non iam Nero, 4

but the term is plainly referred in this place, not to such powers or privileges as she had actually exercised (see Introd. p. 53), but to what she had hoped for but never obtained, a formal recognition of joint sovereignty in the 'sacramentum.'

1. **iuraturas in verba**: cp. 1. 7, 3, and note. That the force of the 'sacramentum' extended in some measure to all members of the imperial family has been already noted (see on c. 7, 5); and Gaius had already expressly included the names of his sisters in the oath taken to himself (see Suet. Cal. 15); but the expression here used appears to mean more than even this, and to charge her with contemplating an independent oath of allegiance to herself, coordinate with that taken to her son.

idem dedecus, that of taking the oath to her. That the 'sacramentum in nomen principis' was taken by senate and people, as well as by the soldiers, is seen in 1. 7, 3.

2. **frustra habita sit.** Recent edd. have generally read 'habita,' after Muret., (cp. 13. 37, 2) for the Med. 'ablata.' The older edd. generally follow inferior MSS. in reading 'optata sint' or 'oblata sint,' and several other emendations are given in Walther's note.

3. **donativum et congiarium.** The former would apparently be that on his accession (12. 69, 3), the latter probably that in his second consulship (13. 31, 2). Those on his assumption of the 'toga virilis' (12. 41, 3) are evidently not here meant.

4. **pericula . . . struxisset**: so most recent edd. after Ritt. (1838) for Med. 'instruxisset,' which can be defended by the use of 'instruere fraudem' (Liv. 23. 35, 14), or 'insidias' (Catull. 21, 7). Tacitus, however, as Ritt. shows, is constant in the use of 'struere' to denote plotting or contriving (e.g. 1. 13, 3; 2. 65, 5; 4. 10, 3; 28, 2; 68, 3; 11. 12, 1; 12. 3, 2). The 'viri inlustres' answer to 'patribus' above, and her opposition to the 'donativum' and 'congiarium' are quoted in proof of her hostility to soldiers and people.

5. **perpetratum, ne**, noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ. (as is also 'perpetratum ut' in 12. 58, 1): for other instances of 'ne' used for 'ut non' cp. c. 7, 1; 14, 5; 28, 3; 3. 38, 5. The attempts of Agrippina are those described in 13. 5, 2, 3; but no attempt 'inrumpere curiam' is there found.

6. **temporum quoque Claudianorum.** We should have expected 'Claudianorum' to stand first. Nipp. notices other such inversions, as 'legatis quoque consularibus' (Agr. 7, 4).

8. **publica fortuna**: cp. 'fortuna eius' (c. 6, 1).

namque, etc. The thought is, that it was no wonder that he represented the good fortune of Rome as having led her to what he called her suicide, for he even added that similar divine favour had endeavoured to rid Rome of her by drowning.

9. **fuisse**: so Rhen. and subsequent edd. for Med. 'fuisset,' which is retained by Pfitzn., but cannot be satisfactorily explained.

11. **cohortes et classes**, rhetorical plurals (cp. 1. 10, 3) for the one praetorian cohort in attendance, and the fleet of Misenum (4. 5, 1).

cuius inmanitas omnium questus anteibat, sed Seneca adverso
rumore erat, quod oratione tali confessionem scripsisset.
1 **12.** Miro tamen certamine procerum decernuntur supplica-
tiones apud omnia pulvinaria, utque Quinquatrus, quibus apertae
insidiae essent, ludis annuis celebrarentur; aureum Minervae
simulacrum in curia et iuxta principis imago statuerentur; dies
2 natalis Agrippinae inter nefastos esset. Thrasea Paetus silentio
vel brevi adsensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus exiit
tum senatu, ac sibi causam periculi fecit, ceteris libertatis initium
3 non praebuit. prodigia quoque crebra et inrita intercessere.
anguem enixa mulier, et alia in concubitu mariti fulmine exani-
mata: iam sol repente obscuratus et tactae de caelo quattu-
4 ordecim urbis regiones. quae adeo sine cura deum eveniebant,
ut multos post annos Nero imperium et scelera continuaverit.

1. **omnium questus anteibat,** 'was beyond all terms of remonstrance': 'anteire' is often thus used of persons (3. 47, 4; 66, 5, etc.), here of a quality belonging to a person.

adverso rumore erat, so in H. 2. 26, 4; Liv. 27. 20, 9: cp. 'secundo rumore' (3. 29, 5), 'claro rumore' (15. 48, 2). The 'rumor' is that of popular opinion; the abl. here is that of quality (see Introd. i. v. § 29), as is also 'multo rumore' (3. 76, 2).

2. **quod oratione tali,** etc. The story was so flimsy that the letter was a mere confession of matricide. That the public utterances of Nero were composed for him by Seneca is seen in 13. 3, 2 (see also note on 13. 17, 4). Quintilian mentions this speech (8. 5, 18) as a 'scriptum Senecae,' and quotes from it the words 'salvum me esse adhuc nec credo nec gaudeo.'

3. **supplicationes apud omnia pulvinaria.** This usual formula occurs in Cic. Cat. 3. 10, 23, and denotes that sacrifice was offered in every temple in which a 'lectisternium' (to gods) or 'sellisternium' (to goddesses) was held. The 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2042) show the day to have been the Nones (5th) of April, and to have been again commemorated in the following year.

4. **Quinquatrus:** see c. 4, 1. On the change of construction in 'utque' cp. 1. 15, 4, and note; 13. 44, 1, etc.

5. **Minervae,** as the goddess to whom that festival belonged (l. l. note).

6. **dies natalis,** Nov. 6 (viii. Id.): see the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 2039), and Kal. Ant. (C. I. L. i. p. 329; Orell. ii. p. 403). It appears to have been celebrated up to the previous year (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2041).

7. **Thrasea Paetus:** see 13. 49, 1. This is not the only place in which his conduct receives some censure from Tacitus (see Introd. p. 80, 12); but it is difficult to see how a more explicit protest, such as would have expressly charged the emperor's letter with falsehood, could reasonably have been expected of any senator at such a time.

8. **transmittere,** 'to let them pass': cp. 1. 13, 5, and note, and the similar use of 'transire' in H. 2. 59, 2.

10. **inrita,** 'purposeless,' explained by 'sine cura deum' below.

12. **sol . . . obscuratus.** This eclipse took place on April 30, and is mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 2. 70, 72, 180), who says that it was seen in Italy soon after midday, and by Corbulo in Armenia, three hours later. On the force of 'iam' cp. 13. 43, 3, and note.

quattuordecim, 'the fourteen,' i. e. all: cp. 15. 40, 4.

13. **sine cura deum,** 'without divine forethought,' i. e. the sequel showed that they were not true portents, not sent as warnings of any impending divine judgment. On the belief of Tacitus respecting these indications see Introd. i. iv. p. 22.

ceterum quo gravaret invidiam matris eaque demota auctam 5
lenitatem suam testificaretur, feminas inlustres Iuniam et Cal-
purniam, praetura functos Valerium Capitonem et Licinium
Gabolum sedibus patriis reddidit, ab Agrippina olim pulsos.
etiam Lolliae Paulinae cineres reportari sepulcrumque exstrui 6
permisit; quosque ipse nuper relegaverat, Iturium et Calvisium
poena exsolvit. nam Silana fato functa erat, longinquo ab exilio 7
Tarentum regressa labante iam Agrippina, cuius inimicitiis con-
ciderat, vel mitigata.

13. Tamen cunctari in oppidis Campaniae, quonam modo 1
urbem ingrederetur, an obsequium senatus, an studia plebis re-
periret anxius: contra deterrimus quisque, quorum non alia regia
fecundior extitit, invisum Agrippinae nomen et morte eius ac-
censum populi favorem disserunt: iret intrepidus et venera-
tionem sui coram experiretur; simul praegredi exposcunt. et 2
promptiora quam promiserant inveniunt, obvias tribus, festo
cultu senatum, coniugum ac liberorum agmina per sexum et
aetatem disposita, exstructos, qua incederet, spectaculorum
gradus, quo modo triumphi visuntur. hinc superbus ac publici 3

1. **gravaret**, 'to aggravate': cp. 'gravatum aes alienum' (Liv. 42. 5, 9); 'fortunam . . . parce gravare meam' (Ov. Tr. 5. 11, 30).

2. **feminas**, etc. The banishment of Iunia Calvina was mentioned in 12. 8, 1; that of Calpurnia in 12. 22, 3: nothing is known of Valerius Capito or Licinius Gabolus. Lollia Paulina had been put to death in exile (12. 22, 4); Iturius and Calvisius had been banished at the same time as Silana; hence their restoration suggests the statement respecting her ('nam' being used elliptically, as in c. 11, 3, etc.). Tacitus appears to know nothing of the story of Nero's supposed guilt in respect of the death of Domitia (see on 13. 19, 4), which seems to have taken place at some time in this year.

3. **praetura**, the correction of Lips. for 'praefectura,' which would require description.

6. **permisit**, with accus. and inf.: cp. 1. 72, 2, and note.

7. **longinquo**. This can hardly be used here of time (cp. 1. 53, 3, and note), as she had only been exiled for four years, and must therefore be taken of distance.

10. **Tamen cunctari**: so Nipp., Dr., Jacob, after Halm.: Med. has 'tam̄' (='tamen') before 'mitigata' above. Baiter, who follows Bekk. in there reading 'tandem,' here inserts 'at Nero'; which does not seem to be required, as he was mentioned as 'ipse' in § 6 of c. 12, and is the subject of several verbs above. Ritt. reads 'tantum mitigata,' and 'cunctari dein.' The delay seems to have been one of at least three months (see note below on § 3).

quonam modo, dependent on 'anxius'; 'an . . . an' are not opposed, but merely a rhetorical repetition (anaphora).

14. **venerationem sui**: cp. 'fruitur fama sui' (2. 13, 1); also 12. 37, 4, and note.

15. **praegredi exposcunt**, 'they demand to go before him': 'exposco' takes a simple inf. in Verg. Aen. 4, 79 ('audire labores Exposcit'), the accus. and inf. in Aen. 9, 144.

16. **obvias tribus**: cp. 3. 4, 2, and note.

18. **spectaculorum gradus**, 'tiers of seats': 'spectaculum' is so used in Cic. Sest. 58, 124; Liv. 1. 35, 8, etc.

19. **publici servitii victor**, 'cele-

servitii victor Capitolium adiit, grates exsolvit, seque in omnes
libidines effudit, quas male coercitas qualiscumque matris reve-
rentia tardaverat.
1 **14.** Vetus illi cupido erat curriculo quadrigarum insistere, nec
minus foedum studium cithara ludicrum in modum canere. con-
certare equis regium et antiquis ducibus factitatum memorabat,
2 idque vatum laudibus celebre et deorum honori datum. enimvero
cantus Apollini sacros, talique ornatu adstare non modo Graecis
in urbibus sed Romana apud templa numen praecipuum et
3 praescium. nec iam sisti poterat, cum Senecae ac Burro visum,

brating his triumph over the servility of Rome.' The idea suggested by 'Capitolium adiit' and 'quo modo triumphi visuntur' is carried out. He had conquered and crushed the national morality. Jacob compares the words of Plin. in describing the entrance of Trajan into Rome (Pan. 22) 'non de patientia nostra quendam triumphum, sed de superbia principum egisti.' It is mentioned by Suet. (Ner. 39) and Dio (61. 16, 2) that, notwithstanding this outward show, lampoons and other abuse of Nero were frequent in Rome.

1. **Capitolium adiit.** The date of this is uncertain; as the Acta Arvalium (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2042) give two days, June 23 and Sept. 11, on which sacrifice was offered in this year 'pro salute et reditu Neronis.' It seems best to suppose (with Nipp.) that the former of those days is that here spoken of, and that the latter was after some subsequent absence.

2. **libidines.** The term is taken in a wide sense (cp. 13. 31, 5, and note), to include the extravagances mentioned in the next chapter.

4. **cupido erat:** most edd. follow Lips. in reading 'cupido' for Med. 'copia.' The old edd. read 'cura.' The inf. is used with 'cupido est' in Verg. Aen. 6, 133, with 'cupido cepit' in Enn. ap. Cic. Tusc. 3. 26, 63. These tastes of Nero were formed 'puerilibus annis' (13. 3, 7).

curriculo = 'curru': cp. 15. 44, 7; 'curriculo biiugi (Suet. Cal. 19).

5. **ludicrum in modum,** 'after the fashion of the stage,' i. e. in public and as a professional, not merely in private, as an amateur: cp. 'ludicrae artes' (c. 16, 1); 'ludicra deformitas' (16. 4, 1). It is for this reason called 'foedum studium.'

concertare equis: so Halm (followed by Nipp. and Dr.) for the Med. 'cum celaret (corrected above to 'cenaret') qs' ('quis'). The older edd. generally read 'cum coenaret, quod regibus,' etc., which Kiessl. and Walther alter to 'quod is regium.' That Nero played the harp and sang after dinner is attested by Suet. (Ner. 20, 22), but it seems plain that the context here refers to chariot-driving; the defence of his musical tastes being taken up in 'enimvero,' etc. Ritt. combines these texts by reading 'cum cenaret. Certare equis,' etc., but gives a somewhat forced explanation of the corruption; Baiter reads 'curru et equis certare.' It should be noted that 'concertare,' though a classical word, is not elsewhere found in Tacitus.

6. **regium.** Greek princes competed personally in the chariot-race at the funeral games of Patroclus (Il. 23, 287, foll.), and later despots, as Hieron, Theron, Arcesilaos, sent to the games chariots entered in their names. By 'ducibus,' such persons as Alcibiades (see Thuc. 6, 16, 2) are meant.

7. **vatum,** Pindar, and other lyric poets.

deorum honori datum, the chariot-race was itself a part of the worship of the gods to whom the games were held.

enimvero, used as elsewhere (cp. 2. 64, 5, and note), to lay stress on what follows. If chariot-driving was sanctioned by the example of kings, music could plead that of gods.

8. **tali ornatu,** that of a 'citharoedus,' assumed by Nero in coins (Eckh. vi. 275, 276; Cohen, p. 292, nos. 191, 196, etc.).

9. **in . . . apud,** interchanged for variety, as in 6. 22, 2.

10. **nec iam sisti poterat,** 'nor could

ne utraque pervinceret, alterum concedere. clausumque valle 4
Vaticana spatium, in quo equos regeret, haud promisco spectaculo. mox ultro vocari populus Romanus laudibusque extollere, 5
ut est vulgus cupiens voluptatum et, si eodem princeps trahat, laetum. ceterum evulgatus pudor non satietatem, ut rebantur, sed incitamentum attulit. ratusque dedecus molliri, si plures foedasset, nobilium familiarum posteros egestate venales in scaenam deduxit; quos fato perfunctos ne nominatim tradam, maioribus eorum tribuendum puto. nam et eius flagitium est,

he be longer withstood.' This inf. is probably personal in 15. 39, 1, certainly so in H. 2. 11, 5; 3. 71, 4; 5. 21, 1; impersonal in 3. 52, 3, and in Plaut. and Liv.

1. **utraque**, accus.: cp. 12. 59, 4, and note.

valle Vaticana, local abl. (see Introd. i. v. § 25). The circus commonly called that of Nero was built or begun by Gaius, and is called by the names of both emperors in Plin. N. H. 36. 11, 15, 74. It stood in some part of the space now occupied by St. Peter's and its surroundings, and was adorned by Gaius with the obelisk (Plin. l. l. and 16. 40, 76, 201) which still stands in the Piazza.

2. **haud promisco spectaculo**, abl. abs., 'the sight not being open to all': cp. 'promiscas scaenas' (15. 33, 1), also the use of 'promiscus' in 4. 16, 5; 16. 16, 4, etc. Suet. states (Ner. 22) that his first appearances were before 'servitia et plebem sordidam.'

3. **ultro vocari**, were not only admitted, but invited.

5. **evulgatus pudor**, 'the publicity of his shame': 'evulgare' is used in 13. 9, 7; 19, 3; H. 1. 4, 2; elsewhere only in Liv. 9. 46, 5 ('civile ius . . . evulgavit').

6. **molliri**, 'would be mitigated'; so used of 'invidia' (4. 30, 1), 'ignominia' (11. 25, 6).

7. **nobilium familiarum posteros**, It is shown by Friedländer (ii. p. 281, foll.) that it was not altogether a new thing at this date for persons of rank to appear on the stage, in the circus, or in the amphitheatre. Besides the knight Laberius, one or two decayed nobles had thus exhibited themselves under the dictator Caesar (Suet. Iul. 39); and isolated cases (Friedl. l. l.) are recorded under Augustus, who however generally upheld the prohibitory senatorial decree (Suet. Aug. 43), and whose successor sternly exiled (Suet. Tib. 35) even the scapegraces of good families who took to the arena as a last resource (see Hor. Ep. 1. 18, 36; Prop. 5. 8, 25). Even under Gaius, such exhibitions of persons of rank were in the main professedly penal (Dio, 59. 10, 4; 13, 2) or exceptional (Suet. Cal. 16); and Claudius had shown a desire to repress the custom (Dio, 60. 7, 1). The games which Dio speaks of (61. 17, 2) as given at this time ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, are made by him to mark quite a new departure in this respect, in that men of equestrian and even senatorial rank and also women belonging to such families appeared in all kinds of entertainments, as musicians, dancers, tragic and comic actors, charioteers, bestiarii, gladiators, οἱ μὲν ἐθελονταί, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντες. His description appears to combine the entertainment here mentioned with that of the Iuvenalia (c. 15), and perhaps exaggerates both (but see note on 15. 32, 3). Suet. (see note below) seems to refer to a still earlier occasion.

egestate venales. On the poverty of some senators at this time see 13. 34, 2.

8. **ne nominatim tradam**. Dio is less reticent, and gives the names of Furii, Fabii, Porcii, Valerii, and adds that the provincials present pointed in scorn to the descendants of their conquerors: see also Juv. 8, 191. 'Ne' = 'ut non,' as in c. 11, 2, etc.

9. **nam et** = 'nam accedit etiam quod,' giving another reason for not naming them, that the outrage was that of Nero rather than their own.

qui pecuniam ob delicta potius dedit quam ne delinquerent.
6 notos quoque equites Romanos operas arenae promittere subegit donis ingentibus, nisi quod merces ab eo, qui iubere potest, vim necessitatis adfert.

1 **15.** Ne tamen adhuc publico theatro dehonestaretur, instituit
2 ludos Iuvenalium vocabulo, in quos passim nomina data. non nobilitas cuiquam, non aetas aut acti honores impedimento, quo minus Graeci Latinive histrionis artem exercerent usque ad gestus
3 modosque haud viriles. quin et feminae inlustres deformia

2. **operas**, 'their service,' as gladiators or bestiarii. Suet. (Ner. 12) appears to state that this had already been the case in the show of 810, A. D. 57 (see 13. 31, 1), and would even assert (if his words are strictly taken) that on that occasion Nero brought into the arena 400 senators and 600 knights, 'quosdam fortunae atque existimationis integrae.' Even if he can be supposed to be here speaking of the total number of such persons who appeared in the amphitheatre during the whole of the Neronian period, the first number appears to be incredible and thereby to cast discredit on the second.

subegit, with inf. as in c. 26, 1; 1. 39, 4; also in Plaut., Sall., Verg., Liv.

3. **nisi quod**, 'were it not that,' qualifying something implied but not expressed, i. e. that it is hardly right to say that he induced them by gifts, when the power to compel lurked behind the bribe. Cp. 1. 33, 6, and note; 6. 24, 2, and note. Macrobius remarks (Sat. 2. 7) on the story of Caesar and Laberius, 'potestas, non solum si invitet, sed etiam si supplicet, cogit.'

5. **Ne tamen**, etc. This semblance of privacy was kept up for several years (cp. 15. 33, 1). Several other instances of such private or quasi-private entertainments given by emperors are collected in Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 490.

6. **Iuvenalium.** The name (*νεανισκεύματα* Dio, 61. 19, 1) would signify that the performers were young men, though it is seen below that such was not exclusively the case. According to Dio (l. l.) the occasion celebrated was that of the first tonsure of his beard, an occasion which had been of old a family festival among Romans: see Dio, 48. 34, 3; and other passages collected by Lips. (Exc. ad loc.). Gaius had previously added a 'dies Iuvenalis' to the Saturnalia (Suet. Cal. 17); a similar festival was held by Domitian at Alba (Dio, 67. 14, 3), and festivals under such a name are mentioned at a later date (vit. Gord. 4; Sid. Ap. Narb. 307, foll. cited in Lips. Exc.). Such a festival, according to the idea of it given above, would occur but once in the same person's lifetime: but it is evident from 15. 33, 1, that Nero kept up one so styled, held in his own private grounds, for several years, as an exhibition, not professedly public, of his singing powers: also that he was offended by absence from, or lukewarmness at it (16. 21, 1).

nomina data, 'persons gave in their names,' as ready to perform. The phrase, as in 15. 48, 1, is a metaphor from soldiers answering to the conscription (H. 2. 97, 3, and often in Livy). Suet. says (Ner. 21) that at a later date Nero inscribed his own name on the roll of citharoedi.

non nobilitas, etc.: see c. 14, 5.

8. **Graeci . . . histrionis.** Greek tragedies, modified so as to consist of gesticulation and song, were often acted on the Roman stage (see Friedl. ii. 406); and Suet. gives (c. 21) the names of several Greek parts sustained by Nero, and quotes a Greek line sung by him as Oedipus (c. 46). An epitaph of a girl named Eucharis (Orelli 2602), probably of this date, makes her say 'modo nobilium ludos decoravi choro, et Graeca in scaena prima popolo apparui.' On the use of 'histriones' to denote pantomimists cp. 1. 54, 3, etc.

9. **modos**, 'songs'; so in Cic., Liv., Hor., etc.

deformia meditari, 'studied degrading parts': cp. 'libidines meditatum' (1. 4, 4). Dio (61. 19, 2) says that Aelia Catella, a woman of wealth and rank, danced at the age of eighty. On his statement (see note on c. 14, 5) that

meditari; exstructaque apud nemus, quod navali stagno circum-
posuit Augustus, conventicula et cauponae et posita veno inrita-
menta luxui. dabanturque stipes, quas boni necessitate, in-
temperantes gloria consumerent. inde gliscere flagitia et in- 4
famia, nec ulla moribus olim corruptis plus libidinum circum-
dedit quam illa conluvies. vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, 5
nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia aut modestia aut quic-
quam probi moris reservaretur. postremum ipse scaenam in- 6
cedit, multa cura temptans citharam et praemeditans adsistenti-
bus phonascis. accesserat cohors militum, centuriones tribunique 7
et maerens Burrus ac laudans. tuncque primum conscripti sunt 8

women also appeared at this date in the circus and arena see 15. 32, 3, and note.

1. **navali stagno**, the Naumachia on the Trans-Tiberine side: see 12. 56, 1, and note.

2. **conventicula**, 'places of resort.' The word is rare and appears to have this sense elsewhere only in very late authors.

veno: cp. 13. 51, 1, and note; for 'luxui' a genit. would be more usual in classical prose (see Introd. i. v. § 19).

3. **stipes**, 'largesses,' given by Nero to be spent then and there. It seems best so to take it, with Ern.; but Marquardt (iii. 142) prefers to follow Lips. in taking it to mean contributions from the public, which is certainly the usual sense of the word.

necessitate, because it was expected of them so to spend the gift (causal abl.). Suet. mentions (Aug. 98) a largess given by Augustus to his friends with a command to spend it in a particular way.

4. **gloria**, 'from vanity'; so used in causal abl. in 1. 8, 2. Nipp. and Dr. take it as a modal abl. ('ostentatiously'); but it seems best to make it correspond to 'necessitate.'

5. **nec ulla**, etc. It is plain that Tacitus does not mean to compare this 'conluvies' with others, but with other causes of corruption. Hence Madvig (Adv. Supp. p. 232) thinks that 'vis' or 'pestis' should be inserted before 'plus.' The text may however be taken, with Nipp., as an instance of attraction (for 'neque quidquam'), though somewhat harsher than the instances which he gives (e. g. Sen. Ben. 2. 1, 2 'cum in beneficio iucundissima sit tribuentis voluntas').

circumdedit: so 'circumdare gratiam' (c. 53, 5), 'famam' (H. 4. 11, 3). Dr. notes that the expression is equivalent to such Greek phrases as περιτιθέναι τινὶ ἀτιμίαν, etc.

6. **conluvies**, so used in c. 44, 5; 2. 55, 1; H. 5. 12, 3; also (with 'rerum') H. 2. 16, 6. The same form of the word is found in Col., Luc., Pl. ma., but the more usual form is 'conluvio.'

artibus honestis, 'by honourable accomplishments': cp. 3. 66, 5; Agr. 4, 2; Dial. 28, 7.

8. **probi moris**: on this use of the singular cp. 1. 4, 1, and note.

postremum; probably the correct Med. text (see Ritt.), which most others read as 'postremus' ('after all the others').

incedit, with accus. of place: cp. 1. 61, 2, and note.

9. **praemeditans**, 'preluding,' or perhaps 'trying his voice.' The word does not appear to be elsewhere so used.

10. **phonascis**. Recent edd. generally follow this reading of Muret. for Med. 'facies'; the supposition being that the word was originally written 'fōascis,' from which the 'ō' had dropped out, and the correction being supported by Suet. Ner. 25, who describes him, apparently in later time, as never speaking to soldiers or other gatherings 'nisi astante phonasco.' The oldest edd. read 'familiaribus;' others retain the Med. text, placing a full stop after 'adsistentibus' (which is taken as a concise abl. abs.), and taking 'facies' to mean 'a remarkable appearance' (cp. 1. 41, 1; H. 2. 89, 3, etc.). Madvig (Adv. Supp. p. 233) would take the passage in the same way, but place the stop before 'adsistentibus.' Ritt. brackets 'adsistentibus facies' as an exclamatory gloss interpolated into the text. 'Accesserat' is read by all edd. after Lips. for Med. 'abscesserat.'

11. **maerens ... ac laudans**, 'grieving and yet applauding.' On this quasi-

equites Romani cognomento Augustianorum, aetate ac robore
9 conspicui, et pars ingenio procaces, alii in spem potentiae. ii
dies ac noctes plausibus personare formam principis vocemque
deum vocabulis appellantes; quasi per virtutem clari honoratique
agere.
1 **16.** Ne tamen ludicrae tantum imperatoris artes notescerent
carminum quoque studium adfectavit, contractis quibus aliqua
2 pangendi facultas necdum insignis erat. hi cenati considere
simul, et adlatos vel ibidem repertos versus conectere atque
ipsius verba quoquo modo prolata supplere, quod species ipsa

adversative force of a copulative conjunction cp. c. 65, 2; 1. 13, 2, and note; H. 2. 20, 3, etc.

1. **Augustianorum.** Nipp. thus corrects the Med. 'Augusttanorum' from Suet. Ner. 25, and from the evidence of several inscriptions. The term does not appear to belong exclusively to this date (Schill. p. 134). Dio (61. 20, 4) calls them *Αὐγούστειοι*, and speaks of them as a *σύστημα ἐς πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας*. This complete organisation appears from Suet. Ner. 20 to be of later date, and to have consisted only in small part of the knights here mentioned. The people followed their lead (16. 4, 4), and the soldiers coerced those who were slack or out of time (16. 5, 1).

2. **alii in spem potentiae** (sc. 'procaces'), 'with a view to the hope of influence.' Halm, Nipp., and Dr. so read, with Acid.; Orelli reads 'spe,' after Muret.; others retain the Med. 'in spe' (with which Walth. would supply the idea of *ὄντες*). 'In spem potentiae' occurs in H. 4. 42, 2, and similar expressions are found in c. 63, 1; H. 3. 47, 2; Agr. 24, 1; also 'in spem . . . multitudinis' (Liv. 1. 8, 4), 'in quorum spem' (Id. 21. 45, 4), etc.

3. **personare,** 'kept up a din'; so in 16. 4, 4; also 'non loquuntur solum, verum etiam personant' (Cic. pro Cael. 20, 47), etc.

4. **deum vocabulis appellantes,** 'calling him by names of gods.' Dio says (61. 20. 5) that they could be heard crying out *ὁ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Αὔγουστος, εἷς ὡς Πύθιος· μά σε, Καῖσαρ, οὐδείς σε νικᾷ*. Again, after his return from Greece (Id. 63. 20, 5), men would cry, *Νέρωνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, Νέρωνι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι*, and, *ἱερὰ φωνή*. That men offered sacrifice 'pro caelesti voce' is seen from 16. 22, 1.

5. **agere** = 'se gerere.'

6. **ludicrae**: cp. c. 14, 1.

7. **adfectavit,** 'he made pretence to a taste for poetry.' The context seems in favour of taking the word in this sense, and supposing Tacitus to mean that this was merely assumed to divert attention from his stage performances. Cp. 'imitationem antiquitatis adfectant' (Quint. 11. 3, 10), 'crebrum anhelitum adfectant' (Id. 11. 3, 56), 'adfectata aliis castitas, tibi ingenita' (Plin. Pan. 20). Nipp. takes the word to denote a bona fide aspiration, which is its more usual sense. On the general subject of Nero's poetry see Teuffel, 281, 7–9.

8. **necdum insignis,** etc.: so Halm, who adopts 'hi cenati' from Haase. The corrupt Med. text, 'necdum insignis aetatis nati considere' (with full stop before 'necdum'), has given rise to a variety of emendations. Those of older scholars are collected by Walther, the more recent by Baiter and Halm; Ritt. follows Med. in placing a full stop before 'necdum,' and reads 'e senatu' for 'nati'; Madvig (Adv. Supp. p. 234) suggests a comma at 'insignis,' followed by 'aetatis venia (or possibly 'vena,' in the sense of 'exuberance') uti; ii considere.' Nipp. reads 'necdum insignis claritas. Hi considere'; Dr. has 'necdum insignis ars erat, hi cenati considere.' None of these emendations have found acceptance; but the general sense seems to be made out, that he chose those who had poetic skill, but who had not made a name for themselves, and whose style would not be detected so as to prevent his taking the credit of their joint compositions.

10. **species ipsa . . . docet.** The judgment of Tacitus appears to be founded on a critical study of the extant poems. Suet. (Ner. 52) maintains them to be

carminum docet, non impetu et instinctu nec ore uno fluens.
etiam sapientiae doctoribus tempus impertiebat post epulas, 3
utque contraria adseverantium discordia frueretur. nec deerant
qui ore vultuque tristi inter oblectamenta regia spectari cuperent.
17. Sub idem tempus levi initio atrox caedes orta inter 1
colonos Nucerinos Pompeianosque gladiatorio spectaculo, quod
Livineius Regulus, quem motum senatu rettuli, edebat. quippe 2
oppidana lascivia invicem incessentes probra, dein saxa, postremo
ferrum sumpsere, validiore Pompeianorum plebe, apud quos
spectaculum edebatur. ergo deportati sunt in urbem multi e 3
Nucerinis trunco per vulnera corpore, ac plerique liberorum aut

Nero's own composition, on no better ground than that of having seen original rough copies, all in his own handwriting, and full of corrections.

1. **non impetu**, etc., 'not running with vigour or inspiration, nor with uniformity of style': 'impetus' and 'instinctus' (cp. H. 1. 57, 5) are often so used by Cic.; and 'ore uno' would appear here to mean 'ore eiusdem poetae.' 'Fluens' (for 'fluentium') is a similar enallage to that in G. 5, 1 ('terra pecorum fecunda sed plerumque improcera'): cp. 'purpurarum sidere clarior . . . usus' (Hor. Od. 3. 1, 42).

2. **tempus impertiebat**, an expression taken from Cic. (pro Balb. 1. 3; Att. 9. 11. A. 3): cp. 'aures . . . impertire' (c. 21, 5).

3. **utque**, etc. The text as it here stands is best explained, after Spengel, by taking 'utque' closely with 'post epulas,' as if it had been 'sed tantum post epulas, utque.' Nipp. follows Rhen. in reading 'ut;' Ritt. thinks that after 'frueretur' some such words as 'sententiae diversos adhibebat' have dropped out. The correction 'adseverantium' for Med. 'adseverant. tum' appears in some of the earliest printed texts; that of 'discordia frueretur' for Med. 'discordiae rueretur' has been adopted by all recent edd. from Bezzenb. A number of older emendations are collected by Walther.

4. **ore vultuque tristi**, 'with gloomy features and expression.' These words are sometimes distinguished, as in 'nihil metus (v. l. 'impetus') in vultu: gratia oris supererat' (Agr. 44, 2). These appear to have been Stoics of a low type, who, for the honour of being invited at all, were willing 'inter oblectamenta regia spectari,' i. e. to parade their seriousness for the jest of the court. Philosophers were frequently attached to the house of emperors and great citizens, but usually in an honoured position (see Introd. p. 83; Friedl. iii. 659; Schiller p. 593).

6. **Nucerinos.** On Nuceria, see 13. 31, 2, and note. 'Graffiti' found at Pompeii allude to this quarrel, and imprecate curses on the Nucerians: see C. I. L. iv. 1293, 1329, 2183 (Wilm. 1963 a. b. c.; Henzen 5161). Nipp. also notes that the wax tablets lately found there (see on 13. 49, 1) show that in consequence of these disturbances a 'praefectus iuri dicundo' was appointed, besides two new 'duoviri' (Hermes xii. 125).

7. **Livineius Regulus**, probably a son of the one mentioned in 3. 11, 2. The account of his expulsion from the senate is lost, and nothing is known of him from other sources.

8. **oppidana**, 'usual in country towns.' Nipp. thinks that it is here intended to contrast them with the rural peasantry; but the term is generally used of Italian towns in contrast to Rome, as in 6. 15, 2, and apparently in Cicero's account (pro Planc. 12, 30) of an act of violence in his day ('quod dicitur Atinae factum . . . vetere quodam in scaenicos iure maximeque oppidano'). It is probable that, from the presence of the guard, the spectators were more under control at Rome than in these towns.

invicem incessentes, 'taunting each other.' On the omission of 'se' cp. 13. 2, 2, and note.

9. **sumpsere**, used by zeugma with 'probra.'

apud quos, in the large amphitheatre of that town.

10. **in urbem**, to Rome, as evidence.

11. **plerique**, 'very many,' as in 3. 1, 2, etc.

parentum mortes deflebant. cuius rei iudicium princeps senatui,
4 senatus consulibus permisit. et rursus re ad patres relata, prohibiti publice in decem annos eius modi coetu Pompeiani collegiaque, quae contra leges instituerant, dissoluta; Livineius et qui alii seditionem conciverant exilio multati sunt.

1 **18.** Motus senatu et Pedius Blaesus, accusantibus Cyrenensibus violatum ab eo thesaurum Aesculapii dilectumque militarem
2 pretio et ambitione corruptum. idem Cyrenenses reum agebant Acilium Strabonem, praetoria potestate usum et missum disceptatorem a Claudio agrorum, quos regis Apionis quondam avitos et populo Romano cum regno relictos proximus quisque

2. **relata,** 'a consulibus.' They inquired into the facts, and left the senate to fix the penalties. Such a mode of procedure resembles that mentioned in 3. 60, 2. On the jurisdiction exercised over Italian towns by the senate under the empire in connection with the magisterial jurisdiction of the consuls see 13. 4, 3, and note; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1196, 1, etc.

3. **publice,** 'as a community' (cp. 4. 36, 2, and note): by 'eiusmodi coetu,' gladiatorial shows are meant.

collegia . . . dissoluta. The legitimate associations of individuals under this name became so by special enactment (e. g. Liv. 5. 50, 4), or perhaps as formed in accordance with some general legal powers. Illicit associations usurping the title were a recognised danger under the Republic as instruments of faction (see Cic. pro Sest. 15, 34; in Pis. 4, 9), and were at times suppressed by the senate, and in a much more wholesale manner under the first Caesars (Suet. Iul. 42; Aug. 32). In later times the employment of illicit 'collegia' for any object was a grave offence, punishable by decapitation, or even severer modes of death (Ulp. in Dig. 47. 22, 2). It would however seem that the infliction of such penalties was rare; and the enormous number of such associations legalised or permitted to exist is most abundantly testified by inscriptions: see Henzen, Ind. 170–180; Wilm. Ind. 630–644; Boissier, Rel. Rom. 3. 3.

6. **Pedius Blaesus.** This person was restored to his rank by Otho (H. 1. 77, 6). Cyrene was united with Crete as a senatorial province of the second rank (see 3. 70, 1, and note).

accusantibus, aoristic participle (cp. 11. 35, 3, etc.). Dr. notes that this verb takes the accus. and inf. (see Introd. i. v. § 44) elsewhere only in Just. 39. 3, 6; the nom. and inf. in 4. 22, 4. Cp. 'incusare' in 3. 38, 4.

7. **thesaurum Aesculapii.** A temple at Cyrene to this deity is mentioned in Paus. 2. 26, 9. Its school of physicians was celebrated in early times (Hdt. 3. 131, 3).

8. **pretio et ambitione,** 'by laying himself open to bribery and solicitation' from those who wished to be exempted.

9. **praetoria potestate usum.** This may be a variation for the usual expression 'praetorius' or 'praetura functus,' or may imply that he held such temporary rank for this purpose. For instances of such special 'legati' or commissioners sent out for a particular occasion see 2. 47, 5 (and note); 4. 56, 4.

10. **Apionis . . . avitos:** so Halm, Or., and others, after Heins. for the Med. 'habitos'; these words being confused in the Med. text of 11. 35, 2; 13. 34, 3; 56, 1; and 'avitos agros' being found in c. 22, 5. Many have followed Lips. in reading 'regi Apioni habitos' ('possessed by'). The Med. text could only mean 'reputed to have belonged to.' Ptolemaeus Apion, the last king of Cyrene, died in 658, B. C. 96, and left the Roman people his heirs (Liv. Ep. 70; Just. 39. 5, 2). The legacy was not accepted at the time, and the province was not constituted till 680, B. C. 74, which has caused some confusion of dates: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 299, foll.; Sir E. Bunbury in Dict. of Biog. s. v. 'Ptolemaeus Apion.' These lands were included in the sweeping project of sale intended by the law of Servilius Rullus (Cic. de Leg. Agr. 2. 19, 51).

possessor invaserant, diutinaque licentia et iniuria quasi iure et
aequo nitebantur. igitur abiudicatis agris orta adversus iudicem 3
invidia; et senatus ignota sibi esse mandata Claudii et consu-
lendum principem respondit. Nero probata Strabonis sententia, 4
se nihilo minus subvenire sociis et usurpata concedere rescripsit.

19. Sequuntur virorum inlustrium mortes, Domitii Afri et M. Servilii, qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant, ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitae, quam clariorem effecit, ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus.

20. Nerone quartum Cornelio Cosso consulibus quinquennale 1

1. **possessor**, in apposition.

2. **abiudicatis**, 'taken away by decision' (from the occupants).

5. **usurpata**, 'what they had occupied.' The sense of illegal occupation, or, in our sense, 'usurpation,' though found occasionally in post-Augustan Latin (see Nipp.), does not seem to be required in any instance in Tacitus; and in one place, where that meaning is clearly intended (3. 60, 5), 'falso' is added.

rescripsit, sc. 'senatui,' as in full in 12. 27, 6.

6. **Sequuntur . . . mortes.** The verb may probably here be used only to connect events in order of narration; the deaths of eminent persons being often thus mentioned at the close of a year (1. 53, 1; 3. 75, 1; 76, 1; 4. 44, 1, etc.); but in the similar expressions in 15. 38, 1; 60, 3, sequence in time is intended. It may be noticed that Tacitus gives no support to the statement of Dio (61. 19, 4), πολλοὶ ἄνδρες τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐτελεύτησαν, ὧν ἐνίους καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι ἐπιβουλεύειν αἰτιαθέντας οἱ στρατιῶται περιστάντες ἐλιθοβόλησαν.

Domitii Afri: see 4. 52, 1, and note.

M. Servilii, sc. 'Noniani,' on whom see 6. 31, 1; Introd. i. iii. p. 12.

9. **celebris**: on this masc. form see 2. 88, 4, and note.

elegantia vitae, 'refinement of life'; so in Nep. Att. 19, 2. Tacitus elsewhere has 'elegantia morum' (5. 8. 4; H. 3. 39, 3). The expressions are used in a good sense, and imply not only high rank in the social scale, but also the cultivation of the higher tastes and pleasures.

clariorem. The context shows that the comparison is with the career of Domitius, who was an accuser under Tiberius, and saved his life by flattering Gaius.

ingenio . . . morum. The abl. and genit. are thus interchanged in 13. 54, 6. For the genit. with 'diversus' cp. 13. 26, 2.

11. **Cornelio Cosso**, given in the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2042) as 'Cosso Lentulo, Cossi filio.' He would appear to have been son of the one mentioned as cos. in 4. 34, 1, and probably father of the vestal virgin mentioned in 15. 22, 4.

quinquennale ludicrum, that called the 'Neronia' (Dio, 61. 21, 1), or by similar names (Suet. Ner. 21; Vit. 4); on which see Friedl. ii. 436, foll. Suet. says (Ner. 12) 'instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae more Graeco triplex, musicum, gymnicum, equestre'; the innovation on former precedents (see c. 21, 2, and note) consisting mainly in the combination, and in the prominence which his own tastes led him to give to the musical contest, with which poetry and rhetoric were also included (see § 5; c. 21, 8). In 16. 4, 1 it is called 'lustrale certamen,' and the date there given of its repetition would show that he intended the period to be that of a Roman 'lustrum,' not that of a Greek πενταετηρίς (which really recurred every fourth year). His design would seem to be to celebrate each 'quinquennium' of his principate, as his predecessors had celebrated their 'decennia imperii' (see Dio, 57. 24, 1, etc.), with the additional innovation of adapting the celebration to the great Greek games, and with the intention that it should be perpetuated. It appears to have been dropped after Nero's death, but to have been revived under

ludicrum Romae institutum est ad morem Graeci certaminis,
2 varia fama, ut cuncta ferme nova. quippe erant qui Gnaeum
quoque Pompeium incusatum a senioribus ferrent, quod man-
3 suram theatri sedem posuisset. nam antea subitariis gradibus
et scaena in tempus structa ludos edi solitos, vel si vetustiora
repetas, stantem populum spectavisse, ne, si consideret theatro,
4 dies totos ignavia continuaret. spectaculorum quidem antiquitas
servaretur, quotiens praetores ederent, nulla cuiquam civium
5 necessitate certandi. ceterum abolitos paulatim patrios mores
funditus everti per accitam lasciviam, ut quod usquam corrumpi

another form in the 'Agon Capitolinus' of Domitian, and more directly under the third Gordian (Friedl. l. l.). Many medals are in existence inscribed 'certam. quinq. Romae con(stitutum), S. C.' (see Cohen, i. p. 282, 47–65).

2. **quippe erant**, etc. The adverse opinions are stated in the remainder of this chapter, the favourable, in the following.

Gnaeum Pompeium. On his theatre see 3. 23, 1 (and note); 13. 54, 4, etc.

4. **nam antea**, etc. Tertullian (de Spect. 10) says that the censors used to destroy the temporary theatres, and that Pompeius, fearing a similar fate for his own, placed a temple of Venus above it. A permanent theatre was in course of erection in 599, B.C. 155, but was destroyed by order of the senate, on the motion of the consul and chief pontiff P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (Liv. Epit. 48; Vell. 1. 15, 3; Val. Max. 2. 4, 2; App. B. C. 1. 28; Aug. de Civ. D. 1. 31). The same authorities mention that the prohibition of sitting at games was then renewed and enforced.

subitariis. This term is so used of buildings in 15. 39, 2, of hasty levies of soldiers in Liv. 3. 4, 11, etc. It is thought that the change from mere standing-room to temporary seats may have come in with the games held by Mummius (see c. 21, 2). Such seats appear to have been of old permitted in the circus (Liv. 1. 35, 9; Dion. Hal. 3. 28).

6. **ne, si.** All recent, and many older edd., after Ryck., follow MS. Agr. in placing here the 'ne,' written in Med. after 'continuaret'; which has also been altered in other ways. Walth. endeavours unsuccessfully to defend the Med. text.

theatro, local abl., 'ignavia,' modal (Introd. i. v. §§ 25, 28). This stopping is preferable to that of Nipp., who places the comma before 'theatro,' which seems somewhat awkwardly to bring the two ablatives into the same sentence.

7. **continuaret**, 'should spend the whole of'; so in 16. 5, 2; G. 22, 2.

spectaculorum quidem. The speakers here pass from the subject of permanent theatres and seats, which have become a fixed institution, to the character of the exhibitions themselves, as affected by this new institution. 'As for the exhibitions, let their ancient character be preserved, whenever the praetors celebrate them, no citizen being under compulsion to compete.' This compulsion is implied to be one mischievous innovation, the addition of Greek gymnastic contests (contrasted by 'ceterum') to be the other and principal one. The allusion to the praetors seems to contain another thrust, and to imply that no new games at all were needed; the old ones held annually by the praetors being sufficient. The presidents of these games were consulars chosen by lot (Suet. Ner. 12). Most recent edd. follow Lips. in reading 'praetores ederent' for the Med. 'praetor sederet,' which is not altogether indefensible (cp. Juv. 11. 193); Ritt. reads 'praetor praesideret.'

10. **funditus**, opposed to 'paulatim' (the gradual change to permanent theatres, etc.).

accitam, 'imported' (from Greece). Nipp. points out that 'ut' denotes not mere consequence but the assumed intention of the promoters.

corrumpi et corrumpere, so joined in G. 19, 3. The introduction of Greek exercises appears to have been very repugnant to Roman sentiment. Lucan (7, 270) makes Caesar sneer at it; Pliny the elder (N. H. 35, 13, 47, 167) speaks of sand

et corrumpere queat, in urbe visatur, degeneretque studiis externis iuventus, gymnasia et otia et turpes amores exercendo, principe et senatu auctoribus, qui non modo licentiam vitiis permiserint, sed vim adhibeant, *ut* proceres Romani specie orationum et carminum scaena polluantur. quid superesse, nisi ut 6
corpora quoque nudent et caestus adsumant easque pugnas pro militia et armis meditentur? an iustitiam auctum iri et decurias 7
equitum egregium iudicandi munus *melius* expleturas, si fractos sonos et dulcedinem vocum perite audissent? noctes quoque 8
dedecori adiectas, ne quod tempus pudori relinquatur, sed coetu promisco, quod perditissimus quisque per diem concupiverit, per tenebras audeat.

21. Pluribus ipsa licentia placebat, ac tamen honesta nomina 1
praetendebant. maiores quoque non abhorruisse spectaculorum 2

used 'ad debellanda corpora palaestrae studiis'; and his nephew quotes with approval (Ep. 4. 22, 3) the opinion of a senator objecting to the restoration of such games at Vienna, 'vellem etiam Romae tolli posset.' See also Sen. Ep. 88, 18 ('luctatores et totam oleo ac luto constantem scientiam expello ex his studiis liberalibus'), and other references given by Mayor on Juv. 3. 68, and in Friedl. ii. 440–443. The contrast implied is to the military exercises forming the genuine training of Roman youth (§ 6).

2. **exercendo**, taken by zeugma with 'gymnasia' in the sense of 'colendo' or 'frequentando.'

6. **corpora quoque nudent.** The games included gymnastic contests of all kinds, but 'proceres Romani' took part this time in the musical contest only, in which 'honestissimus quisque contenderat' (Suet. c. 12): amongst them Lucan is stated by his biographers to have made his first public appearance as a poet.

7. **militia et armis**: these are generally taken as a hendiadys; but 'arma' may include military drill as distinct from actual service.

an iustitiam auctum iri: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., after Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 553), for the Med. 'ius titia augurii,' which others alter, with Lips., to 'iustitiam augeri.' Ritt. brackets 'decurias equitum' as a gloss, and reads 'an iustius augurii et egregium . . . expleturos.'

decurias equitum. This term is used here and in 3. 30, 2; Suet. Tit. 41, for the 'decuriae iudicum,' which probably at this time consisted to so large an extent of knights as to make the terms practically interchangeable (see Introd. i. vii. p. 87).

8. **expleturas**: so Halm and Dr. after Seyffert. Others retain the Med. 'expleturos,' which Nipp. defends as a 'constructio ad sensum,' giving many instances (e.g. 2. 52, 5; 4. 29, 2; 48, 5; 62, 3); in none of which, however, are the words so closely taken together as here. 'Melius,' inserted by Halm after Prammer, might have dropped out after 'munus,' and seems required to answer to 'auctum iri.'

fractos. This term is not apparently used in the sense of the 'fracti sonitus tubarum' of Verg. G. 4, 72, but of effeminate or falsetto strains: cp. 'musice . . . quae nunc in scaenis effeminata, et inpudicis modis fracta' (Quint. 1. 10, 31); also κατακεκλασμένα μέλη (Dion. Hal. de Comp. 25, 398).

9. **perite**, 'as experts.'

noctes, etc. That the festival lasted through the night (c. 21, 6), was not a novelty, but had been the case on several previous occasions (see Friedl. ii. 275), and was always so at the Saturnalia.

10. **adiectas** = 'adsumptas': cp. 2. 26, 2, and note.

sed = 'sed ut.'

13. **Pluribus**, 'the majority.'

nomina, 'pretexts'; so in 2. 33, 6.

14. **quoque non** = 'ne . . . quidem': cp. 3. 54, 11, and note.

oblectamentis pro fortuna quae tum erat, eoque a Tuscis accitos
histriones, a Thuriis equorum certamina; et possessa Achaia
Asiaque ludos curatius editos, nec quemquam Romae honesto
loco ortum ad theatrales artes degeneravisse, ducentis iam annis
a L. Mummii triumpho, qui primus id genus spectaculi in urbe
3 praebuerit. sed et consultum parsimoniae, quod perpetua sedes
theatro locata sit potius, quam immenso sumptu singulos per
4 annos consurgeret ac destrueretur. nec perinde magistratus rem
familiarem exhausturos aut populo efflagitandi Graeca certamina
a magistratibus causam fore, cum eo sumptu res publica fungatur.
5 oratorum ac vatum victorias incitamentum ingeniis adlaturas;
nec cuiquam iudici grave aures studiis honestis et voluptatibus

1. **oblectamentis**, probably abl. (see 1. 54, 3, and note); the case is similarly doubtful in H. 4. 55, 3; 5. 24, 1. The abl. is clearly used in Curt. 6. 7, 11 ('crimine abhorrens'), the dat. in Liv. 2. 14, 1 ('pacatae profectioni abhorrens mos').

pro fortuna, etc., 'in proportion to the wealth of that time': 'quae tum erat' = 'tum existente,' being no part of the oratio obliqua.

a Tuscis, etc., in 390, B. C. 364: see Liv. 7. 2.

2. **a Thuriis**. Tacitus follows an otherwise unknown tradition, opposite to that in Livy 1. 35, 10, where horseracing is made to have been introduced to Rome from Etruria in the days of Tarquinius Priscus, before the date of the foundation of Thurii. Sybaris, the predecessor of that city, is recorded, in the days of prosperity before its destruction, to have been able to show processions of 5000 knights (Athen. 12. 17, p. 519).

possessa, 'taken under dominion,' probably here, and in H. 2. 12, 1; 3. 8, 2; 59, 1, to be taken (as Nipp. suggests) from 'possido.' The Roman administration of Achaia dates from the fall of Corinth in 608, B. C. 146, that of Asia from 625, B. C. 129, after the defeat and capture of Aristonicus.

3. **curatius**, 'more elaborately': = 'accuratius,' as in 2. 27, 1; 16. 22, 6; cp. 1. 13, 7, and note.

4. **ad theatrales**, etc., 'had stooped to become a professional player': such appearances on the stage as that of Laberius, or those noted in c. 14, 5, are counted as amateur performances.

ducentis, a round number for 205 years (see above).

5. **id genus**, Greek performances; perhaps more especially those of the stage; for Greek athletes appear to have exhibited at Rome in the games given by M. Fulvius Nobilior, in 568, B. C. 186 (Liv. 39. 22, 2). Those given at the triumph of Mummius seem not to be elsewhere mentioned; but several other instances during the Republic are collected in Friedl. ii. p. 433. For the Actian games instituted by Augustus, see 15. 23, 3, and note.

6. **sed et** = 'sed etiam,' so used where the idea of a preceding 'non tantum' is implied in the context, as in G. 17, 3; 45, 4, etc. Here it is left rather to be gathered; the sense being that a permanent theatre was so far from being an extravagance as to be in the long run even an economy.

7. **quam** = 'quam ut,' a construction more commonly found after a future (cp. 13. 42, 8, and note).

8. **destrueretur**: so all recent edd., after Nodell, for the Med. 'strueretur,' which would be a weak synonym with 'consurgeret.'

perinde, 'as much as formerly.' The 'Neronia,' like the 'ludi Augustales' (1. 15, 4), were given at the cost of the treasury, whereas public entertainments in general were given at the cost of the magistrates; and it is implied that pressure was apt to be put on them by the people to include Greek games in their programme.

12. **iudici**, alluding to the 'decuriae equitum' (c. 20, 7).

grave, 'burdensome' or 'degrading': cp. 2. 36, 2; 6. 26, 2, etc.

concessis impertire. laetitiae magis quam lasciviae dari paucas 6
totius quinquennii noctes, quibus tanta luce ignium nihil inlicitum
occultari queat. sane nullo insigni dehonestamento id spectacu- 7
lum transiit. ac ne modica quidem studia plebis exarsere, quia
redditi quamquam scaenae pantomimi certaminibus sacris pro-
hibebantur. eloquentiae primas nemo tulit, sed victorem esse 8
Caesarem pronuntiatum. Graeci amictus, quis per eos dies
plerique incesserant, tum exoleverunt.

22. Inter quae et sidus cometes effulsit, de quo vulgi opinio 1
est, tamquam mutationem regis portendat. igitur quasi iam

1. **concessis**: cp. 13. 2, 2. The expression 'impertire aures,' formed on the analogy of 'impertire tempus' (c. 16, 3), for 'praebere,' is noted by Dr. as ἀπ. εἰρ.

2. **noctes**, alluding to c. 20, 8.

5. **redditi quamquam.** Their expulsion had been mentioned in 13. 25, 4. For the anastrophe of 'quamquam' cp. 5. 9, 1, etc.

certaminibus sacris. The Neronia were so styled, after the example of the Greek ἱεροὶ ἀγῶνες, which were strictly religious festivals.

6. **primas**, sc. 'partes' (cp. 'secundas' Hor. Sat. 1. 9, 46), 'the prize of eloquence' (cp. 'facundiae coronam' 16. 4, 1). The meaning is that it was awarded to none of the competitors, but to Caesar, who had shown no performance. Suet. states (c. 12), 'deinde in senatum orchestramque descendit, et orationis quidem carminisque Latini coronam, de qua honestissimus quisque contenderat, ipsorum consensu concessam sibi recepit, citharae autem a iudicibus ad se delatam adoravit ferrique ad Augusti statuam iussit.'

7. **quis**: so all recent edd. after Grosslot, for the Med. 'q' (with 'o' inserted above, and generally read as 'quo').

8. **exoleverunt**: so Halm, Nipp., Ritt., after Heins., for the Med. 'exoleverant,' which may probably be an error of assimilation to 'incesserant.' The meaning would seem to be that during the games Greek dress had been worn not only (as might be expected) by Nero and by the performers, but by most or many of the spectators ('plerique'); and that the costume, thus vulgarised, then dropped out of fashion. The pluperf. would seem to be best taken to mean that Greek dress had already dropped out of fashion, but that the games revived it temporarily. It appears to have been a court fashion at times in the days of Claudius (Dio, 60. 6, 2), and was worn by Domitian and others at his games (Suet. Dom. 4).

9. **sidus cometes.** This is the comet spoken of by Seneca (Qu. Nat. 7. 17, 2; 21, 3; 29, 3) as unaccompanied by any evil ('cometis detraxit infamiam'), and as having been visible for six months. Pliny, who speaks (N. H. 2. 25, 23, 92) of a comet 'adsiduum prope ac saevum' throughout Nero's principate, seems to have supposed it to have lasted on till the appearance in 817, A. D. 64 (15. 47, 1). The adjectival 'cometes' occurs again in that passage, also 'stella cometes' in Just. 37. 2, 2.

de quo. Dr. notes the construction with 'tamquam' as a novelty; the usual sequence after such a sentence being the accus. and inf., as in Cic. Clu. 28, 76; Att. 1. 13, 4.

10. **regis**, here a general term under which the Roman princeps is comprehended. Orelli and Jacob read 'regnis,' as suggested by Bentley, from Lucan 1, 529 ('mutantem regna cometen'), and Sil. 8, 637 ('regnorum eversor ... cometes'). The same belief appears in Stat. Theb. 1, 708 ('mutent quae sceptra cometae') and in Suet. Ner. 36 ('summis potestatibus exitum portendere putabatur'). The occurrence of a comet just before the death of Claudius (Plin. l. l.) must have given the more vitality to this idea, which had been suggested to Romans by that which appeared at the death of Julius Caesar. Tacitus himself evidently regards it as mere 'vanitas' (§ 3).

2 depulso Nerone, quisnam deligeretur anquirebant. et omnium
ore Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex
3 Iulia familia. ipse placita maiorum colebat, habitu severo, casta
et secreta domo, quantoque metu occultior, tanto plus famae
4 adeptus. auxit rumorem pari vanitate orta interpretatio fulguris.
nam quia discumbentis Neronis apud Simbruina stagna *in villa*,
cui Sublaqueum nomen est, ictae dapes mensaque disiecta erat,
idque finibus Tiburtum acciderat, unde paterna Plauto origo,
hunc illum numine deum destinari credebant, fovebantque multi,
quibus nova et ancipitia praecolere avida et plerumque fallax
5 ambitio est. ergo permotus his Nero componit ad Plautum
litteras, consuleret quieti urbis seque prava diffamantibus subtraheret: esse illi per Asiam avitos agros, in quibus tuta et inturbida iuventa frueretur. ita illuc cum coniuge Antistia et paucis familiarium concessit.

2. **Rubellius Plautus**: see 13. 19, 3.

3. **placita** = δόγματα. He was also a disciple of the Stoic philosophy (see c. 59, 2).

4. **secreta**, 'secluded.'

occultior, 'avoiding publicity.'

5. **vanitate**, 'credulity,': cp. 16. 1, 1.

interpretatio: so Put. and all edd. after G.; Med. has 'Intra et atio.'

6. **discumbentis**, used of one person, as in 3. 14, 2; 11. 2, 5, etc.

in villa; so inserted by most recent edd. after Bezzenb., on the analogy of 4. 59, 2; 6. 50, 2. Med. has a full stop after 'stagna'; others insert 'villae' or 'loco,' after 'cui,' or alter 'cui' to 'loco' and take the sentence as parenthetical. Ritt. doubts whether any villa then existed, and thinks that the feast was out of doors, like that in 12. 57, 3, and would consequently bracket 'cui Sublaqueum nomen est,' as a note interpolated into the text. The existence of a 'villa Neronis Sublacensis' is attested by Frontinus (Aq. 93); and from the absence of any earlier mention of the name, as also from the way in which Tacitus mentions it as if it were not generally known, it is inferred that no town of Sublaqueum (Subiaco) as yet existed (see Sir. E. Bunbury in D. of Geog.). The name is taken from its position below the three lakes ('Simbruina stagna') formed by the Anio: see 11. 13, 2; also Plin. N. H. 3. 12, 17, 109 ('Anio in monte Trebanorum ortus tres lacus amoenitate nobiles qui nomen dedere Sublaqueo defert in Tiberim').

7. **ictae dapes**, etc. The portent is amplified by Dio (61. 16, 5) and Philost. (vit. Ap. 4. 43), who make the lightning burn up everything placed on the table and strike the cup in Nero's hand.

8. **unde**, etc. On the origin of his family from Tibur see 6. 27, 1.

9. **hunc illum**: cp. 'quis ille,' etc., (12. 36, 2); also 11. 7, 1, and note. The form of expression here seems suggested by Verg. Aen. 7, 255, 272.

10. **praecolere**, 'to court prematurely.' The sense is ἅπ. εἰρ. and the verb apparently only used elsewhere in the past participle. For other such words in Tacitus see Introd. i. v. § 69, 3.

12. **quieti urbis**: so all edd. after Pich. for the Med. 'q ('qui') e turbis.'

prava diffamantibus, 'those spreading evil reports.' The verb is more commonly used with a personal accus. (cp. 1. 72, 4, and note), but is used of the report spread in Ov. Met. 4, 236 ('vulgat adulterium, diffamatumque parenti Indicat'), and occasionally in late Latin.

13. **per Asiam**, etc. Several notices of the large possessions of Roman nobles in the provinces are collected in Friedl. i. 219.

inturbida, a Tacitean word: cp. 3. 52, 1, and note, and other analogous words in Introd. i. v. § 69, 2.

14. **Antistia**, in full 'Antistia Pollitta,'

Isdem diebus nimia luxus cupido infamiam et periculum 6
Neroni tulit, quia fontem aquae Marciae ad urbem deductae
nando incesserat; videbaturque potus sacros et caerimoniam loci
corpore loto polluisse. secutaque anceps valetudo iram deum
adfirmavit.

23. At Corbulo post deleta Artaxata utendum recenti terrore 1
ratus ad occupanda Tigranocerta, quibus excisis metum hostium
intenderet vel, si pepercisset, clementiae famam adipisceretur,
illuc pergit, non infenso exercitu, ne spem veniae auferret, neque
tamen remissa cura, gnarus facilem mutatu gentem, ut segnem
ad pericula, ita infidam ad occasiones. barbari, pro ingenio 2

daughter of Antistius Vetus (13. 11, 1), with whom she suffered death (16. 10–11), three years after the death of her husband (c. 59, 3).

1. **nimia luxus cupido**, 'an excess of wantonness.'

2. **fontem**, the source or main stream. That to bathe in this was an outrage, is not disproved by the evidence that water from the purest aqueducts was apparently supplied to baths or otherwise used for bathing purposes in Rome. Cp. Mart. 6. 42, 18 ('cruda Virgine Marciave mergi'); 11. 47, 6; 14. 163, 2: also Sen. Ep. 83, 5 ('auspicabar in Virginem desilire').

aquae Marciae. This aqueduct, beginning from a point in the Sabine hills near the 36th milestone on the via Valeria (Front. Aq. 7), was constructed by L. Marcius Rex, as praetor, in 605, B.C. 149, and was restored by Agrippa (Plin. N. H. 31. 3, 21, 41; 36. 15, 24, 121) and augmented by Augustus (Mon. Anc. 4. 11). Many of its arches are preserved, and its specus can be seen where it passes over an arch of Augustus at the porta S. Lorenzo (see Middleton, p. 469). Both Pliny and Frontinus (91) speak of its water as the best and purest in Rome; and it still, under the name of 'Aqua Pia,' forms part of the supply of the city.

3. **incesserat**: cp. c. 15, 6.

caerimoniam loci. The sanctity attached to such places is described by Seneca (Ep. 41, 3); 'magnorum fluminum capita veneramur, subita ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet, coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, et stagna quaedam vel opacitas vel inmensa altitudo sacravit.' The younger Pliny records that no ship or boat was allowed on lake Vadimo (Ep. 8. 20, 5), and that bathing was forbidden above a certain point on the Clitumnus, at the source of which was a temple, which he describes (Ep. 8. 8).

4. **anceps valetudo.** Schiller suggests (p. 159) that the illness may have come first and that the cold baths may have been prescribed for it, according to the practice of Charmis (see Plin. N. H. 29. 1, 4, 10).

6. **At Corbulo, etc.** This narrative is taken up from 13. 41, and appears to belong to the two years 812, 813, A.D. 59, 60 (Introd. p. 112). On the locality of Tigranocerta see 12. 50, 2, and note; and on the whole line of march see Introd. p. 114.

recenti terrore. The terror caused by its destruction would be recent, even if we suppose that he had rested there for a winter after its surrender (see Introd. p. 114, 2).

8. **intenderet** = 'augeret': cp. 2. 38, 6, etc.

vel, si pepercisset. This clause corresponds in sense to 'quibus excisis'; 'quibus' (in the dative) being again supplied. The variation of construction is analogous to others noted in Introd. i. v. § 91.

9. **infenso**, 'in hostile fashion': cp. 'infenso agmine' (15. 9, 2).

10. **mutatu**, a rare supine, found only here and in H. 2. 63, 5: cp. 'rescriptu' (4. 40, 2) and other Tacitean supine forms collected by Dr. in Synt. und Stil, § 218.

11. **ad occasiones**, sc. 'defectionis adripiendas,' as above 'ad pericula' (sc. 'capessenda'): cp. 11. 36, 4; 16. 23, 3, etc.

quisque, alii preces offerre, quidam deserere vicos et in avia
digredi ; ac fuere qui se speluncis et carissima secum abderent.
3 igitur dux Romanus diversis artibus, misericordia adversus sup-
plices, celeritate adversus profugos, inmitis iis qui latebras in-
sederant, ora et exitus specuum sarmentis virgultisque completos
4 igni exurit. atque illum fines suos praegredientem incursavere
Mardi, latrociniis exerciti contraque inrumpentem montibus
defensi ; quos Corbulo inmissis Hiberis vastavit hostilemque
audaciam externo sanguine ultus est.

1 **24.** Ipse exercitusque ut nullis ex proelio damnis, ita per
inopiam et labores fatiscebant, carne pecudum propulsare famem
2 adacti. ad hoc penuria aquae, fervida aestas, longinqua itinera
sola ducis patientia mitigabantur, eadem pluraque gregario milite
3 tolerantis. ventum dehinc in locos cultos demessaeque segetes,
et ex duobus castellis, in quae confugerant Armenii, alterum
impetu captum ; qui primam vim depulerant, obsidione co-

3. **diversis artibus.** Nipp. and Dr. appear rightly to take this as a very strange use (even for Tacitus) of the abl. of quality (see Introd. i. v. § 29); 'misericordia' and 'celeritate' are in apposition with it, and the construction is then varied to 'inmitis.'

6. **igni exurit.** Such an act of cruelty has had its counterpart in very modern times. The complacency with which Tacitus records it may be compared with the similar sentiments noted on 1. 51, 2.

praegredientem = 'praetergredientem': see note on 2. 6, 5.

7. **Mardi.** This race (called also 'Amardi') are coupled by Strabo (11. 13, 3, 523, etc.) with the Κύρτιοι, as a widely spread robber race both in Persia and Armenia; their habitation in the latter country being Mt. Niphates. From this account, as also that of Ptolemy, who places them east of Gordyene (5. 13, 20), there appears to be no doubt that they lived in the mountains east and north of Lake Van, and were the ancestors of the present Kurds. The name is still preserved in that of Mardistan.

8. **Hiberis.** These people (on whom see 4. 5, 4, and note) were among the voluntary allies of Corbulo through animosity to the Armenians (see 12. 44, 1; 13. 37, 3).

vastavit. This use of 'vastare aliquem' for 'alicuius terram' is found in c. 38, 2; 15. 1, 2; H. 2. 87, 5; Agr. 22, 2. Nipp. compares also 'ita sumus devastati' (Liv. 23. 42, 5).

9. **externo sanguine,** without sacrifice of Roman lives. Besides thus sparing the blood of the legions, he was consulting Roman policy by embittering barbarian races against each other.

11. **fatiscebant,** 'were becoming exhausted': cp. 3. 38, 1, and note.

carne pecudum, that of the flocks of sheep of the country. To a Roman soldier, corn meal was the great necessary of life, and animal food in any large quantity prejudicial. Caesar (B. G. 7. 17, 3) speaks in the same way of meat as famine diet ('ut complures dies milites frumento caruerint, et pecore . . . extremam famem sustentarent'). Prof. Holbrooke notes a recent instance (in the Zulu campaign of 1879) in which an exclusive meat diet told injuriously even upon English soldiers. On the use of 'adigere' with inf. cp. 4. 29, 3, and note.

12. **ad hoc**: cp. 12. 20, 2, and note.

penuria aquae: see Introd. p. 114, 9.

13. **pluraque . . . tolerantis**: so all recent edd. after F. Jacob and Ern. for the Med. 'plura quam' and 'toleranti'; which Walth. endeavours to defend, but which gives no satisfactory sense.

14. **locos cultos,** probably the level tract of Melazgerd and Liz (see Introd. p. 114).

guntur. unde in regionem Tauraunitium transgressus inpro- 4
visum periculum vitavit. nam haud procul tentorio eius non 5
ignobilis barbarus cum telo repertus ordinem insidiarum seque
auctorem et socios per tormenta edidit, convictique et puniti sunt
qui specie amicitiae dolum parabant. nec multo post legati 6
Tigranocerta missi patere moenia adferunt, intentos popularis
ad iussa: simul hospitale donum, coronam auream, tradebant.
accepitque cum honore, nec quicquam urbi detractum, quo prom- 7
ptius obsequium integri retinerent.

25. At praesidium Legerda, quod ferox iuventus clauserat, 1
non sine certamine expugnatum est: nam et proelium pro muris
ausi erant et pulsi intra munimenta aggeri demum et inrumpen-
tium armis cessere. quae facilius proveniebant, quia Parthi 2
Hyrcano bello distinebantur. miserantque Hyrcani ad princi-
pem Romanum societatem oratum, attineri a se Vologesen pro
pignore amicitiae ostentantes. eos regredientes Corbulo, ne 3
Euphraten transgressi hostium custodiis circumvenirentur, dato

1. **Tauraunitium,** not elsewhere mentioned. Strabo (11. 14, 5, 528) gives a Ταρωνῖτις somewhere in Armenia, and the name points to a district in the country belonging to the Taurus range. Egli takes it to be the district of Mush, west of Lake Van; where the name Daron or Tarôn appears still to be preserved. It is not clear whether the name here is appositional acc. sing. or gen. pl., but it is perhaps best to take it, with Nipp., as the latter.

5. **nec multo post,** etc. Frontinus (Strat. 2. 9, 5) gives a story that Tigranocerta was resisting his siege, but that he flung into the town from a ballista the head of one of the megistânes whom he had executed, and thus terrified them into submission. The conspirator here mentioned may have been of that rank.

6. **Tigranocerta,** abl. as in 15. 5, 2: cp. the corresponding accus. in 15. 4, 2; 5, 5. In all of these Ritt. alters the reading so as to make the form throughout plural, as found in c. 23, 1; 15. 6, 2; 8, 1, probably also in 12. 50, 2; but the analogous variations in form of 'Artaxata' (see note on 2. 56, 3) make this needless.

patere moenia. Nipp. compares the use of 'moenia clausa' (for 'portas clausas') in Luc. 3, 373.

intentos . . . ad iussa; for similar expressions, cp. 11. 29, 3, and note.

7. **coronam auream.** A similar Eastern gift is mentioned in 2. 57, 5.

10. **Legerda.** The Med. text 'legerat' was corrected by Puteol. and his successors to 'regium,' but to the present text by Bezzenb., in accordance with the mention in Ptolemy (5. 13, 20) of Λέγερδα (also read as Ἠλέγερδα, Κλέγερδα, and Βλέγερδα) as a place in the district between the sources of the Tigris and those of the Euphrates, and thus apparently west or north-west of Tigranocerta.

11. **pro muris,** 'outside the walls': cp. 2. 80, 5, and note.

12. **aggeri:** so all recent edd., after Boett., for the Med. 'aggeris,' which some have taken with 'munimenta' (afterwards omitting 'et'). Ryck would read 'aggeribus,' on the supposition that a syllable has dropped. The 'agger' meant is an offensive work to command the walls, such as is described in 4. 49, 3.

13. **proveniebant,** 'were successful': cp. 1. 19, 4, and note.

14. **Hyrcano bello:** see 13. 37, 6. On this sense of 'distineri' cp. 11. 12, 1, and note.

15. **oratum.** Dr. compares Cic. in Pis. 31, ('oratum obsecratumque venerant').

praesidio ad litora maris rubri deduxit, unde vitatis Parthorum finibus patrias in sedes remeavere.

1 **26.** Quin et Tiridaten per Medos extrema Armeniae intrantem, praemisso cum auxiliis Verulano legato, atque ipse legionibus citis, abire procul ac spem belli amittere subegit; quosque nobis aversos animis cognoverat, caedibus et incendiis perpopulatus, possessionem Armeniae usurpabat, cum advenit Tigranes a

1. **maris rubri**, the Persian Gulf (see 2. 61, 2, and note). We should understand, with Walther, that they were sent back by the commercial road passing from Syria along the west bank of the Euphrates to the sea; whence they might get back to Hyrcania by some route beyond the eastern limit of the Parthian power. An enormous circuit would appear to be required for this purpose; a still greater one for that suggested by Prof. Rawlinson (Sixth Oriental Monarchy, p. 271, note), who even supposes them to sail to the Indian Ocean and up the Indus. We do not know enough of the eastern and south-eastern limits, at that date, of the Parthian power, or of the extent to which this Hyrcanian war had itself affected it, to be able to say what safe route from the Persian Gulf to Hyrcania then existed. The supposition of Lips. (approved by Schiller, p. 123), that the Caspian is meant, and that 'maris sui' should be read, hardly lessens the difficulty, as we do not know that the Romans had any access to the Caspian, or any means of navigating it.

3. **Quin et.** Nipp. would refer this to 'quae facilius proveniebant'; but the words appear more naturally to point back to 'at praesidium,' etc., and to mark a further military success. Dr. follows the suggestion in Madvig's 'Adversaria,' and reads 'quieti' (with 'remeavere'); but such a word would be rather used of those who remain at home, than of those whose journey is unobstructed.

per Medos: see 13. 41, 2.

4. **Verulano.** Ritt. thinks that 'Severo' (in an old abbreviation 'seũo') has dropped out between this and the preceding word; the person being apparently the same who is mentioned in 15. 3, 1, and also (as 'L. Verulanus Severus') in an inscription cited by Nipp., showing him to have been consul in one of the later years of Nero.

ipse, 'by his own appearance': cp. 'fama atque ipso Artabano' (6. 44, 3).

5. **citis**, 'in forced marches': cp. 11. 1, 3, and note.

amittere, 'to give up': this sense of the word is sufficiently supported by 2. 71, 8; 4. 3, 3; 13. 46, 3, to make it unnecessary to follow Orelli and others in reading 'omittere' (after MS. Agr.). It is also possible to take the word (with Nipp.) to mean that his hopes were not so much given up as simply annihilated by the course of events.

subegit, with inf.: cp. c. 14, 6.

6. **aversos animis**: so Halm and Dr. after Bekk. The Med. 'ab re (corrected in the same hand to 'rege') animis' has given rise to many conjectures. The old editions generally read 'ob regem aversos animis.' Orelli follows Nipp. in reading 'nobis adversantis' (referring to 1. 2, 1: H. 4. 66, 1; 84, 1); the reading of MS. Agr. ('alienos animis') has suggested to Ritt. the alteration of the Med. 'animis' to 'alienos' (with 'ab rege' bracketed as a gloss). The general sense is clear, but the actual words used appear to be incapable of recovery.

perpopulatus, a word taken from Livy (22. 3, 10, etc.).

7. **advenit.** Wölfflin notes (Philol. xxvi. 115) that this is probably to be taken here and in other doubtful passages in Tacitus (as G. 16, 5) as a perfect; it being the author's rule (exceptions are noted in 14. 58, 4; 15. 59, 7) to use this verb in the perf. and pluperf. and 'advento' in pres. and imperf. He notes the same rule in the use of 'obicere' and 'obiectare,' but the reverse in that of 'occulere' and 'occultare.'

Tigranes: see 15. 1–6. We find from Jos. Ant. 18. 5, 4, that he was son of Alexander, and nephew of the Tigranes mentioned in 6. 40, 2, and in the note on 2. 4, 3, with whom the account of his descent here given would confuse him. 'Nepos' must therefore be taken to mean 'pronepos,' but need not be altered to that word (with Nipp.); as the analogous use of other such terms of relationship

Nerone ad capessendum imperium delectus, Cappadocum ex
nobilitate, regis Archelai nepos, sed quod diu obses apud urbem
fuerat, usque ad servilem patientiam demissus. nec consensu 2
acceptus, durante apud quosdam favore Arsacidarum. at plerique
superbiam Parthorum perosi datum a Romanis regem malebant.
additum ei praesidium mille legionarii, tres sociorum cohortes 3
duaeque equitum alae, et quo facilius novum regnum tueretur,
pars Armeniae, ut cuique finitima, Pharasmani Polemonique et
Aristobulo atque Antiocho parere iussae sunt. Corbulo in Su- 4
riam abscessit, morte Ummidii legati vacuam ac sibi permissam.

27. Eodem anno ex inlustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea tre- 1
more terrae prolapsa, nullo *a* nobis remedio, propriis opibus

(cp. 2. 27, 2; 43, 6; 4. 12, 6, etc.) appears sufficiently to support its being so taken.

2. **nobilitate,** 'the royal family' (cp. 12. 20, 1). Tacitus ignores his descent (given in Josephus, l. l.) from Herod the Great, probably (as Nipp. suggests) because the family of his grandfather Alexander, son of that king, had renounced Judaism (Jos. l. l.), and had probably broken off all connection with the Jews and made their home in Cappadocia. On Archelaus see 2. 42, 2.

3. **nec,** corr. of Put. for Med. 'ne.' Ritt. reads 'neque,' comparing 15. 4, 5; 6, 6.

4. **Arsacidarum.** It would appear from the statement in Mon. Anc. (quoted on 2. 4, 3) that the family of Tigranes was also related to the old Arsacid royal family of Armenia; but they must have represented a less pure stock than the Parthian Tiridates.

6. **ei:** so Halm and Dr., after Heins., for the Med. 'et,' which others retain, and which can be taken for 'etiam,' with the sense that this protection was added to his popularity.

7. **quo facilius . . . tueretur.** His power of self-defence would be strengthened by giving these kings an interest in the protection of his frontier.

8. **pars Armeniae,** etc. The Med. text is here very corrupt ('pars Armenia eunt cuique finitima pars nipulique'); the correction 'Armeniae ut' was made by Put. and all subsequent editors; while J. F. Gron. has been also generally followed in taking 'pars nipulique' to be a corruption of 'Pharasmani Polemonique.' Madvig (Adv. ii. 553) thinks it unlikely that Polemo, who had no previous connection with these events, and whose support would not be equally necessary, should here be mentioned, and that the whole corruption probably represents only the name of Pharasmanes. I have not followed Halm (with whom Madvig agrees) in reading 'partes,' as the plural predicate 'iussae' seems capable of justification by supposing 'pars' to be separately understood with each dative. Nipp. aptly compares Cic. ad Fam. 10. 5, 1 ('commemoratio tua . . . necessitudinis benevolentiaeque . . . ceterarumque rerum . . . laetitiam attulerunt'). On Pharasmanes, see 12. 45, 2, etc.; on Antiochus and Aristobulus, 13. 7, 1, 2. Polemo, who belonged to the Thracian royal family (see on 2. 67, 4), was king of Pontus (H. 3. 47, 1) and part of Cilicia (Jos. Ant. 20. 7, 3).

10. **Ummidii:** cp. 12. 45, 6, etc. Syria is called 'left to itself' ('sibi permissam') because Anteius, appointed five years before as successor to Ummidius, had been detained in Rome (13. 22, 2).

11. **Laodicea.** On this city see 4. 55, 3, and note.

tremore terrae, an expression previously found in Sen. and Pl. ma., and probably taken from the Vergilian 'unde tremor terris' (G. 2, 479). On the frequency of earthquakes in Asiatic cities see Friedl. iii. 178; on a subvention given to this city by Augustus after a previous disaster of the kind see Strab. 12. 8, 18, 579; and for other such subventions under Tiberius see 2. 47, 3; 4. 13, 1.

12. **propriis opibus,** an evidence of the wealth of the chief Asiatic cities at this time. 'Revalescere' is found in H. 2. 54, 2, and previously in Ov. H. 21, 231.

2 revaluit. at in Italia vetus oppidum Puteoli ius coloniae et cogno-
3 mentum a Nerone apiscuntur. veterani Tarentum et Antium
adscripti non tamen infrequentiae locorum subvenere, dilapsis
pluribus in provincias in quibus stipendia expleverant; neque
coniugiis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti orbas sine
4 posteris domos relinquebant. non enim, ut olim, universae

1. **Puteoli**: see 13. 48, 1, and note. A colony of 300 Roman citizens had been already settled there in 560, A. D. 194 (Liv. 34. 45, 1); the town is styled a colony a century later (Or. Insc. 3697; Val. Max. 9. 3, 8), and appears to have been again colonised by Augustus (cp. 'Puteoli, Colonia Augusta. Augustus deduxit' Front. de Col. 139, cited by Lips.). It is thus difficult to account for the implied assertion here that it had not hitherto attained that rank. If we suppose with Madvig (Opusc. i. p. 293), that it now only received an infusion of new colonists, to whom portions of ager publicus were assigned, the language of Tacitus must be inaccurate. It appears from Gell. 16. 13 that a colony might have again become a municipium; but a more probable explanation is that of Lips. (supported by Nipp.), that the 'vetus oppidum,' the old community, existing, with municipal status only, side by side with the colony within its limits (cp. 'Pompeianorum colonorumque dissensio' Cic. pro Sull. 21, 60), was now raised to colonial rank. The distinction between coloniae and municipia had now no real importance in Italy, and was considered an obscure point when Gellius wrote (l. l.).

cognomentum. It added to its name the title of 'Colonia Claudia Augusta Neronensis' (C. I. L. iv. 2152, I. R. N. 707*: cp. Wilm. 1964), which is subsequently changed for that of 'Colonia Flavia Augusta' (Henzen 5519 = Wilm. 1002). On the exclusive power of the princeps to grant such titles and privileges see Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 889.

2. **apiscuntur.** Nipp. notes that the sing., as used with 'oppidum Pompei' in 15. 22, 4, is more usual.

veterani . . . adscripti. 'Adscribere' is the regular word (Liv. 32. 7, 3, etc.) for the enrolment of additional settlers to an already existing colony. Tarentum had become a colony in 632, B. C. 122 (Vell. 1. 15, 4); Antium, an old Latin colony of 287, B. C. 467 (Liv. 3. 1, 5), was resettled in 416, B. C. 338 (Liv. 8. 14, 8); from which date it is spoken of as a maritime, or Roman colony (Liv. 27. 38, 4; 36. 3, 6). Nero viewed it with especial favour as his birthplace. Suet. says (Ner. 9) 'Antium coloniam deduxit adscriptis veteranis e praetorio additisque per domicilii translationem ditissimis primipilarium; ubi et portum operis sumptuosissimi fecit.'

3. **infrequentiae locorum.** On the scanty population of most parts of Italy see notes on 3. 54, 6; 12. 43, 4, and many other authorities quoted in Introd. i. vii. p. 93, and in Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 454.

4. **stipendia expleverant**, a phrase formed on the analogy of 'explere annos' (H. 1. 48, 1), etc. On the usual length of the term of service see 1. 17, 3, etc.

neque coniugiis suscipiendis, etc. The general prohibition to soldiers to marry during service (Dio, 60. 24, 3, etc.) must have begun with the institution of standing armies, and received no relaxation till the time of Septimius Severus (Herodian 3. 8, 5). The 'conubium' granted on discharge (see the 'diplomata militaria,' e.g. Henzen 6857, foll.) must often have legitimatized unions already existing; but the majority appear to have been unwilling to undertake the duties and burdens of married life.

5. **orbas sine posteris.** In this passage 'orbas' might be ambiguous without the explanatory addition, notwithstanding the common use of the term in this sense (13. 42, 7, etc.). Nipp. notes an inscription recording one L. Veratius Afer, a veteran, afterwards decurio and quaestor of Antium, of whose four heirs three are of other families and of the praetorian guard.

6. **ut olim.** This old custom, noticed by Hyginus (Grom. pp. 160, 176), prevailed from the time of Sulla to Augustus, who had himself been greatly helped by the *esprit de corps* subsisting among the Campanian military colonies of the dictator, and would naturally desire to preclude future revolutionary leaders from thus raising whole armies at a stroke.

legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus et sui cuiusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu et caritate rem publicam efficerent, sed ignoti inter se, diversis manipulis, sine rectore, sine adfectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente in unum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia.

28. Comitia praetorum arbitrio senatus haberi solita, quoniam 1
acriore ambitu exarserant, princeps composuit, tris, qui supra
numerum petebant, legioni praeficiendo. auxitque patrum 2
honorem statuendo ut, qui a privatis iudicibus ad senatum
provocavissent, eiusdem pecuniae periculum facerent, cuius si
qui imperatorem appellarent; nam antea vacuum id solutumque

For the political importance of such bodies see App. B. C. 2. 120; 3. 81.

1. **sui cuiusque ordinis** 'of their own distinct century,' i. e. grouped in their proper centuries. The construction appears to be that of a genitive of quality, answering to the abl. of quality ('diversis manipulis') below. The construction of 'suus quisque,' taken as one word, in the sense of 'distinct' or 'several,' is illustrated by Madvig, on Cic. de Fin. 5. 17, 46 ('cuiusque partis . . . sua quaeque vis'), by reference to Id. Acad. 2. 7, 19 ('in sensibus sui cuiusque generis'), etc. Nipp. adds here several other instances, as Caes. B. C. 1. 83, 2 ('cohortes . . . suae cuiusque legionis'), Liv. 25. 17, 5 ('motibus . . . suae cuique genti adsuetis'), etc.

3. **sine adfectibus mutuis**, answering to 'consensu et caritate.'

5. **collecti**, a participle; 'deducebantur' being supplied as the verb.

numerus, 'a mere aggregate': cp. 'nos numerus sumus' (Hor. Ep. 1. 2, 27).

6. **arbitrio senatus.** On the election of the magistrates of the state by this body, since the first year of Tiberius, see 1. 15. 1, and note. Their real power of election would be limited to the filling of those places in the praetorship (probably eight) to which no candidates were 'commended' by the princeps (see 1. 14, 6; 15, 2, and notes); and the 'ambitus' would be exercised among the senators themselves. Pliny gives a lively description (Ep. 2. 9, 5) of his active canvas on behalf of a friend.

7. **tris**, etc. The usual number of praetors was twelve (1. 14, 6), and there were fifteen candidates. To three of these he gave the command of legions, and thus reduced the number of competitors to that of the vacancies. The office of 'legatus legionis' might be held before or after the praetorship (see 2. 36, 1, and note); and those now appointed to it would doubtless be praetors in a subsequent year, and some of those now elected praetors would become 'legati legionum' afterwards.

9. **a privatis iudicibus**, 'from civil tribunals.' We gather that the appeal from them might lie either to Caesar or to the senate. Augustus had instituted an appeal in civil causes, in the case of Roman suits, to the city praetor; in provincial suits, to a consular assigned for the purpose to each province (Suet. Aug. 33). Under the arrangement here mentioned, the senate appear to sit, as in criminal trials, as 'in consilio' with the consuls (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 106).

10. **eiusdem pecuniae.** The caution-money to be lodged on appeal was fixed at one third of the sum at which the action was laid, and this was forfeited if the original judgment was confirmed (Paul. Sent. Rec. 5. 33, 7). The absence of any such caution in appeals to the senate would render them especially liable to frivolous appeals, and their dignity would thus gain by this change. Suet. seems to have strangely misconceived the bearing of this enactment in saying (Ner. 17) 'cautum . . . ut omnes appellationes a iudicibus ad senatum fierent.'

si: so Halm for Med. 'is,' for which others read 'ii' (with G.): Baiter thinks 'is' no more than a repetition from the end of the preceding word.

11. **appellarent**: so Halm, after Madv. (Adv. ii. 554) for Med. 'appellavere,' which others (with the reading 'ii') retain; but we should certainly expect an imperf.

vacuum, 'an open field': cp. H.

3 poena fuerat. fine anni Vibius Secundus eques Romanus accusantibus Mauris repetundarum damnatur atque Italia exigitur, ne graviore poena adficeretur, Vibii Crispi fratris opibus enisus.

1 **29.** Caesennio Paeto et Petronio Turpiliano consulibus gravis clades in Britannia accepta, in qua neque A. Didius legatus, ut memoravi, nisi parta retinuerat, et successor Veranius modicis excursibus Siluras populatus, quin ultra bellum proferret, morte prohibitus est, magna, dum vixit, severitatis fama, supremis testa-

2. 38, 2, and Sall. Fr. H. 1, 10 D, 11 K, 12 G ('simultates exercere vacuum fuit').

1. **accusantibus Mauris.** On the two provinces of Mauretania see Introd. p. 31. Vibius had been procurator of one of them. He would appear to be the same as the 'C. Vibius Secundus' mentioned as one of the 'quattuorviri' of Narnia in an inscription five years before this date (Henzen 5129; Wilm. 2096). An allusion in H. 2. 10, 4 would show that he had been also accused by Annius Faustus, apparently after this time.

3. **ne** = 'ut non': cp. c. 11, 2, and note.

Vibii Crispi. An inscription (C. I. Att. iii. 1. 619) gives his praenomen 'Q.' Nipp. notes that he was cos. suff. in or near the year 810, A.D. 57 (or perhaps, as thought by Borghesi, Œuvr. iv. 529, in 814, A.D. 61), and (according to the right reading of Front. Aq. 102) 'curator aquarum' in 821–824, A.D. 68–71, and proconsul of Africa (Plin. N. H. 19. 1, 4). Tacitus speaks of his fame as an orator, also of his evil repute as an accuser (H. 2. 10, 2, 6; 4. 42, 6). He was intimate with Domitian, and author of the witticism 'ne musca quidem' (Suet. Dom. 3). Juvenal, who mentions him as reaching the age of eighty under that prince, speaks not ungently of him (4. 81–93). Quintilian, whose work was published in 846, A.D. 93, speaks of him as lately dead (10. 1, 119), and often mentions him.

4. **Caesennio Paeto et Petronio Turpiliano.** The former name is so read by all modern edd. after Nipp. for the Med. 'Cesonio' (read in older edd. 'Caesonio'), on the supposition that he is identical with the person mentioned in 15. 6, 4, etc., and (as 'L. Caesennius Paetus') in Dio, 62. 20, 4, and Phleg. de Mir. c. 20 (ὑπατευόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ποπλίου Πετρωνίου Τουρπιλιανοῦ καὶ Καισεννίου Παίτου): see also an inscription cited on c. 39, 4. Nipp. also points out that another inscription, in which the name is read 'Caesonius' (Grut. 62, 7), is of doubtful genuineness, and that the existence of two names so similar is very unlikely. The other consul was probably son of the P. Petronius of 3. 49, 2, and is mentioned in c. 39, 4; 15. 72, 2; also (as 'curator aquarum' in A.D. 63–64) in Front. 102, and (as put to death by Galba) in H. 1. 6, 2. For the addition of 'et' see 4. 68, 1, and note.

5. **A. Didius**: see 12. 15, 1, and note. The name is here restored by Lips. from 12. 40, 1 for the Med. 'hauitus' (Nipp. omits the praenomen). In Agr. 14, 3 his administration of Britain is similarly described: 'Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur.' On the date of his appointment see note on 12. 40, 1.

ut memoravi: see 12. 40, 7, in which chapter a more full account of his actions is given.

6. **Veranius**: see 12. 5, 1, and note. It appears from Agr. 14, 3 that he died in his first year of command, and that Suetonius had held the province for two years before his expedition to Mona. The year of Veranius will thus be 811, A.D. 58.

7. **Siluras**: see 12. 32, 4.

quin. Dr. notes the use here of this word for 'quominus,' with 'prohibere,' as ἅπ. εἰρ., and compares 'obsistere quin' in Apul. Met. 9. 20, 631. On the opposite use of 'quominus' for 'quin' cp. 1. 21, 4, and note.

8. **magna . . . fama,** abl. of quality: 'severitas' appears here to mean 'self-control,' as opposed to 'ambitio.'

testamenti, probably best taken, with Nipp. and Dr., as an explanatory genit. ('his last words, as expressed in his will'): cp. 'supremis tabulis' (6. 38, 2; 16. 14, 5, etc.

menti verbis ambitionis manifestus: quippe multa in Neronem
adulatione addidit subiecturum ei provinciam fuisse, si biennio
proximo vixisset. sed tum Paulinus Suetonius obtinebat Britan- 2
nos, scientia militiae et rumore populi, qui neminem sine aemulo
sinit, Corbulonis concertator, receptaeque Armeniae decus aequare
domitis perduellibus cupiens. igitur Monam insulam, incolis vali- 3
dam et receptaculum perfugarum, adgredi parat, navesque fabrica-
tur plano alveo adversus breve et incertum. sic pedes; equites 4
vada secuti aut altiores inter undas adnantes equis tramisere.
30. Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, in- 1

1. **ambitionis manifestus**, 'betraying vanity': for the genit. cp. 2. 85, 3; 12. 51, 5, etc.; for the sense of 'ambitio,' 12. 24, 1; 16. 17, 3. The point of the reference here is not his flattery of Nero, but his empty boast which could not be tested, and which implied that his successor, if he did not achieve the conquest, was of inferior capacity.

2. **subiecturum ei provinciam**, 'he would complete the subjection of the province,' by overcoming the resistance in the west and north. 'Provinciam' is a correction of Lips. for the Med. 'provincias,' as Britain was only a single province till the time of Septimius Severus (Herodian 3. 8, 2); the expression Βρεττανία ἡ ἄνω, in Dio, 55. 23, 6, being used only in reference to an arrangement still existing in his own time.

3. **Paulinus Suetonius**, here first mentioned. He had been legatus, after his praetorship, in Mauretania, where he put down a rebellion, and led an army as far as Atlas, in 794–795, A.D. 41–42 (Dio, 60. 9, 1; Pl. N. H. 5. 1, 14). He is not recorded as consul till 819, A.D. 66 (16. 14, 1), but it is hardly possible to suppose that he was legatus of Britain without having already attained that rank; and Borghesi notes (Œuvr. v. 324) that he is called 'vetustissimus consularium,' in comparison with several others, in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 2. 37, 2). Borghesi thinks he may have been cos. suff. in July 795, A.D. 42. He took a conspicuous part in the civil war on the side of Otho (H. l. l. etc.). His memoirs are noted in Pl. l. l.

5. **concertator**; ἅπ. εἰρ.: for other such words introduced by Tacitus see Introd. i. v. § 69, 1 a.

6. **perduellibus**, an archaic word, found here alone in Tacitus (see Introd. i. v. § 69): it occurs in Cic. and Liv., but chiefly in citations from older writings.

Monam, Anglesea (see Agr. 14, 4; 18, 4), the Μῶνα or Μόννα of Dio, 62. 8, 1, the Μόνα of Ptol. 2. 2, 12. In Jord. de reb. Get. 2 ('in extrema Britanniae parte Memma, quam Cornelius etiam annalium scriptor narrat, metallis plurimis copiosam, herbis frequentem,' etc.), Lips. would read 'Mona'; but the words contain no reference to any extant passage in Tacitus. The Mona of Caes. (B. G. 5. 13, 3) would appear to be Man, the Monapia of Pl. N. H. 4. 16, 30, 103.

8. **plano alveo**, 'flatbottomed': cp. 'planae carinis' (2. 6, 2).

breve et incertum, sc. 'maris,' the shallow and shifting (i. e. 'tidal') depth: cp. 'brevia' (1. 70, 3, and note). The substantival use of these adjectives is somewhat harsher here than in the other instances given (see Introd. i. v. § 4 b; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 7, 2); whence some have thought, with Madvig and others, that 'mare,' 'litus,' or 'fretum' has dropped out. Ritt. retains 'incertum,' but reads 'brevia.'

9. **vada secuti**: so Halm, after J. F. Gron. for the Med. 'vados (whence Nipp. reads 'vadosa') secuti.' Most others follow G. in reading 'vado secuti,' and compare 'vado transitur' or 'traducit' (Caes. B. G. 1. 6, 1; B. C. 3. 37, 1); 'secuti' being taken to mean that they crossed after the infantry, not that they took the same direction; as the boats would naturally follow the deepest water.

adnantes, 'swimming beside': cp. 'comes lateri adnatat' (Sen. Ag. 452).

10. **Stabat.** The position of this word is emphatic, as in 1. 25, 2. On the sense of 'pro litore' ('along the shore') cp. notes on 1. 44, 4; 2. 81, 1, etc. The

tercursantibus feminis ; in modum Furiarum veste ferali, crinibus
deiectis faces praeferebant ; Druidaeque circum, preces diras
sublatis ad caelum manibus fundentes, novitate aspectus percu-
lere militem, ut quasi haerentibus membris inmobile corpus vul-
2 neribus praeberent. dein cohortationibus ducis et se ipsi stimu-
lantes, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt
3 signa sternuntque obvios et igni suo involvunt. praesidium
posthac inpositum victis excisique luci saevis superstitionibus
sacri : nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris con-
sulere deos fas habebant. haec agenti Suetonio repentina de-
fectio provinciae nuntiatur.

passage shows a reminiscence of Livy's description of some Etruscan fanatics (4. 33, 1 ; 7. 17, 3).

diversa, 'of the enemy'; cp. 13. 57, 3, etc. The stopping of Halm, here followed, appears best suited to mark the transition by which 'feminis' supplies the subject to 'praeferebant.' Nipp. places no comma at 'virisque'; many older edd. stop differently, and read 'quae' (with some inferior MSS.) before 'veste.'

1. **in modum Furiarum**. It is perhaps from some reports about Mona that Strabo (3. 5, 11, 175) drew his description of the people of the Cassiterides as μελάγχλαινοι . . . ὅμοιοι ταῖς τραγικαῖς Ποιναῖς. Somewhat similar is the description of the 'feralis exercitus' ('nigra scuta, tincta corpora') of the German Harii (G. 43, 6).

2. **Druidae**. The knowledge possessed by the Romans respecting this priesthood is to be gathered from Caes. B. G. 6. 13–14 ; Strab. 4. 4, 4, 197 ; Diod. 5. 31, 2. Strong measures were taken to extirpate them in Gaul by Tiberius, according to Plin. N. H. 30. 1, 4, 33 ('Tiberi Caesaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum . . . per senatus consultum'), and by Claudius, according to Suet. Cl. 25 ('Druidarum religionem apud Gallos . . ., tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictam, penitus abolevit'); but besides their survival, as here shown, in Britain and the adjacent islands, they reappear in Gaul in 823, A.D. 70 (H. 4. 54, 3). On the view that Druidism was adopted by the British Celts from their predecessors in the country see Rhys, Lectures, p. 33, foll. ; Elton, Origins of Eng. Hist. p. 266, foll.

preces . . . fundentes, a Vergilian expression (Aen. 5, 234 ; 6, 55) : cp. 6. 42, 4. Nipp. places a comma after 'preces,' so as to make 'diras' a substantive, as in 6. 24, 3.

3. **perculere**. Nipp. notes that the whole spectacle is here referred to, as well as the grammatical subject 'Druidae.'

4. **haerentibus**, 'paralysed': cp. 'ille . . . haerere primo' (6. 21, 4).

5. **cohortationibus**, causal abl.

6. **pavescerent**, so with accus. in 1. 4, 2 ; 59, 7 ; H. 4. 7, 1 ; also in Sil. 16, 127. 'Pavere' is more commonly so used.

7. **igni suo involunt**, 'envelope in fire from their own torches,' by driving the torch-bearing women in upon the mass. Cp. 'involvit flammis nemus' (Verg. G. 2, 308) ; and the use of 'involvebantur' (of persons swallowed up by water) in 1. 70, 5.

praesidium, a fort and garrison : cp. c. 25, 1, etc.

8. **superstitionibus**, 'superstitious rites' ; so used in pl. in 12. 59, 2, Agr. 11, 4, etc.

9. **cruore captivo** = 'captivorum,' a poetical mode of expression similar to 'externo sanguine' (c. 23, 4), etc. The human sacrifices of Druidism are mentioned in Caes. B. G. 6. 16, 1, and were the chief reason for the vigorous measures taken (see above) to suppress the cult.

adolere aras: cp. 'altaria adolentur' (H. 2. 3, 4). The expressions are closely borrowed from older Latin (cp. Lucr. 4, 1237 ; Verg. Aen. 7, 71), and the meaning of the verb is doubtful ; the various senses of 'piling,' 'honouring,' 'making to burn,' being all apparently possible (see Munro and Conington ad loc.), though perhaps from separate bases (Nettleship, Contrib. to Lat. Lex.).

fibris = 'extis,' as in H. 2. 3, 4 : cp. 'fibrae apparere minaces' (Verg. G. 1, 484), etc.

11. **provinciae**, not used here as in c.

31. Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Cae- 1
sarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus
regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore. quod contra 2
vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut
capta vastarentur. iam primum uxor eius Boudicca verberibus 3
adfecta et filiae stupro violatae sunt: praecipui quique Icenorum,
quasi cunctam regionem muneri accepissent, avitis bonis exu-
untur, et propinqui regis inter mancipia habebantur. qua con- 4
tumelia et metu graviorum, quando in formam provinciae ces-
serant, rapiunt arma, commotis ad rebellationem Trinovantibus

29, 1, but restrictively of the part already subjected.

1. **Icenorum**: see 12. 31, 3. The name is restored here by Rhen.; Med. having here 'igenorum' and below 'ygenorum.' The whole narrative is given with unusual fullness in the abridgment of Dio (62. 1–12); also, with some variations, in Agr. 15, 1–16, 4.

longa = 'diuturna': cp. 'longa decora' (c. 53, 5), 'longa potentia' (1. 8, 7), 'longo sacramento inbutus' (H. 1. 5, 1). The question of the date of the beginning of this prince's rule is complicated by the difficulty of dating the cessation of the eastern coinage of Andedrigus. See Introd. p. 138, 2.

Caesarem heredem . . . scripserat: see note on 2. 48, 1.

3. **regnumque et**: for this combination of conjunctions (never found in Cic. or Caes.) cp. 2. 6. 4, and the more frequent use of 'seque et' (1. 4, 1, etc.), and Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 123, 2.

4. **centuriones . . . servos**, the respective agents of the legatus and the procurator, the former enforcing the conscription (cp. Agr. 31, 1) and punishing general disobedience, the latter exacting the fiscal imposts and inheritance. Cp. Agr. 15, 2 'binos (reges) inponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret; . . . alterius manus centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere.'

5. **vastarentur**: for the pl. cp. 3. 62, 1, and note.

iam primum, 'to begin' (cp. 4. 6, 2, and note). It is remarkable that the narrative of these events in Agr. omits all mention of this personal outrage. The account in Dio is similarly defective.

Boudicca. For the description of her in Dio, see Introd. p. 143. This form of the name is given by Med. in c. 37, 5; here it has 'boodicia,' in c. 35, 1, 'bouducca'; in Agr. 16, 1, the MSS. have 'Voadicca' and 'Voaduca'; in Dio the reading varies between Βουνδουίκα and Βουδουίκα. A name 'Lollia Bodicca' is found in C. I. L. viii. 2877 (= Henzen 7420 a k, Wilm. 1590), a soldier 'Bodiccius' in a British cohort in C. I. L. iii. 3256, and a Spanish name 'Boudica' or 'Boudicas' in C. I. L. ii. 455. Recent edd. follow Haase in supposing Tacitus to have uniformly written it as 'Boudicca,' which would appear to be equivalent in meaning to such a Latin name as 'Victorina' (Rhys 278). The form 'Boadicea,' which rests on no authority and conveys no meaning, has unfortunately, like the similar error 'Caractacus' (see on 12. 33, 1), become popular, apparently through its adoption in Rapin's History (see Walther's note).

7. **quasi . . . accepissent.** If these words are to stand here, the subject must be supplied from 'centuriones et servi,' but this transition from 'praecipui Icenorum' is very harsh. Ritt. inserts 'Romani' after 'muneri' (in which place Mr. Haverfield suggests that some abbreviation of 'nostri' could more probably have dropped out); Haase places the sentence below, after 'deducti'; Nipp. brackets it as a marginal note interpolated into the text, thinking 'munus' inappropriately used of an inheritance.

8. **qua contumelia**, causal abl.

9. **quando . . . cesserant.** We should suppose them to have been formally annexed to the province at the death of Prasutagus, and to have been under coercion ever since their first rising against Ostorius (12. 31, 3).

10. **rebellationem**, a rare form for

et qui alii nondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem occultis
5 coniurationibus pepigerant, acerrimo in veteranos odio. quippe in coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando, foventibus inpotentiam veteranorum militibus similitudine vitae et spe
6 eiusdem licentiae. ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacer-
7 dotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant. nec arduum videbatur excindere coloniam nullis munimentis saeptam; quod ducibus nostris parum provisum erat, dum amoenitati prius quam usui consulitur.

1 **32.** Inter quae nulla palam causa delapsum Camuloduni simulacrum Victoriae ac retro conversum, quasi cederet hostibus.
2 et feminae in furorem turbatae adesse exitium canebant, exter-

'rebellio,' only found here and in Val. Max. and Servius on Verg. Aen. 12, 186.

Trinovantibus. This people lived in Suffolk and Essex, having Camulodunum for their town (Ptol. 2. 3, 22). They were the most powerful in south Britain in the time of Caesar (B. G. 5. 20, 1, etc.), and their locality is the centre of resistance in the invasion under Claudius (Introd. p. 133). The name occurs here alone in Tacitus and is read in Med. as above, and in the form of Τρινούαντες in Ptol. (Müller). As this form is preferred by Celtic scholars, and gives the meaning 'battle-stabbers' or 'battle-spearers' (Rhys 305), there seems no reason for following the great body of edd., who correct it to 'Trinobantibus,' after the form generally (though with good MS. authority to the contrary) read in Caesar.

2. **pepigerant,** with infin.: cp. 11. 9, 4, and note.

3. **recens deducti**: see 12. 32, 5.

4. **inpotentiam,** 'their lawlessness': cp. 1. 4, 4, and note.

5. **similitudine vitae**: causal abl.

6. **templum divo Claudio.** This, as was the case with provincial temples to Augustus (see on 1. 10, 5; 78, 1), had been erected in his lifetime: cp. Sen. Lud. 8, 3 'parum est quod templum in Britannia habet? quod hunc barbari colunt, et ut deum orant μωροῦ εὐϊλάτου τυχεῖν?

7. **arx,** a correction, in the original hand, of the Med. text 'arae': other MSS. and old edd. read 'ara,' which in some respects makes better sense.

sacerdotes. These would be taken from the provincial subjects of good family: see 1. 57, 2.

8. **omnis fortunas effundebant.** This is generally taken, with Lips., as if 'omnis suas fortunas' had been written; an interpretation which derives support from a passage in Arr. Epict. 1. 19, 26, showing that such priesthoods were very costly to their holders (σήμερόν τις ὑπὲρ ἱερωσύνης ἐλάλει μοι τοῦ Αὐγούστου. Λέγω αὐτῷ, ἄνθρωπε, ἄφες τὸ πρᾶγμα, δαπανήσεις πολλὰ εἰς οὐδέν). But we can better understand the costliness of the worship being taken up as a national grievance by supposing, with Nipp. and others, that 'omnis fortunas' is rather equivalent to 'fortunas omnium,' and that the priest levied exactions all round for victims, etc. Dr. notes the use of 'effundere' of spending other money than one's own in Cic. Tusc. 3. 20, 48 ('C. Gracchus cum effudisset aerarium').

9. **excindere**: cp. 2. 25, 4 ('excindit . . . hostem'), and note.

12. **palam,** adjectival: cp. 11. 22, 1, and note.

13. **simulacrum Victoriae.** Such a statue may have stood either in the temple of Claudius, or in some other public place.

14. **in furorem**: so all recent edd. after Faern. for the Med. 'in furore.'

externos, 'barbarian.' Dio (62. 1, 2) describes it more fully—ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θροῦς νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου θόρυβος

nosque fremitus in curia eorum auditos; consonuisse ululatibus
theatrum visamque speciem in aestuario Tamesae subversae
coloniae: iam Oceanus cruento aspectu, dilabente aestu, humano-
rum corporum effigies relictae, ut Britannis ad spem, ita veteranis
ad metum trahebantur. sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, peti- 3
vere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium. ille haud amplius
quam ducentos sine iustis armis misit; et inerat modica militum
manus. tutela templi freti, et impedientibus qui occulti rebel- 4
lionis conscii consilia turbabant, neque fossam aut vallum prae-
duxerunt, neque motis senibus et feminis iuventus sola restitit:
quasi media pace incauti multitudine barbarorum circumve-
niuntur. et cetera quidem impetu direpta aut incensa sunt: tem- 5

μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἐξηκούετο, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων μήτε φθεγγομένου μήτε στένοντος. The 'curia' was that in which the decuriones of the colony met.

1. **eorum** = 'Camulodunensium,' supplied from the name of the town.

2. **Tamesae.** The name of the Thames does not occur elsewhere in the extant works of Tacitus, but was no doubt mentioned in the narrative of the first expedition of Plautius. Med. has here 'tam esae,' which the old edd., before Pichena, with some inferior MSS., had corrupted into 'notam esse.' The same form of the name is found in Dio (40. 3, 1; 60. 20, 5; 21, 3; 62. 1, 2); in Ptol. (2. 3, 6; 22) Ταμήσα εἴσχυσις is read by Müller; the MSS. having Ἰαμήσα or some similar word. The better known form 'Tamesis' is taken from Caes. (B. G. 5. 11, 9; 18, 1). The alleged appearance is still more vaguely described in Dio (οἰκίαι τέ τινες ἐν τῷ Ταμέσᾳ ποταμῷ ὕφυδροι ἑωρῶντο), and we cannot gather in what way it was imagined to be more startling than the common phenomenon of a shattered image reflected by disturbed water. It is also not clear whether we are to suppose that Tacitus and Dio believed Camulodunum to be on the estuary of the Thames, or whether this term is taken vaguely to include all from the North Foreland to the tidal portion of the Colne, then probably extending to the town (see Introd. p. 142); or whether the story made the prodigy consist in the appearance of such a reflexion, not where it might naturally have been seen, but a long way off.

3. **iam Oceanus**, etc. On the force of 'iam' here, cp. 13. 43, 3, and note. The words of Dio (καὶ ὁ ὠκεανὸς ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αἱματώδης ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πλημμυρίδι ηὐξήθη) show that the locality meant is that of the Channel. It has been suggested that the story may have grown up out of some local appearance of seaweed or infusoria.

dilabente: so most modern edd., after Lips., for the Med. 'sic labente,' for which others read 'et relabente' or 'in sicco labente.' Ritt. thinks 'sic' a corruption for 'hīc' ('hinc'), and that 'hinc' marks a subsequent time (cp. 3. 13, 3; 27, 3) to that denoted by 'iam.' It is certainly true that 'relabi' (2. 23, 4) or 'labi' (6. 50, 6; 16. 11, 4) would appear more suitable than 'dilabi' to express a tidal ebb.

4. **effigies**, 'the appearance of,' possibly sand heaps taking what was fancied to be the form of corpses.

Britannis . . . veteranis: so most recent edd., after Jac. Gron. for the Med. 'britanni . . . ueterani,' which could stand with a stop at 'relictae' and comma at 'trahebantur.' Others, with Lips., read 'Oceanum,' 'relictas,' and 'trahebant.' For the sense of 'metus' cp. 1. 40, 1, and note, for that of 'trahere,' 1. 62, 3, and note.

7. **iustis**, 'regular': cp. H. 4. 21, 1, etc.

8. **tutela templi.** It is to be supposed that the precinct was an enclosure of some strength.

9. **praeduxerunt**, not found elsewhere in Tacitus, but so used in Caes. (B. G. 7. 46, 3, etc.) and others.

10. **neque motis**, etc. 'nor were the old men and the women removed and the young men left alone to guard it' (as should

plum, in quo se miles conglobaverat, biduo obsessum expugna-
6 tumque. et victor Britannus Petilio Ceriali legato legionis nonae
in subsidium adventanti obvius fudit legionem, et quod peditum
interfecit: Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra et munimentis
7 defensus est. qua clade et odiis provinciae, quam avaritia eius
in bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit.
1 **33.** At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Lon-
dinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed
2 copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. ibi am-
biguus an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia

have been): the negation belongs both to 'motis' and to 'restitit,' and the former word is used for 'remotis,' as in c. 60, 5, and in Cic. de Off. 3. 19, 76 ('veros heredes moveat').

2. **Petilio Ceriali.** This is the first mention of this distinguished general, afterwards known as in some way related to, and a partisan of Vespasian (H. 3. 59, 4, etc.), and as sent by him to put down the rising of Civilis (H. 4. 68, 1, etc.), and subsequently as a legatus of Britain (Agr. 8, 2: 17, 2). He was cos. suff. probably in 823, A. D. 70, before being sent to Germany (as appears to be gathered from the confused account in Jos. B. I. 7. 4, 2), and again in 827, A. D. 74; as is shown by a military diploma (C. I. L. iii. 2. p. 852 = Henzen 5418 = Wilm. 2865), where his full name is given ('a. d. xii k. Iunias, Q. Petillio Ceriale Caesio Rufo ii, T. Clodio Eprio Marcello ii cos.').

nonae, called 'Hispana' (Introd. i. vii. p. 104), quartered under Tiberius in Pannonia (1. 23, 6. etc.), and temporarily in Africa (4. 23, 2), afterwards in Britain (Introd. p. 131). It is supposed to have been stationed at this time, as afterwards, at Lindum (Lincoln), and to have marched from thence. On the opinion as to the site of the battle see Introd. p. 144, 5.

3. **quod peditum.** Nipp. thinks it probable, from c. 38, 4, that part of the infantry of this legion was absent in Gaul.

4. **evasit in castra**, etc. The words put into the mouth of Calgacus (Agr. 31, 5), 'Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra . . . potuere,' are taken by Mommsen to show that the camp of this legion was stormed. It is however possible that 'castra' may be taken as a loose description of the temple precinct held by the troops at Camulodunum.

5. **qua clade**, causal abl., taken with 'trepidus.'

avaritia eius: so most recent edd., after Ritt., for the Med. 'avaritiae,' for which older edd. generally read 'avaritia' (as abl.). Dio states (62. 2, 1) that he demanded a restoration of the money which Claudius had given to the chief men. Tacitus ignores, and probably disbelieved, the story of the exactions of Seneca (see note on 13. 42, 7).

7. **Londinium.** No earlier mention of London exists. Ptolemy (2. 3, 27) mentions it as one of the towns of the Kantii (see Introd. p. 148, 3); it is the most important centre in the Itinerary, and is also mentioned as 'oppidum Londiniense' in the panegyric of Eumenius (c. 17), and by Ammianus (27, 8). The words of the latter, 'Lundinium (or 'Lundinum') vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit' might be taken (though not necessarily) to imply that it had become by that time a colony. On what is known of Roman London, see Introd. pp. 136, 147; also the references in C. I. L. vii. p. 21; Mr. Roach Smith, in Dict. of Geog. s. v., and Mr. Loftie's work (Historic Town Series, London, 1887). The narrative here shows that it was as yet unwalled, like Camulodunum and Verulamium.

9. **copia**, etc., apparently from Sall. Jug. 47, 2 'frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatuum' (v. l. 'commeatu'). The latter word, however read, would mean 'stores' in Sallust, and is probably best so taken here; the port of London being evidently the great *depôt* where imported goods and those intended for exportation were stored. Some would here take the word, with Lips., in the sense of 'traffic.'

militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coercitam,
unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. neque fletu et 3
lacrimis auxilium eius orantium flexus est, quin daret profectionis
signum et comitantes in partem agminis acciperet: si quos
inbellis sexus aut fessa aetas vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste
oppressi sunt. eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit, quia 4
barbari omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spolianti et defendentibus intutum, laeti praeda et laborum
segnes petebant. ad septuaginta milia civium et sociorum iis 5
quae memoravi locis cecidisse constitit. neque enim capere aut 6

circumspecta, 'having considered'; so 'vires suas circumspicere' (H. 2. 6, 4), 'vires circumspectabat' (H. 2. 74, 1).

1. **satisque**, etc. Nipp. notes that this clause grammatically depends on 'circumspecto' supplied from the preceding 'circumspecta,' but that the term would be here taken by zeugma, in the sense of 'animadverso.'

2. **fletu et lacrimis**, 'wailing and tears': Nipp. notes these nearly synonymous words as thus joined in Cic. pro Planc. 31, 76 ('lacrimas et fletum') and Ov. M. 2, 340 ('fletus et . . . lacrimas').

4. **et comitantes**, etc.: i. e. 'he would do no more than receive,' etc. Nipp. points out a similar restrictive meaning implied in 13. 4, 3 ('se . . . consulturum').

5. **aut . . . vel**: cp. c. 3, 1, and note.

6. **municipio Verulamio**. On this town, the remains of which closely adjoin St. Albans, see Introd. p. 147. Its site (or, according to some, that of St. Albans) was probably that of the 'oppidum Cassivellauni' of Caes. 5. 21, 2; and it was afterwards the capital of Tasciovanus, father of Cunobelinus, many of whose coins are inscribed as minted there (see Evans, p. 223). Ptolemy (on whose text see Introd. p. 133, 7) gives the name as Οὐρολάνιον, and the Itinerary has 'Verolamum' or 'Verolamium.' On the coins, when the name is given in full, 'Verlamio' is read (Evans, p. 246), 'a form standing to 'Verulamium' as 'Lugdunum' to 'Lugudunum.'

7. **militarium**, substantival, as in 3. 1, 2 (where see note): there seems no reason to read 'militaribus,' with Pich., or some such words as 'militare horreum,' with Madvig (Adv. iii. p. 234). Nipp. notes that Tacitus appears here to correct his account in Agr. 16, 1 ('sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis,' etc.).

8. **intutum** = 'unguarded'; so used of an unfortified place in H. 4. 75, 4 ('castra fossa valloque circumdedit, quis temere antea intutis consederat'). The word oftener means 'insecure' or 'dangerous' (1. 38, 3; 2. 42, 3, etc.), and might be so taken here (with 'defendentibus' as 'dativus incommodi').

9. **segnes**: so all recent edd., after Mercer, for the Med. 'insignes': 'segnis' takes a genit. only here and in 16. 14, 1, and (according to Dr.) in Claudian; but the construction is analogous to the relative genit. with 'properus' (12. 66, 2) and many other adjectives (Introd. i. v. § 33 e γ). In reading 'laborum' for 'aliorum,' Halm. follows Lips.

septuaginta. Dio (62. 1, 1) gives the loss on the Roman side in the whole rebellion at 80,000. It may probably represent almost a complete massacre of Romans, Romanised Britons, and Gaulish or other residents, probably in great part such traders as are mentioned in § 1.

sociorum. Nipp. takes these to mean people of other provinces, as Gaul; but probably the British population friendly to Rome are also included.

10. **constitit**: cp. 13. 35, 3, and note.

capere aut venundare, etc. The construction is a choice of difficulties and cannot be freed from awkwardness. It is perhaps best, with Nipp., to take the infinitives as historical, and to supply 'erat' with 'commercium.' Otherwise we must take the infinitives as depending on 'festinabant,' or rather on the sense of such a verb as 'curabant' supplied by zeugma, and must also suppose the notion of such a verb as 'exercere' or 'facere' to be supplied with 'commercium.'

venundare aliudve quod belli commercium, sed caedes patibula
ignes cruces, tamquam reddituri supplicium ac praerepta interim
ultione, festinabant.

1 **34.** Iam Suetonio quarta decuma legio cum vexillariis vicensi-
manis et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme milia armatorum
2 erant, cum omittere cunctationem et congredi acie parat. de-
ligitque locum artis faucibus et a tergo silva clausum, satis
cognito nihil hostium nisi in fronte et apertam planitiem esse,
3 sine metu insidiarum. igitur legionarius frequens ordinibus, levis
4 circum armatura, conglobatus pro cornibus eques adstitit. at
Britannorum copiae passim per catervas et turmas exsultabant,
quanta non alias multitudo, et animo adeo feroci, ut coniuges
quoque testes victoriae secum traherent plaustrisque inponerent,
quae super extremum ambitum campi posuerant.

1. **belli commercium.** The expression is repeated from H. 3. 81, 4, and is taken from Vergil, who makes Aeneas thus speak of ransom: 'belli commercia Turnus Sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto' (Aen. 10, 552).

patibula, 'gibbets,' nearly the same as 'cruces': cp. 1. 61, 6, and note.

2. **tamquam**, etc., 'as being (i. e. convinced that they were) destined to pay retribution, and as having snatched meanwhile an opportunity of vengeance.' They knew that their day of reckoning would come soon, and desired to avenge their wrongs to the utmost while they could. Nipp. compares 'poenas dare,' and 'reddere,' and 'supplicium Persas dare potuisse' (Nep. Ag. 5, 2). 'Reddere' has also in such phrases the sense of 'retaliating' (see 16. 5, 4, and note); but Ritt. can hardly be right in so taking it here.

3. **festinabant**, transitive, cp. 1. 6, 4, and note.

4. **quarta decuma**, etc. On the legions in Britain and their probable headquarters at this time see Introd. p. 144. By 'vexillarii,' a detachment of the Twentieth legion is meant (cp. 1. 38, 1, and note), not necessarily the 'veterani sub vexillo' (Introd. i. vii. p. 106).

5. **et e proximis**: so Put. and edd. generally; Med. has 'et proximis'; Ritt. would read 'ex proximis' as an asyndeton. Cp. 'legionarios e praesentibus, Ubios e proximis' ('the nearest quarters'), H. 4. 18, 3.

6. **congredi acie parat.** Dio states (c. 8, 1) that he was obliged by want of provisions to fight. The expression 'congredi acie' is taken from Liv. 7. 22, 4; Tacitus has also 'congredi proeliis' and 'proelio' (12. 54, 4; Agr. 28, 3).

deligitque locum. There appear to be no clear means of identifying the site of this battle (see Introd. p. 145, 4).

8. **et apertam planitiem esse**, 'and that the plain (that in front of him, the 'campus' of § 4) was all open,' i. e. contained no cover (Nipp.).

9. **frequens ordinibus**, 'in close ranks': for the abl. cp. 'frequentem tectis urbem' (Liv. 1. 9, 9), 'Aegyptus . . . multis (urbibus) frequens' (Pl. N. H. 5. 9, 11, 60). Tacitus uses the word once with genit. (4. 65, 1).

10. **circum**, 'on either side' (cp. 4. 74, 3): for 'pro cornibus' cp. 13. 38, 6, and note.

11. **exsultabant**, 'were prancing': cp. 'feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis' (Verg. Aen. 11, 663). The same idea appears to be expressed by 'volitabant' in 15. 9, 1.

12. **multitudo.** Dio, who at the outbreak reckons the rebels in arms at 120,000 (62. 2, 3), swells them at the final struggle to 230,000 (8, 2), an incredible estimate, even if the women present in such great numbers (c. 36, 1) are counted in.

feroci, 'confident': cp. 1. 3, 4, and note. All recent edd. follow Doed. in thus correcting the Med. 'fero,' which hardly gives the same sense.

13. **plaustrisque inponerent.** The women of the Cimbri accompanied them

35. Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque nationem 1
accesserat, solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare
testabatur, sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et
opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confectum
verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci. eo 2
provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne senectam
quidem aut virginitatem inpollutam relinquant. adesse tamen 3
deos iustae vindictae: cecidisse legionem quae proelium ausa sit;
ceteros castris occultari aut fugam circumspicere. ne strepitum 4
quidem et clamorem tot milium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturos: si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expenderent,
vincendum illa acie vel cadendum esse. id mulieri destinatum: 5
viverent viri et servirent.

36. Ne Suetonius quidem in tanto discrimine silebat. quam- 1
quam confideret virtuti, tamen exhortationes et preces miscebat,

to battle in similar manner (Plut. Mar. 27, 421). See also the description of German warfare (G. 7, 4).

1. **filias**: cp. c. 31, 3.

2. **accesserat**, so with accus. in 12. 31, 3.

solitum: cp. Agr. 16, 1 ('neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt'). It is doubtful, in spite of the cases of Boudicca and Cartimandua (12. 36, 1), whether this statement can be sustained: see 12. 40, 5; and Rhys, Celt. Brit. 66.

3. **tunc**, answering to 'nunc' in oratio recta, as in 16. 3, 2, etc.: sometimes 'nunc' is retained in oratio obliqua, as in 11. 30, 3.

regnum et opes. With these 'amissa' could be supplied from below; but it is perhaps better to take the words (with Nipp.) in a pregnant sense, with 'ulcisci,' as equivalent to 'iacturam regni et opum' (see Introd. i. v. § 84).

5. **contrectatam** = 'violatam'; so used of persons in Plaut., etc.: cp. the figurative use in 3. 12, 7.

6. **ut non, etc.** 'Corpora' is emphatic, and is further explained by 'ne senectam quidem,' etc. 'Not only our goods are taken but our bodies are outraged, even those of the ages which humanity most respects.' For 'ne,' Med. has 'nec . . . quidem,' a form found in two other places in this MS. (H. 1. 66, 1; 4. 38, 2), and once in the first Med. (4. 35, 3), also in MSS. of Suet. Tib. 21 and 37; and the expression is defended at some length by Pfitzner ('die Annalen,' pp. 145–147), as making the climax more striking; but most recent edd. of both authors have altered as here.

7. **inpollutam**, in Tacitus only here and in 16. 26, 5, elsewhere apparently only in Sil. 13, 679.

8. **vindictae**, dative: cp. 4. 72, 5 ('tributo aderant'), and note.

9. **castris occultari**, alluding to the Second legion (c. 37, 6), possibly also to the rest of the Twentieth (c. 34, 1) and the remains of the Ninth (c. 32, 6).

fugam circumspicere, 'were watching for a chance of flight'; so Tacitus uses 'circumspectare fugam' (H. 3. 73, 2), or 'initium erumpendi' (H. 1. 55, 2). This is assumed to be the condition of the force before them.

10. **milium**: so all edd. after Lips. for Med. 'militum.'

11. **copias.** Ritt. is perhaps right in thinking this a tautologous expression with 'armatorum' and an error of assimilation to 'causas,' and in reading 'copiam.'

secum expenderent, 'reflect upon': cp. 16. 26, 8. They should consider that similar outrages would always recur, and that they would not always have the same means of resistance.

12. **vel**, for 'aut': cp. c. 61, 6; 62, 5; and several instances of the apparently arbitrary interchange of these particles collected by Dr. (Synt. und Stil, § 129); some of which may perhaps be explained as in c. 3, 1. See also 13. 41, 3, and note.

ut spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanes minas: plus illic
2 feminarum quam iuventutis aspici. inbelles inermes cessuros
statim, ubi ferrum virtutemque vincentium totiens fusi adgnovis-
3 sent. etiam in multis legionibus paucos, qui proelia profligarent;
gloriaeque eorum accessurum quod modica manus universi exer-
4 citus famam adipiscerentur. conferti tantum et pilis emissis,
post umbonibus et gladiis stragem caedemque continuarent,
5 praedae inmemores: parta victoria cuncta ipsis cessura. is
ardor verba ducis sequebatur, ita se ad intorquenda pila expedi-
erat vetus miles et multa proeliorum experientia, ut certus even-
tus Suetonius daret pugnae signum.

1 **37.** Ac primum legio gradu inmota et angustias loci pro
munimento retinens, postquam *in* propius suggressos hostis certo

1. **sonores**, one of the poetical words first introduced into prose in the Annals (cp. 1. 65, 1, and note, 4. 48, 4), found afterwards in Apuleius. The discordant sounds of the British are contrasted with the silence of the Romans in Dio, 62. 12, 1.

3. **ubi . . . adgnovissent**, apparently a reminiscence of Liv. 3. 67, 5 ('toties fusi fugatique . . . et se et vos novere').

vincentium, substantively ('their habitual conquerors'); so 'praesidentium' (3. 40, 4), 'praecipientium' (Dial. 28, 2), etc.

4. **etiam in multis**, etc., 'even where many legions are present, those soldiers are few,' etc. Madvig's objection (Adv. iii. p. 234), that the words convey a general reproach, and hardly meet the point of the case, seems to weigh too strictly the expressions which might be used on such an occasion.

proelia profligarent, 'gave the decisive impulse to battles': cp. 'profligaverat bellum Iudaicum' (H. 2. 4, 5); also Cic. ad Fam. 12. 30, 2, and the use of 'committere ac profligare bellum, commissum ac profligatum conficere,' in Liv. 21. 40, 11; which Florus follows (1. 31) in marking three stages of the Punic wars ('commissum,' 'profligatum,' 'confectum').

6. **et pilis emissis, post, etc.** Nipp. notes that 'et' couples 'conferti' to the whole of the following words down to 'gladiis'; the sentence being equivalent to 'et postquam pila emisissent.'

7. **continuarent**, 'keep up incessantly' (cp. c. 12, 4; 13. 53, 1, etc.): 'stragem' refers to 'umbonibus,' 'caedem' to 'gladiis.'

8. **cessura**; so 'praeda victoribus cessit' (13. 39, 7).

9. **intorquenda**, sc. 'in hostem.' This sense of the word (used here alone by Tacitus) is chiefly poetical; and the usual dat. or accus. with 'in' is here implied.

10. **multa . . . experientia**, abl. of quality.

certus eventus: so most edd., after Rhen., for the Med. 'eventu.' This adj. is used with a genit. in 1. 27, 3; 4. 34, 2; 12. 3, 2, etc. The reading of Ritt., 'de eventu,' is not in accordance with the usage of Tacitus in this phrase, and the homoeoteleuton, which he thinks intolerable, is not more so than many others (see 1. 24, 1, and note).

12. **primum**, in contrast to 'postquam.'

gradu, 'position': cp. 1. 64, 2, and note.

angustias loci: cp. 'locum artis faucibus' (c. 34, 2).

13. **in propius suggressos hostis**: so Halm, Or., Dr., after Doed. for the Med. 'propius suggressus hostis,' which Ritt. retains and defends by taking 'exhauserat' to mean that they had received upon themselves all the Roman spears discharged at them with a steady aim ('certo iactu' being thus abl. of quality). But it is hardly possible to suppose that Tacitus would have conveyed this meaning by so misleading an expression, and the analogy of 'pericula exhaurire' (H. 4. 32, 3) is not very strong. Nipp. prefers the suggestion of Lips. 'propius suggressis hostibus,' which departs somewhat further from the MS. Dio appears to intend to

iactu tela exhauserat, velut cuneo erupit. idem auxiliarium 2
impetus; et eques protentis hastis perfringit quod obvium et
validum erat. ceteri terga praebuere, difficili effugio, quia cir- 3
cumiecta vehicula saepserant abitus. et miles ne mulierum 4
quidem neci temperabat, confixaque telis etiam iumenta cor-
porum cumulum auxerant. clara et antiquis victoriis par ea 5
die laus parta: quippe sunt qui paulo minus quam octoginta
milia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadringentis ferme
interfectis nec multo amplius vulneratis. Boudicca vitam ve-
neno finivit. et Poenius Postumus praefectus castrorum se- 6
cundae legionis, cognitis quartadecumanorum vicensimanorum-
que prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam fraudaverat
abnueratque contra ritum militiae iussa ducis, se ipse gladio
transegit.

38. Contractus deinde omnis exercitus sub pellibus habitus 1
est ad reliqua belli perpetranda. auxitque copias Caesar missis
ex Germania duobus legionariorum milibus, octo auxiliarium
cohortibus ac mille equitibus, quorum adventu nonani legionario

give a similar description in the words (62. 12, 1) *συνῆλθον . . . μέχρις οὗ ἐς ἀκοντίου βολὴν ἀφίκοντο*. On the use of 'suggredior' cp. 13. 57, 6, and note.

1. **cuneo**, abl. of manner. This movement appears to have broken through the British centre, like a wedge.

3. **ceteri**, apparently opposed to 'quod obvium et validum.'

terga praebuere. Dr. notes this phrase for 'terga dare' as *ἅπ. εἰρ.* (as is also 'terga praestare' in Agr. 37, 3). It is however nearly similar to Ov. M. 10, 706 ('quae non terga fugae, sed pugnae pectora praebent'). This use of 'abitus' for 'an outlet,' is also noted as found elsewhere only in Verg. Aen. 9, 379 ('omnemque abitum custode coronant').

6. **auxerant.** The pluperf. expresses what had come to pass at a time soon after that spoken of: cp. 'auxerant consternationem' (1. 63, 3), 'dein . . . aboleverat' (H. 2. 5, 3). The time is different from that marked by 'saepserant.'

7. **octoginta milia.** Such numbers are generally guesswork, and the resemblance to the estimated previous Roman loss (see on c. 38, 5) is suspicious. Nipp. thinks 'octo milia' should be read. But there are instances of such carnage inflicted by a disciplined army on a defeated and disorganised barbarian mass, such as the Teutons and Cimbri, or the Gauls in the time of Caesar.

9. **veneno.** Dio (62. 12, 6) says she died of disease.

10. **Poenius.** Pfitzn. reads 'Hoenius,' as a name found in inscriptions (see Wilm. 692 and a doubtful one in C. I. L. vii. 744).

praefectus castrorum: the 'legatus legionis' must have been absent, and the 'praefectus' may have in such a case commanded the legion when it was in separate quarters. The distinct title 'praefectus castrorum legionis' seems to be here first mentioned, but is regular from the time of Domitian (see on 1. 20, 1).

secundae. This legion was probably at its headquarters at Isca Silurum (see on 12. 32, 4), whence it should have joined Suetonius on his march.

13. **ipse**: so recent edd., after Ruperti, for Med. 'ipsum.'

15. **sub pellibus**: cp. 13. 35, 5.

17. **octo auxiliarium cohortes.** Nipp. thinks that these were the eight Batavian cohorts of H. 1. 59, 2; it being there stated that they were attached to the Fourteenth legion; also in H. 4. 12, 2 the service of Batavians in Britain is noted.

18. **nonani**, the legion cut to pieces under Cerialis (c. 32, 6). It was still weak in the time of Agricola (Agr. 26, 1),

2 milite suppleti sunt. cohortes alaeque novis hibernaculis locatae,
quodque nationum ambiguum aut adversum fuerat, igni atque
3 ferro vastatum. sed nihil aeque quam fames adfligebat serendis
frugibus incuriosos, et omni aetate ad bellum versa, dum nostros
4 commeatus sibi destinant. gentesque praeferoces tardius ad
pacem inclinabant, quia Iulius Classicianus successor Cato missus
et Suetonio discors bonum publicum privatis simultatibus im-
pediebat disperseratque novum legatum opperiendum esse, sine
hostili ira et superbia victoris clementer deditis consulturum.
5 simul in urbem mandabat, nullum proeliorum finem exspectarent,
nisi succederetur Suetonio, cuius adversa pravitati ipsius, prospera
ad fortunam referebat.

1 **39.** Igitur ad spectandum Britanniae statum missus est e

and was annihilated in the time of Hadrian (see Momms. Hist. v. 171; Eng. Transl. i. p. 188).

1. **novis hibernaculis**, abl. of place (cp. c. 10, 5; Introd. i. v. § 25): 'novis' would mean positions that had not been permanently occupied before (see Introd. p. 146).

3. **vastatum**: so Halm and Nipp. after Ern., for the Med. 'vastatur,' to suit the preceding tenses. For the use of 'vastare' of people cp. c. 23, 4, and note.

nihil aeque quam: cp. 2. 52, 5, and note.

4. **incuriosos**, so used with dative of relation in H. 2. 17, 1 ('melioribus incuriosos'), elsewhere with genit. (e.g. 2. 88, 4; 4. 32, 3; 15. 31, 1, etc.) or absol. (e.g. H. 1. 34, 2, etc.).

et, adding a special to the general reason, that even the old had not been left at home to till the fields.

dum . . . destinant. This appears to belong to the latter clause only; the former describing their general habit. Pfitzn. less well takes it with both clauses.

5. **gentesque.** We should have expected 'gentes tamen,' as the preceding words had rather given reason why they should sue for peace than why they should not. Nipp. thinks that some words descriptive of their stubbornness must have dropped out; but Jacob aptly compares the transitional or quasi-adversative force of 'que,' as equivalent to 'attamen,' in 2. 70, 4 ('nec Piso moratus ultra naves solvit, moderabaturque cursui'). The use of 'et' with some adversative force is more common (cp. c. 65, 2; 1. 13, 2, and note).

6. **successor Cato**: cp. c. 32, 7. The procurator was apt to be at variance with the legatus (see Agr. 9, 5), and was often intended to be a check on him.

7. **bonum**, substantival; so used with 'publicum' in Plaut., Sall., Liv., etc. Cp. 'egregium publicum' (3. 70, 4).

8. **disperseratque** (sc. 'per Britanniam'): cp. H. 2. 1, 3. This use and the full expression 'dispergere rumores' (cp. 4. 24, 1, and note), appear to be peculiar to Tacitus.

10. **in urbem mandabat.** These messages seem to have been sent to the government, which then took further means of testing their truth (c. 39, 1).

proeliorum: so most edd. after Lips. for the Med. 'proelio,' which can hardly be used in the singular for 'bello.'

11. **pravitati . . . ad fortunam.** The interchange of a dat. and an accus. with prep. is found with 'exercebat' in 15. 48, 3, with 'promptum' in 4. 46, 4, and in several other instances collected by Dr. (Synt. und Stil, § 105); but the dat. with 'referre' in this sense seems unprecedented. The recurrence of 'ipsius' again after 'fortunam' in Med. is perhaps best treated by Halm, Nipp., and Dr., after Ern., as an error of repetition. Others, thinking some word needed to balance the previous 'ipsius,' treat it as a corruption of 'reipublicae' (after Puteol.), 'imperii' (after Jac. Gron.), or 'imperatoris' (after Sirker). The whole sentence seems a reminiscence of Sall. Fr. H. 2. 30 D, 36 K, 66 G ('adversa in pravitatem, secunda in casum, fortunam in temeritatem declinando').

libertis Polyclitus, magna Neronis spe posse auctoritate eius non
modo inter legatum procuratoremque concordiam gigni, sed et
rebelles barbarum animos pace conponi. nec defuit Polyclitus 2
quo minus ingenti agmine Italiae Galliaeque gravis, postquam
Oceanum transmiserat, militibus quoque nostris terribilis ince-
deret. sed hostibus inrisui fuit, apud quos flagrante etiam tum 3
libertate nondum cognita libertinorum potentia erat; miraban-
turque quod dux et exercitus tanti belli confector servitiis
oboedirent. cuncta tamen ad imperatorem in mollius relata; 4
detentusque rebus gerundis Suetonius, quod postea paucas

1. **Polyclitus.** Nothing seems to be known of the previous history of this freedman; but his rapacity is noted in H. 1. 37, 8; 2. 95, 4; Plin. Epp. 6. 31, 9; and appears chiefly to have been exercised when he was left in Rome with Helius during Nero's absence in Greece (Dio, 63. 12, 3).

3. **barbarum,** the original Med. text, with a correction to 'barbarorum'; which nearly all edd. have adopted, altering also the similar reading in 15. 25, 1. Wölfflin defends the text (Philol. xxv. 133), noting the occurrence of this form in Cic. and in Nep. Milt. 2, 1, and noticing an apparent desire to avoid the repetition of 'r' in similar forms, as 'fabrum,' 'liberum,' 'posterum' (3. 72, 2), etc.

pace. This abl. has to be distinguished from the preceding instrumental abl. 'auctoritate,' and appears rather to complete the idea of 'conponi' ('might be quieted in a state of peace'). Nipp.'s reference to 'contumacia et odiis' (1. 53, 5) seems scarcely apposite.

4. **quo minus,** for 'quin': cp. 1. 21, 4, and note; also the opposite use noted on c. 29, 1.

ingenti agmine, etc. 'burdening Italy and Gaul with his enormous train.' The prodigious example set by Nero of luxury in travelling equipage (see Friedl. ii. p. 29) appears from Seneca's account (Ep. 123, 7) to have infected society in general.

5. **terribilis,** 'inspiring fear,' by the evidence of his high position and influence with the emperor.

6. **inrisui fuit:** cp. H. 1. 7, 5; also 'derisui' (Agr. 39, 2), 'deridiculo' (3. 57, 3), and other instances of this dat. (Introd. i. v. § 23).

flagrante adhuc, etc. A similar contrast to Roman custom, in respect of the contrast between the freeman and the freedman, is noted among most of the Germans (G. 25, 3). A similar metaphorical use of 'flagrare' is noted with 'invidia' (13. 4, 2), 'gratia' (11. 29, 1), etc.

8. **confector.** This can hardly be taken with both 'dux' and 'exercitus,' and yet we should expect both to be referred to. It would seem that, as in the parallel passage, 'antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre' (1. 70, 4), stress is laid on Caesar, so in this place the glory of victory may be considered to rest mainly on the army, and the general is somewhat in the background.

9. **cuncta tamen,** etc. The contrast implied by 'tamen' appears to be that, notwithstanding both his formidable attitude to the general and the army and the disdain with which the subjects had received him, which might have led him to exaggerate the bitterness caused by the measures taken by the governor, his report to the emperor softened down matters, as compared with that of Classicianus, and did not urge the immediate recall of Suetonius. For the use of 'in mollius' cp. 'in deterius' (13. 14, 1) and other such expressions.

10. **detentusque rebus gerundis** (dative of purpose), 'was kept at his post for the conduct of affairs' (i. e. for the ordinary duties of government): cp. 'minus triennium in ea legatione detentus' (Agr. 9, 6). In these passages the usual sense of reluctant detention does not seem to be implied. The interpretation of Doed., who takes 'detentus' to mean 'prohibitus' and 'rebus gerundis' as abl., is not borne out by the reference to Plaut. Poen. 1. 2, 190 ('detinet nos de nostro negotio'); and Madvig, who takes this to be the sense of the passage (Adv. ii. p. 554), is clearly consistent in considering it necessary to read 'a rebus gerundis.'

quod postea, etc. These words are

naves in litore remigiumque in iis amiserat, tamquam durante bello tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano, qui iam consulatu
5 abierat, iubetur. is non inritato hoste neque lacessitus honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit.

1 **40.** Eodem anno Romae insignia scelera, alterum senatoris, servili alterum audacia, admissa sunt. Domitius Balbus erat praetorius, simul longa senecta, simul orbitate et pecunia insidiis
2 obnoxius. ei propinquus Valerius Fabianus, capessendis honoribus destinatus, subdidit testamentum ascitis Vinicio Rufino et Terentio Lentino equitibus Romanis: illi Antonium Primum
3 et Asinium Marcellum sociaverant. Antonius audacia promptus, Marcellus Asinio Pollione proavo clarus neque morum

separated from the preceding, and taken closely with 'iubetur.' He was not superseded there and then; but soon afterwards a trifling disaster was made the occasion for this to be done. We should certainly expect some disjunctive or transitional particle before 'quod'; but there need not be any words lost, as Ritt. thinks; this being apparently one of the cases in which Tacitus has sacrificed perspicuity to conciseness. In reading 'postea' for the Med. 'post,' Halm is supported by Nipp. and Dr. Others take 'post' adverbially, as in 15. 24, 2, etc.; but Nipp. points out that it would hardly be likely to be so used where the close juxtaposition of an accus. would naturally suggest that it was a prep.

1. **tamquam durante bello**: i.e. the loss of some ships, probably by some piratical attack, was taken as evidence that, after all, the state of war still existed, and that Suetonius was not capable of restoring peace. In Agr. 16, 2, his severity is assigned as the true cause for his supersession.

2. **Petronio Turpiliano**: cp. c. 29, 1. An inscription (C. I. L. vi. i. 597) 'Kal. Martis P. Calvisio Rusone, L. Caesennio Paeto cos.,' would show that he had given place to the former early in the year.

3. **non inritato**, etc. The narrative in Agr. 16, 3 says of him, 'delictis hostium novus, eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus, nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit.' The date of the return of Petronius to Rome is fixed by the mention of him in 15. 72, 2, and by his appointment as 'curator aquarum' in 816, 817, A. D. 63, 64 (Front. Aq. 102).

5. **senatoris.** The term appears to be used loosely (probably to point the contrast to 'servili audacia'), as the principal culprit, Fabianus, who must be here referred to, is described as 'capessendis honoribus destinatus,' and would thus seem to have been in the same position as Julius Montanus (see 13. 25, 2, and note). It is however possible in both these cases that 'honores' may be understood of higher offices only, and that they had been already quaestors and had entered the senate (cp. 13. 29, 2, and note).

6. **servili audacia**: see c. 42, 1. The construction is varied from the genit. 'senatoris' to this instrumental abl.

erat, 'there was': cp. 12. 44, 3, and note.

7. **simul . . . simul.** Dr. notes this coordination as appearing here alone in the Annals, though common in the earlier works of Tacitus and in Livy.

senecta. This and the other ablatives are causal.

9. **Vinicio Rufino.** The existence of this family name is supported by an inscription found at Naples (cited by Orelli) 'D. M. Viniciae, A. f. Rufinae.'

10. **Antonium Primum**, afterwards the famous partisan of Vespasian. His character is fully described in H. 2. 86, 2-3.

11. **Asinium Marcellum**, consul in 807, A. D. 54: see 12. 64, 1. He appears to have derived his cognomen, probably by adoption, from the orator Aeserninus Marcellus (3. 11, 2), and must have been a son of M. Asinius Agrippa (4. 34, 1), or of some other son of Asinius Gallus, who was himself a son of Pollio (1. 12, 2).

audacia promptus: cp. 1. 57, 1 and note.

89. **clarus.** Nipp. points out that 'erat'

spernendus habebatur, nisi quod paupertatem praecipuum
malorum credebat. igitur Fabianus tabulas sociis quos memo- 4
ravi et aliis minus inlustribus obsignat. quod apud patres 5
convictum, et Fabianus Antoniusque cum Rufino et Terentio
lege Cornelia damnantur. Marcellum memoria maiorum et
preces Caesaris poenae magis quam infamiae exemere.

41. Perculit is dies Pompeium quoque Aelianum, iuvenem 1
quaestorium, tamquam flagitiorum Fabiani gnarum, eique Italia
et Hispania, in qua ortus erat, interdictum est. pari ignominia 2
Valerius Ponticus adficitur, quod reos, ne apud praefectum urbis

is supplied from 'habebatur,' as 'esse' from 'haberi' in H. 4. 14, 4; the expression 'clarus habebatur' (cp. Agr. 18, 6, etc.) being used rather of distinction personally acquired than inherited.

morum. This genit. with 'spernendus' is ἅπ. εἰρ., but similar to 'morum diversus' (c. 19), and analogous to many others (see Introd. i. v. § 33 e γ).

2. **tabulas sociis.** I have followed Nipp. in thus correcting the Med. 'tabulas iis' (corrected by a later hand to 'tabulariis'). Many edd. retain the Med. text; but 'iis' as a dative seems here to have no force. Ritt. alters 'iis' to 'consciis,' which is somewhat more difficult to extract from the Med. text. Halm, Or., and Dr., read 'ascitis,' which explains the loss of the first syllable; but we should hardly expect a word occurring a few lines above to be so soon repeated, and it would be referred above to only two persons and here to four.

3. **aliis.** We may suppose these others to have been three in number; the attestation of seven Roman citizens being requisite to a citizen's will: see Gaius 2. 119, 147; Just. Inst. 2. 10, 3.

4. **convictum,** 'was proved'; so in 3. 13, 2.

5. **lege Cornelia,** a law of Sulla, enacted in 673, B.C. 81, against forgery or other falsification of wills or suppression of a true will. The penalty was deportation to an island (with complete forfeiture of property) for grave cases, and exile, relegation, or expulsion from the senate, for accessory crimes. See Paul. Sent. Rec. 4. 7, 1; 5. 15, 5; and Marcian in Dig. 48. 10, 1. Antonius suffered only the minor penalty of expulsion from the senate, and was restored and placed in command of a legion by Galba (H. 2. 86, 2). He is however called 'exul,' perhaps by rhetorical exaggeration, in H. 3. 13, 5.

7. **Perculit is dies.** For other such personifications see Introd. i. v. § 75. Orelli notes here the reminiscence of Liv. 42. 67, 1 ('hic dies . . . Persea perculit').

iuvenem quaestorium. He was thus a senator, but of the lowest rank.

8. **tamquam.** It is not necessary to suppose this to be a nominal or fictitious charge (see Introd. i. v. § 67).

9. **Hispania.** His name would show that his family had received citizenship when Spain was held by Cn. Pompeius.

pari ignominia. Probably exclusion from Italy alone is here meant.

10. **reos.** It is generally assumed that these are the 'minus inlustres' involved in the same case (c. 40, 4), and it is perhaps best so to understand. But we should rather have expected Tacitus to say so more distinctly; nor can there be any doubt that the senate, as representing the old consular jurisdiction, was competent to try, and did at times try persons below senatorial or equestrian rank (see Introd. i. vi. p. 78, n. 16); and it is as possible that Tacitus did not care to tell us what became of them, as that they were left for trial to other tribunals. He may therefore be here speaking of persons under some other charge.

apud praefectum urbis. The jurisdiction of this office had been originally restricted to ordinary police cases and criminals of the lowest rank (see 6. 11, 3, and notes). It had now no doubt taken some steps towards the great extension which it ultimately received (see note on 13. 26, 3). It seems still to have been so far regarded as an excrescence, that this attempt to forestall other accusers from bringing a case before the praefect, by taking preliminary steps to bring it before the praetor, could be defended by strict legality ('specie legum'). That such collisions were not unfrequent, appears

arguerentur, ad praetorem detulisset, interim specie legum, mox
3 praevaricando ultionem elusurus. additur senatus consulto, qui
talem operam emptitasset vendidissetve, perinde poena teneretur
ac publico iudicio calumniae condemnatus.

1 **42.** Haud multo post praefectum urbis Pedanium Secundum
servus ipsius interfecit, seu negata libertate, cui pretium pepigerat,
sive amore exoleti incensus et dominum aemulum non
2 tolerans. ceterum cum vetere ex more familiam omnem, quae

from the praise bestowed by Statius (Sylv. 1. 4, 47) on the praefect Rutilius Gallicus ('reddere iura foro nec proturbare curules'). See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1065.

1. **interim**, 'for awhile': cp. 1. 4, 4, and note. It is to be inferred that the jurisdiction of the praetor was less summary, and more hampered by legal technicalities, than that of the praefect. By these means he would gain time for collusion with the other side ('praevaricatio'), on which see 11. 5, 2, and note. It is noteworthy that the senate appears here to punish a crime not actually committed, but presumed to be intended.

2. **additur senatus consulto.** It hardly seems possible that Kitt. can be right in taking the latter word as abl. But, assuming it to be a dat., the commentators may not be right in assuming that the decree to which this addition was made was that by which the penalty was inflicted on Ponticus; the term for such judicial sentences being elsewhere not 'senatus consulta' but 'decreta' (c. 49, 2; 3. 51, 3). It is possible that Tacitus means to say that a clause suggested by this special offence was added to a general decree taking other precautions against will-forgery. That there was such a decree may be gathered from the account of its provisions in Suet. Ner. 17, 'adversus falsarios tum primum repertum, ne tabulae nisi pertusae ac ter lino per foramina traiecto obsignarentur; cautum ut testamentis primae duae cerae, testatorum modo nomine inscripto, vacuae signaturis ostenderentur, ac ne qui alieni testamenti scriptor legatum sibi ascriberet.' The special enactment mentioned by Tacitus belongs to what is known as the 'Senatusconsultum Turpilianum' (Dig. 48. 16), and must therefore have been passed while Petronius was still consul (see c. 29, 1; 39, 4).

3. **talem operam**, that of frustrating a charge by such means.

emptitasset, a verb used here alone by Tacitus and otherwise very rare.

4. **publico iudicio**, etc., 'as if convicted of calumny in a criminal cause.' In legal phraseology (Dig. l. l. § 1 and 3), 'calumniari' was to bring a false charge, 'praevaricari,' to suppress a true one, 'tergiversari,' to abandon a charge without just cause. The old penalty for 'calumnia' appears to have been branding with the letter 'K' (see Cic. Rosc. Amer. 20, 57), and may probably have been imposed by the 'Lex Remmia' (of uncertain date, mentioned in Cic. l. l.; Dig. 22. 5, 13). In later times it appears to have been, in a civil cause, a fine of from one tenth to one fourth, in some cases one third, of the 'aestimatio litis' (Gaius 4. § 175), and in criminal processes exile or relegation or loss of rank (Paul. Rec. Sent. 5. 4, 11).

5. **Pedanium Secundum**, cos. suff. with Palpellius Hister in 796, A. D. 43 (see note on 12. 29, 2). The praef. urbis was always a senator of consular rank (6. 11, 3).

6. **cui pretium pepigerat**: for the verb cp. c. 31, 4. Slaves were allowed to accumulate a sum from their 'peculium' to purchase their freedom: cp. 'peculium suum, quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato, pro capite numerant' (Sen. Ep. 80, 4); also Plaut. Rud. 4. 2, 23; Verg. Ecl. 1, 33, etc. But until later times the slave had no remedy at law if this compact was broken.

7. **incensus**: so all recent edd. after Pich., for the Med. 'infensus,' which would destroy the point of the following words.

et . . . non: see note on 1. 38, 4.

8. **vetere ex more.** That such a decree existed in republican times is implied by a letter of Ser. Sulpicius to Cicero (ad Fam. 4. 12, 3) on the death of Marcellus. On the increased stringency of subsequent laws see 13. 32, 1, and note.

em tecto mansitaverat, ad supplicium agi oporteret, u plebis, quae tot innoxios protegebat, usque ad seditio... ventum est senatusque *obsessus*, in quo ipso erant studia nimiam severitatem aspernantium, pluribus nihil mutandum censentibus. ex quis C. Cassius sententiae loco in hunc modum disseruit:

43. 'Saepe numero, patres conscripti, in hoc ordine interfui, 1
cum contra instituta et leges maiorum nova senatus decreta
postularentur; neque sum adversatus, non quia dubitarem, super
omnibus negotiis melius atque rectius olim provisum et quae
converterentur *in* deterius mutari, sed ne nimio amore antiqui
moris studium meum extollere viderer. simul quidquid hoc in 2
nobis auctoritatis est, crebris contradictionibus destruendum non
existimabam, ut maneret integrum, si quando res publica con-
siliis eguisset. quod hodie evenit, consulari viro domi suae 3
interfecto per insidias serviles, quas nemo prohibuit aut prodidit
quamvis nondum concusso senatus consulto, quod supplicium

1. **mansitaverat**: cp. 13. 44, 7, and note.

3. **senatusque obsessus.** Halm, Or. and Dr. follow F. Jacob in inserting the latter word. Heraeus prefers to insert 'vocatus,' as a word more likely to have been here lost. Most others follow Lips. in reading 'senatuque in ipso erant.'

4. **pluribus**, 'the majority,' as in c. 27, 3, etc.

5. **C. Cassius**, the famous jurist, on whom see 12. 12, 1, etc.

sententiae loco, 'when his turn for speaking came'; so in 2. 33, 2; 37, 3: cp. 'ubi ad Helvidium Priscum . . . ventum' (H. 4. 4, 5). An instance of a person claiming to speak before his turn on an urgent matter is given in 12. 5, 4; and the rules of procedure are shown more fully in Plin. Ep. 9. 13.

11. **in deterius.** The prep. is absent in Med., but inserted, from G., in nearly all editions: cp. 3. 34, 2, and note.

antiqui moris, 'of ancient usage': cp. 'vetus mos' (3. 29, 2).

12. **studium**, 'my pursuit,' that of jurisprudence, and the antiquarian lore involved in it. The sentence appears to show traces of Sall. Iug. 4, 2 ('ne quis existimet memet studium meum laudando extollere').

quidquid hoc, etc., 'whatever this authority which I have may be': cp. 'quidquid illud et qualecunque' (c. 55, 2). 'Hoc auctoritatis' is a modest expression for 'haec auctoritas,' as 'si quid est in me ingenii (Cic. Arch. 1. 1). 'Nos' or 'nobis,' when used for the singular, are often thus associated with a sing. verb (as in Agr. 43, 2, etc.), sometimes even coupled to a sing. participle, as 'absente nobis' (Ter. Eun. 4. 3, 7).

13. **contradictionibus**, here used of the act of contradiction, more commonly in a judicial sense of 'replications' (Quint., etc.), and hence perhaps put here as an expression appropriate to a jurist.

destruendum, so used figuratively in 2. 63, 4; 4. 18, 2; H. 1. 6, 1; Liv. 34. 3, 5, etc.

14. **si quando**, etc., i. e. if a question of vital importance occurred.

15. **evenit**: so most edd., after G., for the Med. 'venit'; which Nipp. and Ritt. retain as a simple for compound; of which it would be a somewhat harsher instance than the references given by the former to 12. 32, 5, etc.

consulari viro: see above, § 1.

17. **senatus consulto.** The reference does not seem to be strictly to the recent decree (13. 32, 1), but to the 'vetus mos' (c. 42, 1) presupposed and extended by it. In former editions of Nipp. it was suggested that some words of reference to this older rule had dropped out.

4 toti familiae minitabatur. decernite hercule inpunitatem, ut quem dignitas sua defendat, cum praefectura urbis non profuerit? quem numerus servorum tueatur, cum Pedanium Secundum quadringenti non protexerint? cui familia opem
5 ferat, quae ne in metu quidem pericula nostra advertit? an, ut quidam fingere non erubescunt, iniurias suas ultus est interfector, quia de paterna pecunia transegerat aut avitum mancipium detrahebatur? pronuntiemus ultro dominum iure caesum videri.

1 **44.** Libet argumenta conquirere in eo quod sapientioribus deliberatum est? sed et si nunc primum statuendum haberemus, creditisne servum interficiendi domini animum sumpsisse,

1. **ut quem,** etc. In the whole of this passage all editors are obliged more or less to depart from the Med. text; which Nipp. appears on the whole to have best restored, by taking 'quem' and 'cui' throughout as interrogatives depending on the consequential 'ut,' and changing 'tuebitur' to 'tueatur.' The further alteration of 'cui praefectus . . . profuit' to 'cum praefectura . . . profuerit' dates from the edition of Put., and has been followed by most edd. The words will thus mean 'vote, in heaven's name, for their impunity, with the result that who is to be defended by his rank (i. e. that no one can be) when the office of city praefect has been unavailing to its possessor'? 'that who is to be protected by the number of his slaves'? etc. Instances of such construction are noted in Ter. Eun. 3. 5, 25 ('quid ut . . . caperes commodi'?); Cic. pro Font. 10, 22 ('iurare malitis? quid ut secuti esse videamini'?); Liv. 44. 39, 5 ('dimicassemus; ut quo victores nos reciperemus'?). Halm follows those who alter 'ut' to 'at,' thus retaining the Med. 'tuebitur,' but altering 'defendat' to 'defendet,' and 'ferat' to 'feret.' He also follows Andresen (keeping otherwise to the text of Puteol.) in reading 'praefecto,' which seems less likely than 'praefectura' to have been corrupted to 'praefectus.' Ritt. makes the pronouns throughout indefinite, not interrogative, and reads 'cui praefectura . . . profuit'; others less well place a full stop at 'profuerit,' taking the first 'quem' as indefinite, followed by 'quem . . . tuebitur' and 'cui . . . feret,' as interrogative sentences.

4. **quadringenti.** On the number of Roman slaves see c. 44, 5, and other evidence given in Introd. i. vii. p. 90; Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 123; Friedländer, Sitteng. iii. 125.

5. **in metu,** when they have fear of punishment hanging over them.

advertit, 'pays attention to' (= 'animadvertit'): cp. 4. 54, 2, and note; 13. 54, 5; 15. 30, 1, etc. Many old edd. read, with some inferior MSS., 'avertit.'

6. **iniurias suas**: see the motives suggested in c. 42, 1. These are here ironically alluded to in the phrases 'de paterna pecunia,' 'mancipium avitum,' etc. By strict law, a slave could sustain no injuries, had no parentage, could neither inherit nor hold property, could claim no rights, make no contracts ('transigere').

8. **ultro,** etc., 'let us go further and say' (cp. 3. 36, 1).

10. **Libet,** etc., ironical, 'would you question the decision of your wisers'? On the absence of an interrogative particle cp. 2. 15, 4, and note.

11. **statuendum haberemus.** Dr. notes that Tacitus and other writers of the silver age use this and similar forms where Cic. has 'habeo dicere,' 'scribere,' etc.

12. **creditisne,** etc., i. e. 'can you suppose that he kept all knowledge of his design from his fellow slaves'?

animum sumpsisse, 'formed a resolution': cp. 'animum ex eventu sumpturi' (H. 1. 27, 5). The reading is that of most edd. and an inferior MS. for Med. 'insumpsisse,' which Or. retains, taking it to mean 'in se sumpsisse,' and referring to 6. 32, 4 (where again 'sumit' is generally read), and Stat. Theb. 12. 643 ('dignas insumite mentes Coeptibus'),

ut non vox minax excideret, nihil per temeritatem proloque-
retur? sane consilium occultavit, telum inter ignaros paravit: 2
num excubias transire, cubiculi fores recludere, lumen inferre,
caedem patrare *poterat* omnibus nesciis? multa sceleris indicia 3
praeveniunt: servi si prodant, possumus singuli inter plures, tuti
inter anxios, postremo, si pereundum sit, non inulti inter nocentes
agere. suspecta maioribus nostris fuerunt ingenia servorum, 4
etiam cum in agris aut domibus isdem nascerentur caritatemque
dominorum statim acciperent. postquam vero nationes in fami- 5

which is perhaps hardly parallel in meaning. Ritt. reads 'ita sumpsisse.'

2. **sane**, concessive, 'even grant that he concealed his design.'

occultavit, probably the correct Med. text (see Halm not. crit.), which some read as 'occuluit'; but the latter verb (as Nipp. shows) is used by Tacitus only in pres. and imperf.: cp. 1. 11, 4; 3. 16, 2, etc.; also note on 16. 1, 2.

3. **excubias**, the slaves guarding the sleeping-chamber: cp. Sil. 1, 66 ('famuli . . . ad limina'); App. B. C. 2, 99, etc.

4. **poterat.** Nipp. and Dr. follow Halm in the insertion of this word, which may have dropped out after 'patrare.' Ritt. inserts 'occepit' (cp. H. 2. 16, 4); most others follow the correction of a later hand in Med. by which all four infinitives are made imperf. subjunct.

5. **praeveniunt**, 'precede' (the crime); so used absol. in Liv. 22. 24, 6 ('hostis . . . praeventurus erat'); 24. 21, 5 ('praevenerat . . . fama'); Ov. F. 5, 548 ('Lucifero praeveniente'). Some remove the stop so as to make 'servi' the subject, but they would hardly be said 'praevenire indicia.' The point is that slaves must always get some knowledge of the coming crime, and can betray it if they choose.

servi si prodant, etc. This passage is discussed by Nipp., by Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 554), and by Joh. Müller (Beitr. 4. p. 30). If the text is sound, it must be supposed that so much has been sacrificed to conciseness as to make the words seem ambiguous, if not contradictory; the point which really had to be shown being, not that we are safe if slaves betray a plot against us (which is obvious), but that the terror of the old law gives us some security that they will do so. The general sense might be taken to be that if the law is left in full force we can live isolated among numbers, safe, if they disclose such evidence of an impending crime as they become aware of, trusting that their fears will make them do so, and knowing that, if all are guilty of concealment and we have to perish, we shall not die unavenged. But it does not appear possible to get this satisfactorily out of the words. It seems extremely forced to understand 'si pereundum sit' (with Dr.) of the slaves, as an antithesis to 'servi si prodant'; yet if 'nobis' be supplied with it, there is on any strict interpretation a contradiction in terms between 'pereundum sit' and 'agere' ('to live'). The emendation of Nipp., who by a combined transposition and alteration (the latter in part previously suggested by Madvig) reads 'servis si pereundum sit ni prodant,' removes the difficulty, but is somewhat violent. 'Inter nocentes' appears not quite to resemble the corresponding clauses, but to have the force of 'si nocentes fuerint,' or an abl. abs.: cp. 1. 50, 7, and note.

6. **anxios**, either anxious lest some unknown plot against their master should involve them in destruction, or each in fear lest another should forestall him in disclosure.

7. **suspecta.** Seneca quotes a proverb (Ep. 47, 5) 'totidem hostes, quot servi.'

8. **etiam cum**, etc. In old households most or all of the slaves were 'vernae'; so Nepos after describing the household of Atticus (13, 4), says 'neque tamen horum quemquam nisi domi natum . . . habuit.'

9. **dominorum** = 'in dominos': cp. 4. 19, 1, and note.

nationes. This is to be understood of their vast number, and more especially of their various origin: cp. 'familiarum numerum et nationes' (3. 53, 5, and note, where their nationalities are instanced); also 'agmina exoletorum per nationes coloresque descripta' (Sen.

liis habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra aut nulla sunt,
6 conluviem istam non nisi metu coërcueris. at quidam insontes
peribunt. nam et ex fuso exercitu cum decumus quisque fusti
7 feritur, etiam strenui sortiuntur. habet aliquid ex iniquo omne
magnum exemplum, quod contra singulos utilitate publica re-
penditur.'

1 **45.** Sententiae Cassii ut nemo unus contra ire ausus est, ita
dissonae voces respondebant numerum aut aetatem aut sexum
ac plurimorum indubiam innocentiam miserantium: praevaluit
2 tamen pars quae supplicium decernebat. sed obtemperari non
3 poterat, conglobata multitudine et saxa ac faces minante. tum
Caesar populum edicto increpuit atque omne iter, quo damnati
4 ad poenam ducebantur, militaribus praesidiis saepsit. censuerat
Cingonius Varro ut liberti quoque, qui sub eodem tecto fuissent,
Italia deportarentur. id a principe prohibitum est, ne mos
antiquus, quem misericordia non minuerat, per saevitiam inten-
deretur.

Ep. 95, 24), and various references in Marquardt, Privatl. 169.

1. **diversi**, 'different from ours'; cp. 'profanos ritus' (2. 85, 5). They know nothing of our religious sanctions.

3. **nam et** = 'nam etiam,' as in Quint. 2. 11, 7; 12, 2; 20, 10. The expression is used elliptically, like καὶ γάρ, in the sense of 'no doubt, for also,' etc., i. e. the argument applies equally to other cases.

decumus quisque. On the punishment of 'decimatio' cp. 3. 21, 1, and note.

4. **etiam strenui sortiuntur**, 'even good soldiers draw the lot for punishment.'

habet, etc., 'every exemplary punishment on a large scale involves some injustice': for this sense of 'exemplum' cp. 12. 20, 4, and note.

5. **contra singulos**, 'as against (to set against the wrong done to) individuals.'

7. **nemo unus**, 'no one in particular,' no one coming forward as an individual: cp. 'neminem unum destinare irae' (H. 1. 82, 2), 'neminem unum esse,' etc. (Liv. 3. 12, 4).

8. **aetatem.** In later times young boys and girls were exempted from this general execution (Ulp. in Dig. 29. 5, 1, 32).

9. **indubiam.** This word is found elsewhere only in Quint. 5. 13, 24, and the adv. once in Cassiod.

10. **obtemperari**, i. e. for the sentence to be carried out.

11. **saxa ac faces**, the weapons of popular sedition: cp. 'iamque faces et saxa volant' (Verg. Aen. 1, 150).

12. **populum edicto increpuit**: cp. 1. 8, 6; 3. 6, 1; 5. 5, 1, etc.

iter, probably to the spot outside the Esquiline Gate: cp. 2. 32, 5; 15. 60, 2.

14. **Cingonius Varro.** This person was cos. design. in 821, A. D. 68, and was put to death by order of Galba, without trial, as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Nymphidius Sabinus (H. 1. 6, 2; 37, 6).

15. **Italia**: on the simple abl. cp. Introd. i. v. § 24.

deportarentur. This must express more than 'arceri Italia' (4. 31, 5; 16. 35, 1); as the sentence is evidently intended to be a near approach to that of death, and the verb is regularly used of 'deportatio in insulam' (4. 13, 2; 6. 48, 7; 16. 9, 2), the severest form of exile.

16. **intenderetur**, 'should be strained'; so nearly all edd., after Rhen., for the Med. 'incenderetur,' which would be no proper antithesis to 'minuerat.' The use of the verb with 'mos' is analogous to its use with 'luxus' (13. 20, 1), 'socordia' (2. 58, 6), etc.

46. Damnatus isdem consulibus Tarquitius Priscus repetun- 1
darum Bithynis interrogantibus, magno patrum gaudio, qui
accusatum ab eo Statilium Taurum pro consule ipsius memine-
rant. census per Gallias a Q. Volusio et Sextio Africano 2
Trebellioque Maximo acti sunt, aemulis inter se per nobilitatem
Volusio atque Africano: Trebellium dum uterque dedignatur,
supra tulere.

47. Eo anno mortem obiit Memmius Regulus, auctoritate 1
constantia fama, in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio
datur, clarus, adeo ut Nero aeger valetudine, et adulantibus
circum qui finem imperio adesse dicebant, si quid fato pateretur,
responderit habere subsidium rem publicam. rogantibus dehinc
in quo potissimum, addiderat in Memmio Regulo. vixit tamen 2
post haec Regulus, quiete defensus et quia nova generis clari-

1. **Tarquitius Priscus.** His previous accusation of Statilius Taurus, and his expulsion from the senate are mentioned in 12. 59, 1. His proconsulate of Bithynia (on which province see 1. 74, 1, and note) is attested by Neronian coins of Nicomedia or Nicaea (Eckh. ii. 402).

2. **interrogantibus**: cp. 13. 14, 2, and note.

4. **census per Gallias . . . acti**: see 1. 31, 2, and note. On Q. Volusius see 13. 25, 1; on Sextius Africanus, 13. 19, 2.

5. **Trebellius Maximus.** His full name is given as L. Trebellius Maximus Pollio in a Pompeian tablet (Hermes, xii. 127). His consulship, noted for a 'senatus consultum Trebellianum' on inheritance, was shared with Seneca (Gaius 2. § 253; Just. Inst. 2. 23, 4, Dig. 36. 1, 1, 1), in the latter part probably of 811, A. D. 58 (see Nipp. and Borghesi, Œuvres, iv. 391–397). He was legatus of Britain (where he bore an evil character) in 822, A. D. 69 (H. 1. 60, 1; 2. 65, 5; Agr. 16, 4), and was still alive in 825, A. D. 72, when his name occurs as 'Magister Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. i. 2053).

6. **dedignatur**: so with accus. in Verg. Aen. 4, 536 and Ov. Cp. 2. 2, 5; 13. 37, 1, and notes.

7. **supra tulere**, best taken, with Dr., by explaining 'tulere' as = 'extulere': they kept each other down by rivalry, and thus made the third party, whom they disdained to thwart, become the more important: Doed. less well explains it as 'superiorem passi sunt,' referring to the use of 'supra' in Sall. Cat. 3, 2.

8. **Memmius Regulus.** This person was consul in 784, A. D. 31, at the time of the fall of Seianus (see 5. 11, 1, and note), and was husband of Lollia Paulina (12. 22, 2). His name occurs among the Arvales up to 813, A. D. 60 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2042); after which no table is preserved until three years later.

9. **constantia**, best understood of his dignified courage, as contrasted with the prevailing servility. Cp. the character of M'. Lepidus in 4. 20, 4.

in quantum: cp. 13. 54, 2.

praeumbrante, ἅπ. εἰρ. (see Introd. i. v. 69, 3). In H. 2. 32, 4 the comparatively common, but chiefly poetical 'obumbrare' is used.

10. **aeger valetudine.** An illness is mentioned in the preceding year (c. 22, 6); but some earlier date, less near the death of Regulus, seems here to be spoken of.

et adulantibus. Many instances are found in Tacitus, and a few in Livy, of the insertion of 'et,' where the simple abl. abs. would be in accordance with strict classical usage (see Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 237); but in most of them, e. g. 1. 29, 1; 55, 1; 12. 67, 2; there is more reason for the insertion than here.

13. **potissimum** = μάλιστα, emphasizing 'quo.'

tamen, though his reputation might have brought him into suspicion.

14. **quiete**, 'his unobtrusive life' (cp.

3 tudine neque invidiosis opibus erat. gymnasium eo anno dedi-
catum a Nerone praebitumque oleum equiti ac senatui Graeca
facilitate.

1 **48.** P. Mario L. Afinio consulibus Antistius praetor, quem in
tribunatu plebis licenter egisse memoravi, probrosa adversus
principem carmina factitavit vulgavitque celebri convivio, dum
2 apud Ostorium Scapulam epulatur. exim a Cossutiano Capi-
tone, qui nuper senatorium ordinem precibus Tigellini soceri sui
3 receperat, maiestatis delatus est. tum primum revocata ea lex,

c. 56, 3). His government of the combined provinces of Moesia, Achaia, and Macedonia (see Dio, 58. 25, 5), must have ceased before 797, A. D. 44, when the two latter provinces were restored to the senate (Dio, 60. 24, 1).

nova generis claritudine, not dangerous 'nobilitas' (cp. 3. 55, 3; Juv. 4, 97).

1. **invidiosis,** ἐπιφθόνοις, great enough to excite the emperor's envy and cupidity.

gymnasium. This was intended for the Neronian games (Dio, 61. 21, 1), and was the finest in Rome (Philost. Vit. Ap. 4, 42). It was situated in the Campus Martius, and joined on to the Thermae built by Nero probably at the same time (Suet. Ner. 12).

2. **praebitumque oleum.** The oil used by athletes to rub their bodies before contests was furnished gratuitously, even to those of equestrian or senatorial rank. Such persons had taken part in the Iuvenalia (c. 14, 5), and the gift was no doubt a hint to them to go further in the practice (cp. c. 20, 6).

3. **facilitate,** 'lavishness' (cp. 11. 22, 10). To find oil for the athletes would be part of the regular expenses of the leitourgia of gymnasiarches at Athens; and it had probably previously been provided at Rome, but not to persons of such rank. Pliny in saying (N. H. 15. 4, 5, 19) 'usum eius (olei) ad luxuriam vertere Graeci . . . in gymnasiis publicando,' is speaking of its indiscriminate use, rather than its gratuitous distribution.

4. **P. Mario L. Afinio.** The former of these was 'curator aquarum' from 817–819, A. D. 64–66 (Frontin. Aq. 102), and was probably father of Marius Celsus (on whom see 15. 25, 5), and possibly son of a Q. Marius Celsus, noted in the 'Acta Arvalium' (see Nipp.) as praetor peregrinus in 784, A. D. 31. The other name is read Asinio in Med. and also in the old 'vita Persii' ('P. Mario Asinio Gallio cos.'), but is thus corrected by Halm and Nipp. after an inscription cited by Borghesi (Œuvr. iii. 350).

5. **memoravi:** see 13. 28, 1.

probrosa carmina. On such pasquinades see 1. 72, 5; 4. 31, 1; 6. 9, 3; and the allusions to the earlier verses of Catullus and Bibaculus in 4. 34, 8. Many epigrams on emperors are preserved in various places by Suetonius; and the satire of Sulpicia against Domitian is a specimen of a more elaborate and serious effort.

6. **celebri,** 'crowded': the same expression is used in H. 1. 81, 1.

7. **Ostorium Scapulam,** the son (see 12. 31, 7, and note) of the legatus who had died in command in Britain (12. 39, 5).

Cossutiano Capitone: see 11. 6, 5, and note.

8. **Tigellini,** the famous Sofonius Tigellinus, often mentioned as praefectus praetorio (c. 51, 5, etc.), who was forced to suicide under Otho (H. 1. 72). For his previous career see on c. 51, 5. The name is read as 'Tigellinus' in 15. 37, 2, here as 'Tigellanus,' elsewhere always in Med. as 'Tigillinus'; which form Or. and Ritt. retain, supporting it by the MSS. of Suet. (Galb. 15), Martial (3. 20, 16), and the Schol. on Juv. 1, 155. On the other hand, the form 'Tigellinus' is found in the text of Juv. (l. l.), also in Plutarch and Dio, and would be the correct form of a name evidently formed from Tigellius (Hor. Sat. 1. 2, 3).

9. **delatus est,** with genit.: cp. 4. 42, 3, and note.

tum primum, etc. Dio states (60. 3, 6) that trials on this charge were discontinued by Claudius at the beginning of his rule; a previous abolition by Gaius (Id. 59, 4, 3) having been illusory. An attempt had been made

credebaturque haud perinde exitium Antistio quam imperatori
gloriam quaeri, ut condemnatum a senatu intercessione tribunicia
morti eximeret. et cum Ostorius nihil audivisse pro testimonio 4
dixisset, adversis testibus creditum; censuitque Iunius Marullus
consul designatus adimendam reo praeturam necandumque more
maiorum. ceteris inde adsentientibus, Paetus Thrasea, multo 5
cum honore Caesaris et acerrime increpito Antistio, non quid-
quid nocens reus pati mereretur, id egregio sub principe et nulla
necessitate obstricto senatui statuendum disseruit: carnificem et 6
laqueum pridem abolita, et esse poenas legibus constitutas,
quibus sine iudicum saevitia et temporum infamia supplicia
decernerentur. quin in insula publicatis bonis, quo longius 7
sontem vitam traxisset, eo privatim miseriorem et publicae cle-
mentiae maximum exemplum futurum.

49. Libertas Thraseae servitium aliorum rupit, et postquam 1

to bring such a charge against L. Vitellius (12. 42, 5). On the law itself, and its working under Tiberius, see 1. 72, 3; Introd. i. viii. p. 121.

2. **gloriam quaeri**: for the accus. and inf. after 'credebatur' see 2. 69, 5 (and note), where, as here, Ritt. needlessly reads the nominative. The correction 'quaeri ut' for the Med. 'quaesiuit,' is one of the alternative readings suggested by Acid. The old edd. mostly read 'gloria quaesita (or 'gloriam quaesitam') ut.' 'Credebaturque' is a correction of the same person for 'credebatur quae.

intercessione tribunicia, by exercise of the imperial tribunitian power (see Introd. i. vi. p. 70, and an instance of its exercise in this manner in 4. 30, 1). Halm follows Ritt. in retaining the Med. 'eximeret,' and reading 'condemnatum' above. Others there retain the Med. 'condemnatus,' and read 'eximeretur,' with G.

3. **nihil audivisse**. Similar negative evidence was given in the trial of Clutorius Priscus (3. 49, 3).

5. **consul designatus**, for the later months of the same year, as appears from an inscription (Henzen, 5725), 'Kal. Novembris Q. Iunio Marullo cos.' A Marullus, possibly the same, is mentioned by Seneca as a friend (Ep. 99, 3). On the practice for the cos. design. to vote first see 3. 22, 6; 11. 5, 3; 12. 9, 1, and notes.

more maiorum, by scourging to death: see 2. 32, 5, and note.

6. **Paetus Thrasea**: see 13. 49, 1. The line here taken by him closely follows that of M'. Lepidus in the trial of Clutorius Priscus (3. 50).

8. **mereretur**, with inf. as in 15. 67, 2; G. 28, 5; Ov., Quint., etc.

et nulla, apparently intended to emphasize the negation more than 'neque ulla': cp. 6. 46, 7; 1. 38, 4 (and note), etc.

9. **senatui**. Most of the older edd. read 'senatu,' with G.

carnificem et laqueum, the usual mode of execution (see 3. 50, 1, and note); for which, in the case of most persons put to death, some form of compulsory suicide was substituted. It would follow 'a fortiori' that the more barbarous mode of execution 'more maiorum' was to be treated as obsolete. On the use of the neut. adj. with masc. or fem. substantives see 1. 46, 1, and note.

11. **quibus**, sc. 'legibus.'

12. **in insula**, etc. 'Interdictio aqua et igni' (involving loss of goods and usually coupled with deportation to an island) was at this time the recognised legal penalty for 'maiestas' (cp. 3. 50, 6, and note), though often exceeded.

13. **privatim**, 'personally': cp. 11. 17, 4, and note.

15. **servitium . . . rupit**, 'broke through the servility' (a metaphor from breaking a bond). The same opposition of 'servitium' and 'libertas' is seen in 15. 61, 3, etc.

discessionem consul permiserat, pedibus in sententiam eius iere,
paucis exceptis, in quibus adulatione promptissimus fuit A.
Vitellius, optimum quemque iurgio lacessens et respondenti
2 reticens, ut pavida ingenia solent. at consules perficere decretum
3 senatus non ausi, de consensu scripsere Caesari. ille inter pudo-
rem et iram cunctatus, postremo rescripsit: nulla iniuria
provocatum Antistium gravissimas in principem contumelias
dixisse; earum ultionem a patribus postulatam, et pro magni-
4 tudine delicti poenam statui par fuisse. ceterum se, qui
severitatem decernentium impediturus fuerit, moderationem non
prohibere: statuerent ut vellent, datam et absolvendi licentiam.
5 his atque talibus recitatis et offensione manifesta, non ideo aut
consules mutavere relationem aut Thrasea decessit sententia
ceterive quae probaverant deseruere, pars, ne principem obiecisse
invidiae viderentur, plures numero tuti, Thrasea sueta firmitudine
animi et ne gloria intercideret.
1 **50.** Haud dispari crimine Fabricius Veiento conflictatus est

1. **discessionem permiserat,** 'allowed the senate to divide.' It was within the discretion of the presiding magistrate to rule whether a 'sententia' should or should not be thus submitted to the house. A well-known instance is seen in the complaint of Cicero (Phil. 14. 7, 21) 'has in sententias meas si consules discessionem facere voluissent . . . arma cecidissent'; and others are given in Momms. Staatsr. iii. 987, 2. We see also from what here follows that they could refuse to give formal effect to that which the majority had thus approved. Only the one consul who presided on the day and formally made the 'relatio' is here mentioned, but both are spoken of below as responsible, inasmuch as they were joint presidents of the senatorial court (see 1. 73, 3, etc.).

2. **A. Vitellius,** the subsequent emperor, already mentioned in 11. 23, 1, as consul.

3. **respondenti reticens,** 'holding his tongue to any who replied to him,' not daring a rejoinder. This dat. with 'reticere,' not used elsewhere by Tacitus, is found in Liv. 3. 41, 3; 23. 12, 9; Ov. Met. 3, 357.

4. **perficere decretum.** This would imply formal announcement and registration (cp. 3. 51, 3) of the sentence, with the names of the senators who signed it ('scribendo adfuere'). These sentences are regularly called 'decreta' (cp. l. l. and 3. 37, 1), and appear to have followed the form of 'senatus consulta' (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 122).

5. **de consensu scripsere:** cp. 13. 26, 2, and note.

inter . . . cunctatus, 'after a struggle between': cp. 'inter metum et iram cunctatus' (2. 66, 2); also H. 2. 2, 1; 3. 39, 1; 4. 60, 1.

8. **pro,** 'in proportion to' (cp. 3. 2, 2, etc.): for 'par esse' cp. 1. 25, 3, etc.

10. **impediturus,** by his veto: see above (c. 48, 3).

11. **et** = 'etiam,' 'they might even acquit him if they would.'

14. **ne principem,** etc., i. e. lest they should seem to have rescinded a popular decision to please Caesar's vindictiveness.

15. **plures,** 'the majority' (1. 32, 1, etc.). They felt that in such a number, Nero could mark no individuals for vengeance.

16. **et ne gloria intercideret.** This suggestion of vanity may be compared with what is said of Thrasea in c. 12, 2. Dio (61. 15, 3) makes him give as a reason for his independent conduct, that the sycophants were as liable to perish by Nero's caprice as he was, and that he would leave a name behind him, and they would not.

17. **Veiento;** so all edd. after Puteol. for the Med. 'uegento.' This person,

quod multa et probrosa in patres et sacerdotes composuisset
iis libris quibus nomen codicillorum dederat. adiciebat Tullius
Geminus accusator venditata ab eo munera principis et adipis-
cendorum honorum ius. quae causa Neroni fuit suscipiendi 2
iudicii, convictumque Veientonem Italia depulit et libros exuri
iussit, conquisitos lectitatosque, donec cum periculo parabantur:
mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit.

51. Sed gravescentibus in dies publicis malis subsidia minue- 1
bantur, concessitque vita Burrus, incertum valetudine an veneno.
valetudo ex eo coniectabatur, quod in se tumescentibus paulatim 2
faucibus et impedito meatu spiritum finiebat. plures iussu 3

probably the Αὖλος Φαβρίκιος mentioned in Dio, 61. 6, 2, as praetor, apparently in 807, A. D. 54, is well known under Domitian as a consular, and an infamous accuser (Juv. 4. 113, etc.). He remained on intimate terms with Nerva (Plin. Ep. 4. 22, 4), and was still living as a senator in 850, A. D. 97 (Id. 9. 13, 13, 19).

2. **codicillorum**, 'his will': cp. 15. 64, 6; 16. 17, 6; 19, 5, etc. It was common for persons thus to vent in their will such attacks on the princeps or others as they dared not utter in their lifetime (see 6. 38, 2); and Augustus had expressly forbidden the senate to curtail this license (Suet. Aug. 56). It is to be supposed that Veiento published a libel taking the form of a will and ironically termed such.

Tullius. Borghesi (Œuvr. v. 221), thus corrects the Med. 'Talius' (not known as a Roman name) on the strength of an Arval inscription, apparently belonging to this time, 'M. Iunio Silano, Terentio Tullio Gemino cos.' Iahn (in Rhein. Mus. ix. 627) thinks him identical with the person of the same name known as the author of several Greek epigrams (see Anth. Pal. 9. 707, etc.).

3. **venditata.** This verb is here used literally, as in H. 1. 66, 5; Cic. etc., oftener in the sense of 'commending' (cp. H. 1. 49, 5). What he in fact sold was his influence with Caesar to help persons. That his mere acquaintance had in later times its price, is hinted by Juvenal (4. 185).

4. **suscipiendi iudicii**, for trying the case personally (see Introd. i. vi. p. 74). Nero had disclaimed the use of this prerogative (13. 4, 2), but appears to have from the first occasionally (13. 33, 1, and note), and afterwards frequently exercised it.

5. **Italia depulit**, a less severe sentence than that expressed by 'Italia deportari' (see c. 45, 4 and note), but amounting to relegation. Other equivalent expressions are 'Italia interdicere' (c. 41, 1; 2. 50, 5), 'prohibere' (15. 71, 11), 'arcere' (16. 35, 1), etc.

libros exuri. To see this done was a function of the aediles (4. 35, 5).

6. **donec**, 'as long as': this poetical sense is introduced into prose by Livy (2. 49, 9; 6. 13, 4, etc.), and is frequent in Tacitus (1. 68, 6; 3. 15, 2, etc.).

8. **gravescentibus**: cp. 1. 5. 1, and note.

9. **concessit vita**: cp. 12. 39, 5, etc.

10. **coniectabatur.** The imperf. here and in 'adseverabant' expresses the report at the time.

in se, 'internally'; so 'tabes in se putrescentium' (Sen. Ep. 95, 16). Ritt. reads 'inter se'; Muret. 'intumescentibus.' The disease described is that of an abscess or quinsy, contracting the windpipe.

11. **meatu**, 'respiration'; so with 'spirandi' (Pl. N. H. 28. 13, 55, 197), with 'spiritus' (Quint. 7. 10, 10), with 'animae' (Pl. Ep. 6. 16, 13); whence Ern. would read 'spiritus' here, and take the verb (for which he reads 'finierat') absolutely.

plures, 'the majority' (c. 49, 5). Tacitus evidently inclines to the theory of poison; but we owe it to him that any doubt is left as to what Suet. (Ner. 35) and Dio (62. 13, 3) assume as unquestionable. The latter makes him offend Nero by opposing the divorce of Octavia, and bidding him give back her dowry (τοῦτ' ἔστι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν).

Neronis, quasi remedium adhiberetur, inlitum palatum eius
noxio medicamine adseverabant, et Burrum intellecto scelere,
cum ad visendum eum princeps venisset, aspectum eius aversa-
tum sciscitanti hactenus respondisse: 'ego me bene habeo.'
4 civitati grande desiderium eius mansit per memoriam virtutis
et successorum alterius segnem innocentiam, alterius flagrantis-
5 sima flagitia. quippe Caesar duos praetoriis cohortibus
imposuerat, Faenium Rufum ex vulgi favore, quia rem frumen-
tariam sine quaestu tractabat, Sofonium Tigellinum, veterem
6 inpudicitiam atque infamiam in eo secutus. atque illi pro
cognitis moribus fuere, validior Tigellinus in animo principis
et intimis libidinibus adsumptus, prospera populi et militum
fama Rufus, quod apud Neronem adversum experiebatur.
1 **52.** Mors Burri infregit Senecae potentiam, quia nec bonis

4. **hactenus respondisse**, 'answered no more than': cp. 12. 42, 5, and note.

ego me bene habeo. Stress is laid on 'ego,' as he is made to contrast his own tranquillity with Nero's consciousness of guilt. Seneca quotes (Ep. 24, 9) a similar dying expession of Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, after he had stabbed himself: 'quaerentibus, ubi imperator esset, "imperator," inquit "se bene habet."'

6. **segnem innocentiam.** His general conduct before his appointment is here spoken of.

flagrantissima flagitia. This metaphor is so used with 'libidines' (H. 2. 31, 1): cp. also 2. 41, 5; 3. 6, 1; 11. 29, 1, etc. Med. adds (after the full stop) 'adulteria,' which is evidently more rightly treated as a gloss, than emended by reading (with inferior MSS. and old edd.) 'et adulteria.'

7. **duos**: see 12. 42, 2, and note.

8. **imposuerat.** Nipp. notes that the pluperf. is referred to the time when men thus contrasted Burrus with his successors.

Faenium Rufum. On this person, and on his appointment to the 'praefectura annonae,' see 13. 22, 1, and note.

9. **Sofonium Tigellinum.** On the form of the latter name see c. 48, 2. For the former the form here given is that nearest to the Med. 'ofonium'; in H. 1. 72, 2 (where the Med. text is lost), the MSS. and old edd. read 'Ophonius'; both places being corrected by Lips. from the form in Dio 59. 23, 9 (Τιγελλῖνος ὁ Σοφώνιος). He is stated in the Schol. on Juv. 1, 155, to have been the son of an Agrigentine living in exile at Scylaceum. He was brought up in the households of Cn. Domitius and M. Vinicius, and exiled by Gaius on suspicion of adultery with their wives, the princesses Agrippina and Julia (Dio, 59. 23, 9). On being allowed to return he still lived in seclusion till the death of Claudius, but won the favour of Nero by horsebreeding in Apulia (Schol. Juv. l. l.), and became praefectus vigilum (H. 1. 72, 2). In the notice of his death (H. l. l.) further particulars of his life and character are given; and all that is known of him is collected by Mayor on Juv. l. l.: see also Hirschf. Unters. 221.

veterem, referring to the cause of his former exile.

10. **pro cognitis**, etc., 'turned out according to their known characters.' This correction of Mercer, after some inferior MSS., for the Med. 'cognatis,' has been generally adopted by editors since Pich.

11. **validior**, etc.: so 'in animo Augustae valida' 4. 12. 6 (where see note).

12. **intimis**, etc., 'taken into confidence in his most private excesses.' Somewhat similar terms are used to describe the position of Paris (13. 20, 1, 22, 3).

prospera . . . fama, abl. of quality: cp. 'adverso rumore erat' (c. 11, 4).

13. **quod**, etc., 'which (popularity) he used to find stood against him with Nero.'

14. **bonis artibus**, 'good influences': so in 1. 28, 5, etc. On the partnership of such influence between Burrus and Seneca see 13. 2, 2.

artibus idem virium erat altero velut duce amoto, et Nero ad
deteriores inclinabat. hi variis criminationibus Senecam ado- 2
riuntur, tamquam ingentes et privatum modum evectas opes
adhuc augeret, quodque studia civium in se verteret, hortorum
quoque amoenitate et villarum magnificentia quasi principem
supergrederetur. obiciebant etiam eloquentiae laudem uni sibi 3
adsciscere et carmina crebrius factitare, postquam Neroni amor
eorum venisset. nam oblectamentis principis palam iniquum 4
detrectare vim eius equos regentis, inludere voces, quotiens
caneret. quem ad finem nihil in re publica clarum fore quod 5
non ab illo reperiri credatur? certe finitam Neronis pueritiam 6
et robur iuventae adesse: exueret magistrum, satis amplis doc-
toribus instructus maioribus suis.

53. At Seneca criminantium non ignarus, prodentibus iis, 1
quibus aliqua honesti cura, et familiaritatem eius magis asper-
nante Caesare, tempus sermoni orat et accepto ita incipit:
'quartus decumus annus est, Caesar, ex quo spei tuae admotus 2

3. **tamquam.** Three grounds of charge are here expressed by this word, by 'quod,' and by 'quasi' (see Introd. i. v. § 67). The latter is here used in anastrophe, like many other conjunctions (Id. § 78). Some take 'quasi' less well as qualifying 'supergrederetur' (with the force of 'prope'); by which 'quod' is made to cover two charges very distinct from each other.

privatum modum evectas, 'surpassing the position of a subject': for the accus. with 'evectas' cp. 12. 36, 2, and note; for this meaning of 'privatus,' 11. 31, 3, and note. On the wealth of Seneca see 13. 42, 6.

4. **hortorum**: cp. c. 53, 6; also 'magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos' (Juv. 10. 16). Their situation is not known.

6. **supergrederetur**: cp. 13. 45, 2, and note.

eloquentiae, etc. His 'orationes' are mentioned by Quint. (10. 1, 128) as in his time extant, together with his 'poemata,' 'epistulae,' and 'dialogi.'

8. **venisset**: so most edd., after Lips., for the Med. 'evenisset,' which, as Ritt. has pointed out, could not be appropriately used of 'amor carminum.' On Nero's pursuits see c. 14–16, etc.

nam, instancing a well-known fact in support of the previous statement. His known disparagement of Nero's other achievements is taken to show that his activity in poetical composition was prompted by a vain belief that he could make his own superiority evident.

9. **detrectare**, 'he depreciated'; so in Dial. (11, 1 etc.), and in Sall. and Liv.: cp. 'obtrectari' (1. 17, 10).

voces, 'his notes': cp. 'omnes voces hominis' (Cic. de Or. 3. 57, 216). Orsini and Muret. would read 'vocem' or 'voci.'

10. **quem ad finem**, 'how long': so in c. 64, 4; also Cic. Cat. 1. 1 ('quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia'); and Nep. Epam. 2 ('exercebatur . . . ad eum finem, quoad,' etc.)

12. **exueret magistrum**, 'let him shake off his pedagogue.' On the various metaphorical senses of this verb see note on 1. 69, 2. Nipp. cites a similar use with personal accus. of throwing off a restraint in Sil. 7, 495 ('iam monita et Fabium bellique equitumque magister Exuerat').

amplis, best taken, with Nipp., in the sense of 'many-sided,' capable of serving as a pattern in all relations.

15. **et . . . Caesare.** Nipp. appears rightly to take this as the answering clause to 'criminantium non ignarus,' to which 'prodentibus iis,' etc., is a parenthetical addition. He knew by information that charges had been brought against him, and could see by Caesar's manner that they had made impression.

17. **spei tuae**, etc., 'since I became

sum, octavus, ut imperium obtines: medio temporis tantum honorum atque opum in me cumulasti, ut nihil felicitati meae
3 desit nisi moderatio eius. utar magnis exemplis, nec meae fortunae sed tuae. abavus tuus Augustus M. Agrippae Mytilenense secretum, C. Maecenati urbe in ipsa velut peregrinum otium permisit; quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romae pluribus laboribus iactatus ampla quidem, sed pro ingentibus
4 meritis praemia acceperant. ego quid aliud munificentiae *tuae*

connected with your prospects,' i. e. with you, who were already marked out for future greatness. For this sense of 'spes' cp. 2. 71, 4, and note; and for that of 'admotus' cp. 'summae rei admovit' (3. 56, 5). The expression is used to designate with extreme modesty his position as 'magister' (12. 8, 3). Even after Nero's accession he is still styled 'rector' (13. 2, 2), but only ventures here to describe himself as one of the 'seniores amici' (c. 54, 5).

1. ut, 'since'; so used here alone in Tacitus. This sense is rare with the pres., as 'ut sumus in Ponto' (Ov. ex P. 1. 9, 6; Trist. 5. 10, 1), but more common with the perf.

medio temporis, 'between that time and this': cp. 13. 28, 3. 'Honores' and 'opes' are so coupled in 1. 2, 1; 11. 12, 4. By the former, his consulship (see on c. 46, 2) is especially meant.

2. **in me cumulasti**: cp. 13. 2, 5, and note.

3. **moderatio eius**, 'self-control in respect of it': cp. 'rerum prosperarum moderatio' (12. 37, 1).

meae fortunae, 'belonging to my rank': for this sense of 'fortuna' cp. 2. 71, 6 (and note); c. 60, 6, etc.; and for its distinct use to denote the highest rank, 11. 12, 5, and note.

4. **abavus**, a correction of Lips. here for 'atauus,' and in c. 55, 2, for 'auus' (cp. 13. 34, 1). Nero's mother was great-granddaughter of Augustus on her mother's side by blood, and on her father's through his adoption by Tiberius, who was himself adopted by Augustus (see the pedigree in Introd. i. ix. pp. 139–141).

Mytilenense secretum, 'the retirement (cp. "Rhodi secreto" 4. 57, 3) of Mytilene.' Agrippa was appointed nominal governor of Syria, probably with general proconsular power in the East (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1151, 5), in 731, B.C. 23, but left the province to his legati and lived in retirement at Mytilene, submitting to this voluntary effacement (ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων Dio 53. 32, 1) to avoid rivalry with young Marcellus, who was being advanced in public life. Suet. (Aug. 66) also represents this act as one of needless pique on Agrippa's part; Velleius (2. 93, 2) as a discreet withdrawal; others seemed to have viewed it differently, as Pliny speaks (N. H. 7. 45, 46, 149) of the 'pudenda Agrippae ablegatio.' His retirement, whatever its real character, was terminated by the death of Marcellus within the year; but his superintendence of the Eastern provinces lasted ten years (Jos. Ant. 16. 3, 3).

5. **C. Maecenati**. The retirement of Maecenas (see 3. 30, 7, and note) appears certainly to have been a veiled disgrace. Suet. ascribes it (Aug. 66) to his having revealed to Terentia his knowledge of the plot of her brother Terentius Varro Muraena (see 1. 10, 3, and note), which enabled her to put him on his guard. Maecenas lived eight years in privacy, chiefly in his Esquiline villa.

velut peregrinum, 'as if he were in a foreign country.'

7. **iactatus**, 'exercised.'

pro . . . meritis, i. e. not surpassing them.

8. **acceperant**; for the plural cp. 3. 62, 1, and note.

munificentiae tuae adhibere. Most edd. have followed Ern. in inserting 'tuae' (with some inferior MSS.). Without it, 'munificentiae' would have to be taken as a genit. and understood of the service of Seneca to Nero, which he would certainly not have ventured to call by such a name. Ritt. inserts 'munus,' a word very unlikely to have been placed in immediate juxtaposition with 'munificentiae.' The speaker means to ask 'what else could I bring to bear on your bounty'? (i. e. by what could I establish a claim upon it?). Jacob notes the expression in Curt. 6. 10, 30 'solent rei

adhibere potui quam studia, ut sic dixerim, in umbra educata,
et quibus claritudo venit, quod iuventae tuae rudimentis ad-
fuisse videor, grande huius rei pretium. at tu gratiam inmen- 5
sam, innumeram pecuniam circumdedisti, adeo ut plerumque
intra me ipse volvam: egone, equestri et provinciali loco ortus,
proceribus civitatis adnumeror? inter nobiles et longa decora
praeferentes novitas mea enituit? ubi est animus ille modicis
contentus? talis hortos exstruit et per haec suburbana incedit 6
et tantis agrorum spatiis, tam lato faenore exuberat? una de-
fensio occurrit, quod muneribus tuis obniti non debui.

54. Sed uterque mensuram inplevimus, et *tu*, quantum prin- 1
ceps tribuere amico posset, et ego, quantum amicus a principe

capitis adhibere vobis (i. e. misericordiae vestrae) parentes.'

1. **ut sic dixerim.** Wölfflin notes (Philol. xxvi. 139, foll.) that the classical 'ut ita dicam,' sometimes retained in the silver age (Pl. Ep. 9. 2, 3), sometimes becomes 'ut sic dicam' (Quint. 1. 8, 9; 11. 3, 32), sometimes (Nipp. thinks by confusion with 'ut dixerim') 'ut ita dixerim' (Quint. 9. 4, 61; Pl. Ep. 2. 5, 6); both of which are combined in 'ut sic dixerim' (Quint. 1. 6, 1, etc.; Plin. Pan. 42, 3; Flor. 2. 6, 27), the form used by Tacitus here and in G. 2, 1; Dial. 34, 2; 40, 3; and (as he would read) in Agr. 3, 3. See note on 'ne abierim' (6. 22, 6).

in umbra, i. e. not in public life: cp. 'studiis inertibus' (13. 42, 4); so Quint. speaks (1. 2, 18) of the 'solitaria et velut umbratilis vita' of the schools, and Cic. (de Legg. 3. 6, 14) of 'doctrina ex umbraculis eruditorum et otio,' and Juv. (7, 173) of one 'ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra' (where Prof. Mayor has collected several other similar expressions).

educata, 'trained,' elsewhere in Tacitus always of persons, but so used in Cic. Orat. 13, 42 ('educata huius nutrimentis eloquentia').

2. **quibus,** etc., 'accomplishments which have won reputation because men think that I had some share in the first essays of your youth': cp. 'rudimentum adolescentiae . . . posuisse' (Liv. 31. 11, 15).

3. **grande . . . pretium,** referring to 'claritudo'; the renown is ample reward for the services.

gratiam, 'influence' (cp. 11. 29, 1; 12. 42, 4, etc.), that of his high rank in the state and position as counsellor.

4. **pecuniam.** On such gifts see 13. 18, 1.

circumdedisti. The metaphorical use of this verb is especially common in Tacitus; so 'famam alicui circumdare' (H. 4. 11, 3; Agr. 20, 1; Dial. 37, 6), cp. also c. 15. 4; 12. 25, 1; 16. 25, 2, etc.

plerumque . . . volvam, 'I often ponder.' This sense of 'plerumque' is common in Tacitus (4. 57, 2; 12. 55, 1; G. 13, 4; 45, 6; Dial. 15, 2), and apparently rare elsewhere; the parallel use of 'plerique' (see 3. 1, 2, and note) being more general. For this sense of 'volvere' cp. 1. 64, 7, and note.

5. **provinciali loco,** Corduba (Cordova), whence his father M. Seneca the rhetorician had migrated to Rome and become a knight. His mother, Helvia, was also probably a native of Spain.

6. **longa decora praeferentes,** 'displaying (cp. 4. 75, 2) a long roll of glories' (i. e. of distinguished ancestors): cp. 'Aemiliorum decus' (3. 22, 1); 'Sulpiciae et Lutatiae (nobilitatis) decora' (H. 1. 15, 1).

8. **hortos,** c. 52, 2.

exstruit. Nipp. notes that this term is to be understood of laying out the ground and erecting buildings in it: cp. 'extollere hortos' (11. 1, 1). Thus the gardens of Lucan are called 'marmorei' by Juvenal (7, 79) on account of their adornments.

suburbana, 'suburban villas.'

incedit, 'walks proudly': cp. c. 39, 2; 3. 9, 2, etc.

9. **lato faenore,** 'capital out at interest far and wide,' 'per Italiam et provincias' (cp. 13. 42, 7, and note).

2 accipere: cetera invidiam augent. quae quidem, ut omnia mortalia, infra tuam magnitudinem iacet, sed mihi incumbit,
3 mihi subveniendum est. quo modo in militia aut via fessus adminiculum orarem, ita in hoc itinere vitae senex et levissimis quoque curis inpar, cum opes meas ultra sustinere non possim,
4 praesidium peto. iube rem per procuratores tuos administrari, in tuam fortunam recipi. nec me in paupertatem ipse detrudam, sed traditis quorum fulgore praestringor, quod temporis hortorum aut villarum curae seponitur, in animum revocabo.
5 superest tibi robur et tot per annos visum *summi* fastigii

1. **cetera,** 'all beyond this limit.' His speech goes on to disclaim not only the reception of more, but the continued possession of what he had.

augent: so most edd. after Put. for the Med. 'agent' (a similar error being noted in c. 58, 3). Bezzenb. reads 'in invidiam agent,' but his citations (H. 1. 11, 3; 83, 3; 2. 38, 5) are hardly parallel. Jac. Gron. would read 'alent.'

2. **infra,** etc., 'rises not to your exalted rank': the envy felt towards me does not touch you or make you repent of your gifts; but it lies heavy on me, and I need help.

iacet . . . incumbit: so most edd. after Lips. for the Med. 'iacent . . . incumbt' ('incumbunt'), which are probably errors of assimilation to 'augent.' Ritt. retains the plural verbs, but inserts 'curamque' after 'augent,' an addition which appears to make the following words less appropriate. Nor does it seem possible to refer the plural verbs (with Pfitzn.) to 'cetera.'

3. **quo modo . . . ita.** Dr. notes these as coupled in 15. 21, 2; 16. 16, 4; H. 4. 74, 3, etc., and in Cic. The more common combination 'quomodo . . . sic' is also found (4. 35, 3, etc.).

4. **adminiculum,** 'a staff of support': so (metaphorically) 12. 5, 4; Dial. 2, 2.

6. **iube rem per**: so most recent edd., after Baiter, for the Med. 'iuuenere' (with the second 'u' corrected to 'b'), as given by Ritt., 'iuuere' as given by Baiter, 'per' being inserted before 'procuratores' by a later hand in Med. The old edd. read, after some inferior MSS., 'iube eas per,' which Ritt. retains. Haase reads 'iube procuratores . . . administrare . . . recepta.' The 'procuratores' are those who managed the 'res familiaris Caesaris': cp. 4. 6, 5; 12. 60, 1, etc.

7. **fortunam,** 'property': so in c. 21, 2; 2. 38, 9; 4. 23, 2, and oftener in pl. as c. 31, 6, etc.

8. **praestringor,** 'I am blinded': so all recent edd., after Cannegieter, for the Med. 'pstringor' ('perstringor'). A similar correction has been made, after Gron., in H. 1. 84, 7. The two verbs seem sometimes to approximate in meaning ('visus perstrinxere' is still generally read in Pl. N. H. 2. 18, 16, 80), but may often have been confused in the abbreviations ('p' and 'p̃'). The usual expression is not 'praestringere aliquem,' but 'oculos' or 'visum alicuius.'

quod temporis, etc., 'the portion of time now set apart for the care of gardens and villas.'

9. **in animum revocabo,** 'I will restore to my mind' ('to its discipline and culture').

10. **superest tibi,** 'you have in superabundance': so in H. 1. 51, 3; 83, 2; G. 6, 1; 26, 1; Agr. 45, 6; and in Cic., Liv., etc.

visum summi fastigii regimen: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., adopting an alternative suggestion of Wurm. For other suggestions see Halm, Not. Crit. The older edd. had followed Puteol. in reading 'nixum' for 'visum' without finding any satisfactory interpretation of it. Madvig (Adv. ii. 555) reads 'nosti summi fastigii,' thinking the first syllable of 'nosti' lost in the ending of 'annos,' and the second, with 'summi,' corrupted into 'visum.' Or. and Ritt. retain the Med. text; and Walther's interpretation of 'visum' (with 'est' supplied from 'superest') is generally received, as meaning that Nero had 'watched' for many years (in the time of Claudius and under his own rule) the administration of supreme power. 'Fastigium' could stand without

regimen: possumus seniores amici quietem reposcere. hoc quoque in tuam gloriam cedet, eos ad summa vexisse qui et modica tolerarent.'

55. Ad quae Nero sic ferme respondit: 'quod meditatae 1
orationi tuae statim occurram, id primum tui muneris habeo, qui
me non tantum praevisa sed subita expedire docuisti. abavus 2
meus Augustus Agrippae et Maecenati usurpare otium post
labores concessit, sed in ea ipse aetate, cuius auctoritas tueretur
quidquid illud et qualecumque tribuisset; ac tamen neutrum
datis a se praemiis exuit. bello et periculis meruerant; in iis 3
enim iuventa Augusti versata est. nec mihi tela et manus tuae 4
defuissent in armis agenti: sed quod praesens condicio poscebat,
ratione consilio praeceptis pueritiam, dein iuventam meam
fovisti. et tua quidem erga me munera, dum vita suppetet, 5

an adjective as in 3. 29, 2; but it is difficult in any case to believe that Tacitus used such an expression as 'fastigii (for 'imperii') regimen'; and the corruption is probably deeper seated.

1. **quietem reposcere**, 'to demand rest as our due' (cp. 1. 35, 3); so all recent edd., after Halm and Oelschläger, for Med. 'quietem respondere,' for which most of the older edd. had read 'quiete respondere,' endeavouring to give the words some such meaning as 'satisfy all claims on us by resting quiet.' Several other suggested readings are given by Walther and Orelli.

2. **in tuam gloriam cedet**, 'will go to swell your fame' (cp. 1. 1, 3, and note). Dr. cites Curt. 3. 6, 18 ('temeritas in gloriam cesserat').

vexisse, here for 'provexisse' (cp. 'provectos' 11. 6, 4); so used for various other compounds, as 'advehere' (11. 14, 2), 'travehere' (12. 40, 1), 'avehere' (H. 5. 21, 3): see Introd. i. v. § 40.

5. **occurram**, taken by Nipp. as fut., by most others as pres. subj. The verb is used in the sense of 'respondere' in Cic. de Fat. 18, 41 ('illi rationi . . . sic occurrit'), etc.; also in Quint. 1. 5, 36; Suet. Aug. 15; Val. Fl. 7, 223. 'Statim' is taken in contrast with 'meditatae,' for which cp. 13. 3, 6.

id primum, etc., 'this is the first gift I have to thank you for.' The expression 'muneris tui' is from poets (Hor. Od. 4. 3, 21; Ov. Tr. 1. 6, 6).

6. **praevisa**, used in a somewhat different sense in 12. 40, 6; 63, 2, etc.; here of what has been premeditated, in contrast to 'subita' ('the thought of the moment').

expedire, 'to express.' The use of this verb in the sense of 'exponere' (cp. 4. 1, 2, etc.) is chiefly poetical (Plaut., Ter., Verg., etc.), but introduced into prose by Sall. (Iug. 5, 3).

abavus meus: cp. c. 53, 3; here read for Med. 'auus.'

8. **ipse**: so all recent edd. with Ern. and others and MS. Agr. for Med. 'ipsa.' The context shows that his age, not theirs, is meant.

cuius auctoritas, etc. The sense is that Augustus did indeed permit his friends to retire into private life, but he had reached an age when he could grant them this or anything else without fear of its being misconstrued; yet even the example of Augustus would only sanction my permitting you to retire, not my stripping you of gifts bestowed. On the force of 'illud' cp. c. 22, 4; 12. 36, 2.

10. **bello**, etc. The fact that they earned their rewards in war and in perilous times (c. 53, 3) only amounts to this, that there was then war and peril to earn it by, which is not so now. 'Had I needed such service, you would have rendered it.'

13. **ratione**, 'forethought': cp. 15. 62, 2, etc.

14. **dum vita suppetet** (sc. 'mea') qualifies 'aeterna,' and gives it the sense of 'perpetua' (3. 26, 3; 15. 63, 1, etc.). Nipp. cites 'nec est ligno ulli aeternior natura' (Pl. N. H. 14. 1, 2, 9).

aeterna erunt: quae a me habes, horti et faenus et villae, casibus
6 obnoxia sunt. ac licet multa videantur, plerique haudquaquam
7 artibus tuis pares plura tenuerunt. pudet referre libertinos, qui
ditiores spectantur: unde etiam mihi rubori est quod praecipuus
caritate nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.
1 **56.** Verum et tibi valida aetas rebusque et fructui rerum
sufficiens, et nos prima imperii spatia ingredimur, nisi forte aut
te Vitellio ter consuli aut me Claudio postponis, et quantum
Volusio longa parsimonia quaesivit, tantum in te mea liberalitas
2 explere non potest. quin, si qua in parte lubricum adulescentiae
nostrae declinat, revocas ornatumque robur subsidio inpensius

1. **faenus**, 'capital,' as in c. 53, 6; 6. 17, 2, etc.

2. **plerique** = 'permulti.'

3. **artibus**, 'accomplishments,' as in 1. 13, 1; 6. 7, 1, etc.

plura tenuerunt. Or. (with Haase) inserts after these words, Nipp. and Dr. (with Spengel) insert after 'antecellis,' the words given in Med. in the next chapter ('nisi forte . . . non potest'): see note there.

libertinos, especially Pallas, who was still living (c. 65, 1).

4. **rubori est**, predicative dative: see Introd. i. v. § 23. The expression (cp. 11. 17, 3) is found in Liv. 45. 13, 14.

5. **fortuna**, used here both of position (c. 53, 3), and of wealth (c. 54, 4).

antecellis, so with accus. in H. 2. 3, 3: cp. 'antecellere gloriam' (Val. Max. 3. 8, 1), 'omnes' (Pl. N. H. 8. 44, 69, 174). Dr. notes that Cic. uses it always absol. or with dat.

6. **Verum et tibi**, etc. This sentence is suggested by 'nondum,' and the sense is, 'your position is as yet neither equal to your merits nor to my affection for you; but the deficiency can be made up. You are not too old for further advancement, and I have many years before me in which to give it.' Seneca must have been about sixty-five years old (see Introd. p. 50, 9).

rebus et fructui rerum, 'for the business of state and its rewards': for such a sense of 'res' cp. 'rerum experientia' (1. 4, 3).

7. **nisi forte**, etc. If the text is sound, the sense would be, 'Or do you suppose that you have already reached your limit? Do you think yourself less worthy than Vitellius (see 11. 2, 4, etc.), who received three consulships? Or do you think me less willing or able to reward my friends than Claudius'? The sense of the whole passage does not seem improved, and that of 'aut me Claudio' seems weakened, if not destroyed, by transferring it to either of the places where others have inserted it (see note on c. 55, 6); but the sacrifice of perspicuity to brevity is unusually great, even for Tacitus; so much so as to make it not improbable that some words have been lost. For the ironical use of 'nisi forte' cp. 2. 33, 5, etc.

8. **et quantum**, etc. Here Med. has 'sed' for 'et,' and in the next line 'me' for 'te,' and 'libertas' (corrected by a second hand) for 'liberalitas.' The two last are corrected in all edd.; but 'sed' is read generally in the older edd., and, among the recent, by Ritt., and could be taken as an ironical correction, or even as a serious assertion, that all Nero's liberality could not make Seneca's fortune as great as what Volusius (see 13. 30, 4, and note) had amassed by saving. Most recent edd., however, suppose that 'sed' (or rather 'set') has arisen from a repetition, with 'et,' of the preceding 's,' and that the force of 'nisi forte' is to be extended to 'potest.'

10. **quin**, 'why not (instead of abandoning me')? cp. Cic. C. Rab. 6, 18 ('quin continetis vocem'), Liv. 1. 57, 7 ('quin conscendimus equos').

lubricum: cp. 'lubricum iuventae' (6. 49, 3), 'lubrica aetas' (13. 2, 2). The figure is here sustained in 'declinat,' which can be used of anything that slips away from its position ('if my unstable youth shows sign of slipping').

11. **ornatumque robur**, etc. The allusion is to the sentence 'superest tibi robur' (c. 54, 5); and 'subsidio' seems

regis? non tua moderatio, si reddideris pecuniam, nec quies, 3
si reliqueris principem, sed mea avaritia, meae crudelitatis metus
in ore omnium versabitur. quod si maxime continentia tua 4
laudetur, non tamen sapienti viro decorum fuerit, unde amico
infamiam paret, inde gloriam sibi recipere.' his adicit com- 5
plexum et oscula, factus natura et consuetudine exercitus velare
odium fallacibus blanditiis. Seneca, qui finis omnium cum 6
dominante sermonum, grates agit: sed instituta prioris potentiae
commutat, prohibet coetus salutantium, vitat comitantis, rarus
per urbem, quasi valetudine infensa aut sapientiae studiis domi
adtineretur.

57. Perculso Seneca promptum fuit Rufum Faenium inminuere 1
Agrippinae amicitiam in eo criminantibus. validiorque in dies
Tigellinus et malas artes, quibus solis pollebat, gratiores ratus,
si principem societate scelerum obstringeret, metus eius rimatur;

better taken (as by Nipp. and Dr.) with 'ornatum,' than (as by Or.) with 'regis.' 'Why not yet more zealously direct my manhood, furnished (cp. 6. 32, 1) with your support in reserve (i.e. resting on your support as an army on its reserves')? The metaphor in 'ornatum' is certainly harsh; but it does not seem necessary to read with Madvig (Adv. iii. 235) 'formatum').

1. **quies**, 'retirement' (from active life), as in c. 54, 5. Nipp. compares 'Attici quies' ('neutrality') Nep. Att. 7, 3.

6. **factus . . . exercitus velare.** The inf. here is noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ., but is analogous to its use with many other participles and adjectives (see Introd. i. v. § 47). 'Exercitus' is used for 'exercitatus,' as in c. 2, 5 (where see note).

8. **grates agit.** Seneca himself quotes (de Ira 2. 33, 2) the answer of one who was asked how he had been able to live to old age in a court; 'iniurias accipiendo et gratias agendo.' Cp. Agr. 42, 3. On the question whether the resignation of his property, now evidently declined by Nero, was accepted subsequently, see note on 15. 64, 6.

instituta . . . commutat. To this time belongs his description (Ep. 87, 2–4) of his frugal life with his friend Maximus.

9. **coetus salutantium . . . comitantis.** The former term denotes the visitors at the morning *levée*, the 'turba salutantium' slightingly spoken of by Seneca himself (Ep. 19, 11); the latter the attendance of clients and others when he went out (cp. 'egressus coli' 3. 33, 4): see Friedl. i. p. 357, foll.

rarus. Cp. 2. 57, 4, and 'multus' (Agr. 20, 2).

10. **valetudine**: see 15. 45, 5.

sapientiae studiis, 'philosophical pursuits.' Many of his extant writings, among them the 'Epistolae ad Lucilium,' are generally referred to this period of his life.

12. **inminuere**, 'to degrade,' i.e. to lower in Nero's estimation (cp. 2. 34, 4, etc.). That he was not deposed from his office is plain from 15. 48, 4, etc. His friendship for Agrippina is implied in 13. 21, 9; 22, 1.

13. **criminantibus**, perhaps dat. after 'promptum,' but probably better taken as abl. abs. The persons would be those who had attacked Seneca, the 'deteriores' of c. 52, 1.

validior: cp. c. 51, 6.

14. **malas artes.** By these his 'accomplishments in vice' (see c. 51, 6) appear to be meant (cp. 'artibus tuis' c. 55, 6); which he believed would find the more favour if he laid the prince under obligation to him by complicity in his atrocities (murders of eminent men).

15. **metus eius rimatur**, 'pries out (cp. 'adversa rimantes' 2. 69, 5) the causes of his fear': for this use of 'metus' cp. 1. 40, 1, and note.

compertoque Plautum et Sullam maxime timeri, Plautum in
Asiam, Sullam in Galliam Narbonensem nuper amotos, nobilita-
tem eorum et propinquos huic orientis, illi Germaniae exercitus
2 commemorat. non se, ut Burrum, diversas spes, sed solam
incolumitatem Neronis spectare; cui caveri utcumque ab urbanis
insidiis praesenti opera: longinquos motus quonam modo com-
3 primi posse? erectas Gallias ad nomen dictatorium, nec minus
4 suspensos Asiae populos claritudine avi Drusi. Sullam inopem,
unde praecipuam audaciam, et simulatorem segnitiae, dum te-
5 meritati locum reperiret. Plautum magnis opibus ne fingere
quidem cupidinem otii, sed veterum Romanorum imitamenta
praeferre, adsumpta etiam Stoicorum adrogantia sectaque, quae
turbidos et negotiorum adpetentes faciat. nec ultra mora.
6 Sulla sexto die pervectis Massiliam percussoribus ante metum
et rumorem interficitur, cum epulandi causa discumberet.

1. **Plautum et Sullam.** On the former see c. 22, 2, on the latter, 12. 52, 1, and note.

2. **amotos**: for the pl. cp. 3. 62, 1, and note, for the facts see c. 22, 5; 13. 47, 4.

3. **huic . . . illi.** The reference of these pronouns is reversed, without such reason as is apparent elsewhere (cp. 2. 77, 1, and note).

4. **diversas spes . . . spectare**, 'had an eye to hopes from opposite quarters' (had a divided allegiance). He means that Burrus acknowledged obligations to Agrippina (12. 42, 2), was never hearty in acting against her (c. 7, 4; 13. 20, 5), and might even have had a leaning to her schemes for Plautus (13. 19, 2).

5. **cui caveri**, etc., 'for whom precautions against city conspiracies are indeed somehow (cp. 2. 14, 4; 12. 51, 2, etc.) taken by diligence on the spot' (i. e. by his own). 'Praesenti opera' is generally read by recent edd., after Lips., for the Med. 'presentiora' (apparently an error arising from abbreviation); the older edd. read 'praesentia' (sc. 'ipsius Neronis'); Heins. prefers 'praesenti cura' (with MS. Agr.); Haase 'praesenti copia' (cp. 4. 47, 1). The sense given above to 'praesenti' would be the same as in 3. 34, 10, etc. Others take it to mean 'immediate' (as in 1. 32, 6, etc.).

7. **ad**, 'at the sound of' (Nipp.). Sulla was descended from the great dictator, as is shown by his name 'Felix' (see notes on 12. 52, 1; 6. 15, 1).

8. **suspensos**, 'excited by expectation' (cp. H. 2. 4, 4; 4. 8, 2), thus answering to 'erectas.' This reading is adopted by most edd. after Lips. for the Med. 'suspectos,' which can hardly be taken with 'claritudine' in any such sense as that their fidelity was suspected by reason of the renown of Drusus (i. e. of the impression made upon them by it). For the pedigree of Plautus see note on 13. 19, 3.

9. **simulatorem segnitiae**: cp. 13. 47, 1.

10. **magnis opibus**, abl. of quality.

11. **imitamenta.** The notion of pretence is implied in this word (cp. 3. 5, 6; 13. 4, 1), and in 'praeferre.' 'Placita maiorum colebat' is said of him in c. 22, 3.

12. **sectaque, quae**, etc. On the Stoic opposition see Introd. p. 83; Friedl. iii. p. 618, etc.

13. **turbidos**, 'seditious,' as in c. 59, 5; 3. 38, 2, etc.

negotiorum adpetentes, 'eager for politics' (cp. 'reipublicae negotiis' 4. 40, 8); this being popularly taken to be part of the Stoic ideal of life as contrasted with the Epicurean (Hor. Epp. 1. 1, 16), though by no means in accordance with its real doctrines (see Introd. p. 84). Nipp. less well takes it of a desire for dangers (i. e. for political martyrdom).

perlatum caput eius inlusit Nero tamquam praematura canitie deforme.

58. Plauto parari necem non perinde occultum fuit, quia 1
pluribus salus eius curabatur, et spatium itineris ac maris tempusque interiectum moverat famam; vulgoque fingebant petitum ab eo Corbulonem, magnis tum exercitibus praesidentem et, clari atque insontes si interficerentur, praecipuum ad pericula. quin 2
et Asiam favore iuvenis arma cepisse, nec milites ad scelus missos aut numero validos aut animo promptos, postquam iussa efficere nequiverint, ad spes novas transisse. vana haec more famae credentium otio augebantur; ceterum libertus Plauti celeritate ventorum praevenit centurionem et mandata L. Antistii soceri attulit: effugeret segnem mortem, dum suffugium esset: magni

1. **perlatum**, 'brought home' (for him to see): Med. has 'prelatum' (with a stroke drawn through 'p'); most edd. read 'relatum,' as in c. 59, 4, etc.

tamquam = ὡς.

4. **pluribus**, dat. of the agent.

spatium, etc. It seems best to take 'spatium' and 'tempus' as merely different ways of putting the same fact, and 'itineris' as used specifically of journey by land as contrasted with 'maris' ('the long journey by land and sea and the time which had to intervene'). Dr. would take 'ac maris' as a more specific idea subordinated to 'itineris,' to imply the special delays of the sea voyage ('the length of the route, especially of the part by sea'), and instances Liv. 7. 13, 9 ('viri ac Romani'); 23. 33, 11 ('Carthaginienses atque Hannibal'). It is meant that the length of time before it could be known in Rome that the mandate had been executed gave opportunity for reports to spread there.

5. **petitum**, etc., 'that he had fled to Corbulo.'

6. **praesidentem**, used in this sense (with accus.) in 3. 39, 1.

7. **si**. This conjunction is wanting, and may most easily have dropped out in this place, where Bezzenb. inserts it.

praecipuum ad pericula. The meaning here required seems to be 'most exposed to danger'; though the analogy of 'praecipuos ad scelera' (6. 7, 3) would suggest the sense of 'ad pericula suscipienda' rather than 'subeunda.' Cp. also 16. 14, 3.

8. **nec**. The negation is taken with 'aut' . . . 'aut'; the sense being that of 'et . . . neque . . . neque': cp. 2. 40, 6; 12. 36, 6, and notes. It is seen below that the soldiers were 60 in number.

10. **spes novas** = 'spem novarum rerum,' as in 1. 4, 2; 16. 23, 2.

more famae, 'as is the way of reports'; so in H. 4. 50, 1: cp. 'ut mos famae' (3. 44, 1), 'more rumorum' (Sall. H. 2. 70 D, 88 K, 42 G).

11. **credentium otio**, 'by the indolence of the credulous'; i. e. 'by indolent credulity.' The story, with whatever additions it gathered at every step, was passed on by those who were too indolent to sift it. It seems needless to read 'odio,' with J. F. Gron., as advocated by Madvig (Adv. ii. 555).

ceterum = 'revera autem' (cp. 1. 10, 1, and note), to contrast the true story with the rumour.

12. **L. Antistii**: see 13. 11, 1, and note.

13. **dum suffugium esset**. The Med. text, 'otium suffugium et,' has given rise to a vast number of emendations, no one of which has won general acceptance. That above given is now adopted by Halm (who had formerly read 'sontium suffugium: ex'), from Andresen. The conjectures of older date are collected by Walther, those of later editors by Halm and Baiter, to which may be added that of Madv. (Adv. ii. 555) 'in motu suffugium et.' It may be noted that the 'segnis mors' which he was to avoid was the tame submission to the assassins on the way to him, so that no emendation can be right which would take 'suffugium' in apposition with 'mortem' in the sense of suicide.

nominis miseratione repperturum bonos, consociaturum audaces:
4 nullum interim subsidium aspernandum. si sexaginta milites
(tot enim adveniebant) propulisset, dum refertur nuntius Neroni,
dum manus alia permeat, multa secutura quae adusque bellum
5 evalescerent. denique aut salutem tali consilio quaeri, aut nihil
gravius audenti quam ignavo patiendum esse.

1 **59.** Sed Plautum ea non movere, sive nullam opem providebat inermis atque exul, seu taedio ambiguae spei, an amore coniugis et liberorum, quibus placabiliorem fore principem re-
2 batur nulla sollicitudine turbatum. sunt qui alios a socero nuntios venisse ferant, tamquam nihil atrox immineret; doctoresque sapientiae, Coeranum Graeci, Musonium Tusci generis, constantiam opperiendae mortis pro incerta et trepida vita
3 suasisse. repertus est certe per medium diei nudus exercitando

1. **miseratione,** generally read by recent edd., with some inferior MSS. for the Med. 'miseratione͞' ('miserationem'). Those who retain the accus. couple 'miserationem' with 'suffugium,' which might give a fair sense, if some such reading as 'odium suffugium' (Baiter) were adopted.

3. **dum refertur . . . permeat.** For the use of 'dum' with indic. in indirect speech cp. 13. 15, 7, etc.

4. **adusque** = 'usque ad,' here alone in Tacitus, and in no earlier prose, but in Verg., Hor., etc., afterwards in Gell. and Appul.: cp. 'abusque' (13. 47, 2, and note).

5. **evalescerent,** 'would be strong enough to result in war': so in 'tumultum evaluit' (H. 1. 80, 3). The verb is also found in G. 2, 5; 28, 1, and in other prose of the silver age, and appears to originate with Verg. and Hor.

7. **sive . . . seu . . . an.** The form of the sentence would be rather in favour of taking 'an' (with Dr.) as subordinate to 'seu,' the main antithesis being between the absence of any prospect of help and his personal feelings. On the other hand 'an' is generally allowed to stand as coordinate with 'sive' in 11. 26, 1 (where see note).

9. **coniugis,** Antistia Pollitta: see c. 22, 5, and note.

10. **alios,** others besides the freedman before mentioned, and bringing news that no extreme sentence was to be expected.

11. **tamquam** = ὡς, as in c. 57, 6, etc.: for the sense of 'atrox' cp. 5. 3, 4; 6. 2, 1; 16. 30, 3; H. 3. 59, 6, etc.

12. **Coeranum.** This person is elsewhere only mentioned in the 'Index auctorum' to Book 2, given in Plin. N. H. 1. ('Coerano philosopho'); but this seems sufficient evidence of his existence to make it needless to suppose (with Lips.) that the name of Claranus, the 'condiscipulus' of Seneca (Ep. 66, 1), or with Ritt. that the name of Cornutus, who was exiled either at the same date with Musonius (see Dio, 62, 27, 4; 29, 4), or more probably after the date at which the Annals close, should be substituted. The former is not a Greek name, the latter was an African.

Musonium Tusci generis. C. Musonius Rufus, a knight (H. 3. 81, 1) of Vulsinii (Suid. s.v.), was a renowned Stoic, the teacher of Epictetus, and is often cited in Arrian's memoirs of that philosopher. On the pretext of complicity in the conspiracy of Piso (see 15. 71, 9), he was banished to Gyarus (Philost. Vit. Ap. 7. 16), but had returned by 822, A. D. 69, and took part in the politics of that time (H. 3. 81, 1; 4. 10, 1; 40, 4). He appears to have been dead when Plin. mi. speaks of him (Ep. 3. 11, 5) as a former friend. Some further notice of him will be found in Gell. 5. 1; 9. 2; 16. 1; and a fragment of his teaching, preserved by Stobaeus, is given in Ritt. and Prell. Hist. § 465.

13. **opperiendae mortis,** defining genit.

14. **medium diei:** cp. 11. 21, 2, and note.

corpori. talem eum centurio trucidavit coram Pelagone spadone, quem Nero centurioni et manipulo, quasi satellitibus ministrum regium, praeposuerat. caput interfecti relatum; cuius aspectu 4
(ipsa principis verba referam) cur, inquit, Nero * * * et posito metu nuptias Poppaeae ob eius modi terrores dilatas maturare parat Octaviamque coniugem amoliri, quamvis modeste ageret, nomine patris et studiis populi gravem. sed ad senatum literas 5
misit de caede Sullae Plautique haud confessus, verum utriusque turbidum ingenium esse, et sibi incolumitatem rei publicae magna cura haberi. decretae eo nomine supplicationes, utque 6
Sulla et Plautus senatu moverentur, gravioribus iam ludibriis quam malis.

nudus, etc., 'stripped for gymnastic exercises': the use of 'nudus' with gerundive dat., though not found elsewhere, is analogous to that of many other adjectives (Introd. i. v. § 22 b; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 206 B. b).

1. **talem**, 'in such condition.' This was an addition to the indignity. Pelagon is sent to see the command executed, as was Euodus the freedman in the case of Messalina (11. 37, 4).

2. **manipulo**, here taken loosely to mean 'a detachment.' The 'manipulus' properly consisted of two centuries, and this body was one of only 60 men (c. 58, 4).

quasi, etc., 'like a sultan's slave in command of his retinue': 'satelles' is used invidiously of the train of a royal personage: cp. 16. 22, 3; also 'regii satellites' (Liv. 2. 12, 8), etc.

4. **ipsa . . . verba**: for the few instances of such quotations see note on 6. 6, 1.

cur, inquit, etc. That the words used are lost, has been noted by all edd. after Walther. Their purport may have been the same as that given by Dio (62. 14, 1), *'οὐκ ᾔδειν,' ἔφη, 'ὅτι μεγάλην ῥῖνα εἶχεν,' ὥσπερ φεισάμενος ἂν αὐτοῦ εἰ τοῦτο προηπίστατο*; whence Halm thinks the passage may have run as follows, 'Cur inquit, Nero, hominem nasutum timuisti'? Such a brutal jest is in accordance with his remark on the death of Sulla (c. 57, 6), and (according to some) on that of Agrippina (see on c. 9, 1).

5. **Poppaeae**. His intercourse with her had already lasted over four years (13. 45, 1).

eius modi terrores. This is evidently ironical, and is generally understood of the fear of mere exiles. It may however have some reference, which we cannot explain, to the lost words.

6. **Octaviam**. He had been nominally married to her for more than nine years (12. 58, 1).

amoliri, so used of the same act in H. 1. 13, 8; and of the removal of Germanicus (2. 42, 1); also of persons in Plaut. and Ter.

modeste, 'unassumingly,' not endeavouring to enlist popular sympathy.

7. **nomine**, 'on account of'; so 'meo nomine' (H. 1. 29, 4), and in Cic., etc. Her mere presence reminded him of the treachery practised on her father. The popular feeling in her favour is shown in c. 60, 6, foll.

gravem, 'burdensome': so in c. 39, 2; 15. 1, 5, etc.

8. **haud confessus**. He did not own that he had put them to death, but said that they were dangerous men and that his care for the public safety obliged him to make complaint of them. The senate answers in the same vein and gravely sentences them as if they were alive.

10. **magna cura haberi** (= 'cum magna cura') 'was treated (watched over) with great solicitude.' Dr. notes this expression as new; but its opposite 'sine cura haberi' is used (with 'minora') in 11. 8, 2; and (with 'externa') in H. 1. 79, 1. No editors appear to have followed Heins. in reading 'magnae curae haberi' ('interested him deeply').

eo nomine, 'on that pretext,' i.e. for his vigilance in detecting the crimes of these men.

11. **gravioribus iam ludibriis quam**

1 **60.** Igitur accepto patrum consulto, postquam cuncta sce-
lerum suorum pro egregiis accipi videt, exturbat Octaviam,
2 sterilem dictitans; exim Poppaeae coniungitur. ea diu paelex
et adulteri Neronis, mox mariti potens, quendam ex ministris
3 Octaviae impulit servilem ei amorem obicere. destinaturque
reus cognomento Eucaerus, natione Alexandrinus, canere tibiis
4 doctus. actae ob id de ancillis quaestiones, et vi tormentorum
victis quibusdam ut falsa adnuerent, plures perstitere sanctitatem
dominae tueri; ex quibus una instanti Tigellino castiora esse
5 muliebria Octaviae respondit quam os eius. movetur tamen
primo civilis discidii specie domumque Burri, praedia Plauti,

malis, 'the mockery (of this condemnation of dead men) seeming even more revolting than the crimes' (the murder itself): the former caused more indignation against the senate than even the latter against Nero. Another such act is similarly commented on in 16. 11, 6 ('ea caedibus peractis ludibria adiciebantur'); but such sentences were not altogether without their significance as a 'damnatio memoriae.' 'Iam' is read by Freinsh. and Nipp., after MS. Agr., and gives a better sense than Halm's 'tum'; either being in itself a probable correction of the Med. 'tā' ('tam'), which may also be taken as an error for 'tam̄' ('tamen'), the reading of most edd., after G. This reading, though capable of a similar meaning to that given above ('great as was the crime, the mockery was yet greater'), is generally so taken as to make the remark somewhat weak ('which sentence was however more grievous as a mockery than as a calamity,' inasmuch as it could not hurt the dead).

1. **consulto**, the decree of 'supplicationes' just mentioned.

cuncta scelerum. On such uses of the partitive genit. without any partitive force see Introd. i. v. § 32 b.

2. **exturbat . . . coniungitur.** Nipp. points out that these presents are anticipatory; the fact being restated below in its proper place ('movetur tamen,' etc.) and the events related in the following lines being prior to it. According to Suet. (Ner. 35), the marriage with Poppaea took place on the twelfth day after the divorce.

5. **impulit . . . obicere**: cp. 13. 19, 4, and note.

destinatur, 'is marked out,' intended to be set up.

6. **canere tibiis.** The Med. text 'ptybias' ('per tibias') is retained by Or., but would be an unexampled construction. Most others read as above, with G.; Ritt. corrects to 'puer tibiis'; Heins. and Bezzenb. to 'perite tibia,' (or 'tibiis'). The instrumental performers of Alexandria were celebrated for their skill (Athen. 4. 176 e).

8. **ut falsa adnuerent.** No other strictly parallel instance of this construction (equivalent to that of 'adfirmare') appears to be found; though the verb is used with such an accus. as 'id,' or 'quod' (cp. H. 4. 53, 5; Dial. 33, 4; Cic. de Or. 2. 70, 285, etc.). Nearly all edd. after Put. adopt from inferior MSS. the correction 'ut' for Med. 'si'; which latter could stand if it followed immediately on 'actae . . . quaestiones' (cp. 12. 28, 1, etc.).

plures. 'the majority': according to Dio (62. 13, 4), only the one here mentioned. Suet. (c. 35) mixes up this charge with that made subsequently by Anicetus (c. 62, 6), and appears equally to exaggerate on the other side ('in quaestione pernegantibus cunctis').

9. **una.** Dio (l. l.) gives her name (Pytheas), and adds a detail (προσέπτυσέ τε αὐτῷ).

10. **movetur**, simple for compound, as in c. 32, 4; 59, 6. There is no need to read 'amovetur,' with Faern. and Acid.

11. **civilis discidii specie**, 'under colour of an ordinary legal divorce,' not as if convicted on a criminal charge, which, if sustained, would have amounted to 'maiestas' (2. 50, 1). The ground assigned was sterility (§ 1; c. 63, 1), and the estates assigned were no doubt, as Prof. Holbrooke remarks, given in

infausta dona accipit: mox in Campaniam pulsa est addita
militari custodia. inde crebri questus nec occulti per vulgum, 6
cui minor sapientia et ex mediocritate fortunae pauciora pericula
sunt. his . . . tamquam Nero paenitentia flagitii coniugem re-
vocarit Octaviam.

61. Exim laeti Capitolium scandunt deosque tandem vene- 1
rantur. effigies Poppaeae proruunt, Octaviae imagines gestant
umeris, spargunt floribus foroque ac templis statuunt. † itur 2

satisfaction of her claim of 'dos.' The story of frequent attempts or intentions to strangle her rests only on Suet. (l. l.).

domum Burri, praedia Plauti. Nero must have inherited or purchased the house of Burrus at his death (c. 51, 1), and had of course confiscated the estates of Plautus, in Asia (c. 22, 5) or elsewhere.

1. **pulsa.** The confused account in Suet. (l. l.) speaks of a 'relegatio,' by which the subsequent banishment to Pandateria (c. 63, 1) appears to be meant.

2. **militari custodia,** probably not the strict custody meant by the term in 3. 22, 4, but a surveillance like that of the 'adpositi (or 'additi') custodes' of 4. 60, 1; 6. 14, 3.

per vulgum, taken with 'questus': on the form of the accus. cp. 1. 47, 5, and note.

3. **sapientia,** 'prudence.'

et ex: so generally read, after Put. Med. has no conjunction. Halm. had in former editions altered 'ex' to 'et' (taking the abl. as causal); which seems better than Ritter's retention of the Med. text as an asyndeton.

4. **his . . . Nero,** etc. Med. has here 'his quamquam Nero,' and in the next line 'revocavit.' Orelli leaves it unaltered (marked with an obelus); others have corrected it in a great variety of ways, none of which have found very general acceptance. Halm reads, after MS. Bud. and Rhen., 'his Nero, tamquam,' etc.; others follow Oberl. and Doed. in reading 'his Nero, nequaquam,' etc. (both taking 'his' as a causal abl.); and many other alterations have been made to give a similar meaning. It seems, however, plain from c. 61, especially § 3 ('ne . . . Nero inclinatione populi mutaretur'), that Nero never did actually recall Octavia, though he appeared to be intending to do so; whence it seems best, with Nipp., to read 'revocarit' (with 'tamquam'), and to suppose some words to have dropped out stating that the manifestations of popular feeling made such an impression as to give rise to a rumour that Nero had recalled Octavia as his wife ('coniugem'). A similar reading is advocated by Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 556), who notes the use of the construction with 'tamquam' with the force of an accus. and inf. in c. 22, 1; 3. 12, 7, etc., and the corruption of 'tamquam' to 'quamquam' in the Med. text of 15. 59, 7. Haase (see Baiter's note) fills up the lacuna at some length, so as to give the same meaning, without altering 'quamquam' or 'revocavit.'

6. **tandem.** It is implied that the continuance of evil had led men to disbelieve in divine justice.

7. **effigies . . . proruunt:** for the use of 'proruere' cp. 1. 68, 2, etc.; for a similar act see 3. 14, 6; for a similar carrying of the statues of popular persons see 5. 4, 3.

8. **spargunt floribus.** This honour paid to the statues appear to be grounded on that paid to persons on triumphal occasions: see Liv. 33. 33, 2; Ov. Tr. 4. 2, 49; also the description in Herodian, 1. 7, 5, of the entry of Commodus into Rome (στεφάνων καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς ὑπεδέχοντο).

foro ac templis, abl. of place: see Introd. i. v. § 25.

itur etiam, etc. This corrupt Med. text is emendated by Ritt. and others by omitting or bracketing 'repetitum venerantium' (before which words Ritt. notes that a full stop is placed in Med.) as a gloss on 'laudes,' intended to mean 'laudes eorum qui venerabantur (laudabant) repetitum (revocationem Octaviae).' But the otherwise unknown substantive 'repetitus,' while it might have been invented by Tacitus, on the analogy of other such forms (see Introd. i. v. § 69, 1 b), is very unlikely to have been coined by a glossator; and if the words could bear such a meaning, they might stand as

etiam in principis laudes repetitum venerantium. iamque et
Palatium multitudine et clamoribus complebant, cum emissi
militum globi verberibus et intento ferro turbatos disiecere.
mutataque quae per seditionem verterant, et Poppaeae honos
3 repositus est. quae semper odio, tum et metu atrox, ne aut
vulgi acrior vis ingrueret aut Nero inclinatione populi mutaretur,
provoluta genibus eius, non eo loci res suas ait, ut de matrimonio
certet, quamquam id sibi vita potius, sed vitam ipsam in extre-
mum adductam a clientelis et servitiis Octaviae, quae plebis sibi
nomen indiderint, ea in pace ausi quae vix bello evenirent.
4 arma illa adversus principem sumpta; ducem tantum defuisse,
qui motis rebus facile reperiretur, omitteret modo Campaniam
et in urbem ipsa pergeret, ad cuius nutum absentis tumultus
5 cierentur. quod alioquin suum delictum? quam cuiusquam
offensionem? an quia veram progeniem penatibus Caesarum
datura sit? malle populum Romanum tibicinis Aegyptii subo-

part of the text; 'laudes' being taken with a double genit. (objective and subjective). Halm suggests that 'aedes' may have been lost before 'laudes' ('repetitum' being taken as a supine); but the 'et' before 'Palatium' in the following sentence seems rather to represent this demonstration as a distinct and subsequent act. Among the many other attempts at correction may be noted 'expetitur venerantibus' (read, with comma after 'laudes,' by Ryck. and Brot. after MS. Agr.) and 'repetita veneratione' (Harl. and J. H. Müller). The use of 'veneratio' to denote reverence for the prince can be illustrated from c. 13. 1; and Müller thinks (Beitr. 4. p. 32) that 'repetita' might refer to the expressions of feeling recorded at an earlier time (c. 10, 2; 13, 2); but it would be more naturally referred to 'deos . . . venerantur' above.

4. **quae verterant**, 'the changes which they had made,' in respect of the statues.

7. **provoluta genibus**: cp. 11. 30, 1, and note.

non eo loci, etc., 'her fortunes were not now in such a position': 'loci' is thus used as a quasi-partitive genit. with 'eo' in 15. 74, 1, with 'eodem' in 4. 4, 3 (where see note). Halm follows Bezzenb. in altering the Med. 'agi' to 'ait'; Ritt. reads 'agi ait'; others retain the Med. text, which, though a somewhat strong instance of the omission of the verb of speaking, is hardly stronger than some others common in Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 38 a).

10. **in pace . . . bello**, so coupled in H. 2. 82, 3: both are used with preps. in H. 2. 77, 5, etc., both without preps. in H. 2. 86, 3, etc.

ausi. Dr. points out that here the use of the abstracts 'clientelis et servitiis' for concretes justifies and even necessitates the change to the masc. (notwithstanding the preceding 'quae'), as 'ausa' would be hardly intelligible. Cp. 'auxilia . . . caesi' (4. 48, 5), 'vexilla . . . eos' (H. 1. 31, 8), and note on c. 20, 7.

13. **ipsa**: so all recent edd., after Bötticher, for the Med. 'ipsam.'

14. **quod alioquin**, etc. Nipp. appears rightly to expand this concise expression. 'Otherwise, if this were a real attack on me, not a covert act of sedition against Nero, some charge would be alleged against me. But what is that charge?' For the sense of 'alioquin' cp. 2. 38, 6, and note.

15. **veram**, 'trueborn.' Dr. compares 'verum ac germanum Metellum' (Cic. Verr. 4. 66, 147), 'tua vera propago' (Ov. Met. 2, 38). Her daughter was born in the following January (15. 23, 1).

16. **malle**. For the omission of the interrogative particle, most unusual in oratio obliqua, see 2. 15. 4, and note. Here Med. has 'mallet,' whence Ritt. (1848) reads 'mallene.' Walth. places only a comma at 'sit,' and makes 'malle'

lem imperatorio fastigio induci? denique, si id rebus conducat, 6
libens quam coactus acciret dominam, vel consuleret securitati
iusta ultione. et modicis remediis primos motus consedisse: 7
at si desperent uxorem Neronis fore Octaviam, illi maritum
daturos.

62. Varius sermo et ad metum atque iram accommodatus 1
terruit simul audientem et accendit. sed parum valebat suspicio
in servo et quaestionibus ancillarum elusa erat. ergo confes- 2
sionem alicuius quaeri placet, cui rerum quoque novarum crimen
adfingeretur. et visus idoneus maternae necis patrator Anicetus, 3
classi apud Misenum, ut memoravi, praefectus, levi post admissum
scelus gratia, dein graviore odio, quia malorum facinorum ministri
quasi exprobrantes aspiciuntur. igitur accitum eum Caesar operae 4
prioris admonet: solum incolumitati principis adversus insidian-
tem matrem subvenisse; locum haud minoris gratiae instare, si
coniugem infensam depelleret. nec manu aut telo opus: fate- 5
retur Octaviae adulterium. occulta quidem ad praesens, sed

depend on 'an,' so as to make the whole sentence mean 'does the Roman people, from being offended with me for this, prefer?' etc.; but 'quia' has thus a less intelligible meaning.

tibicinis Aegyptii, sc. 'Eucaeri': see c. 60, 3.

1. **induci**, 'to be thrust into imperial grandeur.' The use of this verb with a dat. is taken from Verg. (G. 1, 316), and has the sense of bringing into a house in Val. Fl. 2, 132 ('toris inducere Thressas'), and Pl. Ep. 6. 33, 2 ('illi novercam . . . induxerat').

2. **libens quam coactus**: on the omission of 'potius' see Introd. i. v. § 64, 1.

dominam, implying that if he yielded to this dictation he would have to be his wife's slave.

vel, 'or if he could not stoop to this': for the use of 'vel' cp. c. 35, 4, and note.

3. **et modicis**, etc. The present movement had been easily repressed (see § 2); but if the people find out that Octavia is not to be restored, she must be put to death, or they will find her another husband who will be a claimant for the imperial dignity.

6. **Varius**, explained by the context, 'addressing itself by turns to his fear and passion.' The sense of 'artificial,' given by Jacob and Burnouf, is hardly borne out by the reference to Sall. Cat. 5, 4 ('animus audax, subdolus, varius').

8. **in servo**, 'in the case of the slave,' the story of Eucaerus (c. 60, 3).

elusa erat, 'had been frustrated'; a sense somewhat similar to that of 'sententia . . . elusa' in 3. 34, 13 (where see note). It can hardly be right to refer 'elusa' (with Doed.) to Poppaea.

10. **patrator**, ἅπ. εἰρ., except in late writers (Avienus and Jerome): see Introd. i. v. § 69, 1 a.

11. **ut memoravi**, c. 3. 5.

12. **gratia . . . odio**, ablatives of quality.

13. **quasi exprobrantes aspiciuntur**, 'seem to upbraid us when we look on them' (as it were demanding their reward). The sentiment is in the same vein with that in 4. 18, 3: for the sense of 'exprobrare' cp. 4. 57, 5; 13. 21, 9. 'Malorum' (which, and not 'maiorum,' as given by Baiter and others, is, according to Ritt., the true Med. reading) is not an otiose adjective; 'facinus' being often used, as a neutral term, with epithets of either kind (cp. 1. 8, 7; H. 2. 50, 2, etc.).

16. **manu**, 'violence'; so coupled with 'telum' in c. 55, 4; 13. 6, 5; H. 3. 10, 5, etc.

magna ei praemia et secessus amoenos promittit, vel, si nega-
6 visset, necem intentat. ille insita vaecordia et facilitate priorum flagitiorum, plura etiam quam iussum erat fingit fateturque apud amicos, quos velut consilio adhibuerat princeps. tum in Sardiniam pellitur, ubi non inops exilium toleravit et fato obiit.

1 **63.** At Nero praefectum in spem sociandae classis corruptum, et incusatae paulo ante sterilitatis oblitus, abactos partus conscientia libidinum, eaque sibi conperta edicto memorat insulaque
2 Pandateria Octavium claudit. non alia exul visentium oculos maiore misericordia adfecit. meminerant adhuc quidam Agrippinae a Tiberio, recentior Iuliae memoria obversabatur a Claudio

1. **secessus**, Dr. notes the plural as used after the analogy of 'loca.'

vel = 'aut,' as in c. 61, 6, etc.

2. **necem intentat**, apparently taken from 'intentant omnia mortem' (Verg. Aen. 1, 91).

insita vaecordia. This expression does not seem able to be used strictly of moral depravity, but is well explained by Prof. Holbrooke as 'natural perversity,' i.e. unreasoning malice.

facilitate priorum flagitiorum, 'with a readiness belonging to (resulting from) his former crimes.' Such a genit. is certainly (as Jacob notes) unusual; but this explanation seems preferable to that of taking 'facilitate' as a causal abl., with the sense 'because his former crimes had been so easily accomplished' (like 'facilitate adulteriorum' in 11. 26, 1).

3. **plura**, apparently such details as are mentioned in c. 63, 1.

iussum erat. 'Iussus erat' would be more usual; but Nipp. notes the preference of Tacitus for this form: cp. 2. 40, 4; H. 4. 35, 4; 5. 21, 3, and the use of 'iubere aliquid' (13. 15. 4; Agr. 45, 2), and that with the subjunct. (13. 15, 3, etc.).

4. **amicos**, the judicial 'consilium amicorum principis' (see 13. 23, 4, and note; Introd. i. vi. p. 74; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 988, foll.) In the case of a wife, the investigation might have taken the form of a family trial (see 13. 32, 4, and note); but it is implied in 'velut' that the process, of whatever sort, was a sham.

5. **fato obiit**, 'died a natural death': for the same, or similar phrases, cp. 2. 71, 1; 6. 10, 3; 11. 2, 5; etc., also 'fato cedere' (Liv. 26. 13, 7); 'fatum' being taken in such expressions to mean what would happen in the ordinary course of nature (Introd. i. iv. 22).

6. **in spem**, 'with a view to the hope': cp. c. 15, 8, and note; also 'in saevitiam' (15. 44, 8, and note).

7. **paulo ante**: cp. c. 60, 3.

abactos partus. This is perhaps the meaning of what Zonaras (11. 12) says (μοιχείας καὶ γοητείας κατηγόρους ψευδεῖς παρεσκευάσατο). Suet. (Ner. 35) mentions only the alleged adultery ('Anicetum . . . iudicem subiecerit, qui fingeret dolo stupratam a se'). Causing abortion was not a crime under Roman law in early times (Cic. Clu. 11, 31), nor is any penalty known to have been imposed upon it till the time of Septimius Severus (Marcian, in Dig. 47. 11, 4).

conscientia libidinum (causal abl.), because she dared not to pass off her offspring as legitimate.

8. **conperta**, through the evidence of Anicetus.

9. **Pandateria**: see 1. 53, 1, and note. Hence Lips. reads in Pseudo-Sen. Oct. 971 'Pandateriae (for 'tandem Phariae') limina terrae.' Some edd. read 'Pandataria'; but the form given above is that of Med. 1, and is probably intended by the Med. 'pandecteria' here.

10. **meminerant**, etc. Agrippina was banished to Pandateria, and died there in 786, A. D. 33 (see 6. 25, 1, and note). Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, was banished, by the influence of Messalina, on a charge of adultery with Seneca, in 749, A. D. 41 (Introd. p. 10) and was soon afterwards put to death (Dio, 60, 8, 5). It appears to be implied that she was exiled to the same place. The banishment of Julia, daughter of Augustus (1. 53, 1) is omitted, probably as having faded out of memory.

pulsae: sed illis robur aetatis adfuerat; laeta aliqua viderant et 3
praesentem saevitiam melioris olim fortunae recordatione adle-
vabant. huic primum nuptiarum dies loco funeris fuit, deductae 4
in domum in qua nihil nisi luctuosum haberet, erepto per vene-
num patre et statim fratre; tum ancilla domina validior et Pop-
paea non nisi in perniciem uxoris nupta, postremo crimen omni
exitio gravius.

64. Ac puella vicensimo aetatis anno inter centuriones et 1
milites, praesagio malorum iam vitae exempta, nondum tamen
morte adquiescebat. paucis dehinc interiectis diebus mori iube- 2
tur, cum iam viduam se et tantum sororem testaretur com-

1. **robur aetatis.** This seems hardly true of Julia, who was but 23 at the time of her banishment (see 2. 54, 1), and probably no older than Octavia (see on c. 64, 1). Prof. Holbrooke thinks that Julia, daughter of Drusus (see 13. 32, 5, and note), may be meant; but there is no record of her having been banished.

2. **adlevabant.** Compare the opposite sentiment of Dante (Inf. v), 'nessun maggior dolore, che ricordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria.'

3. **primum.** Nipp. and Dr. follow Lips. in reading 'primus'; but the correction seems needless, as 'primum' answers well to 'tum' and 'postremo.'

5. **patre . . . fratre,** Claudius and Britannicus. The death of the one took place in the year following her marriage, that of the other in the next year afterwards.

ancilla, Acte (13. 12, 1): with 'validior' would be supplied 'in animo mariti' (cp. c. 51, 6, etc.). Nipp. notes that with these clauses some general notion, like 'patienda fuerunt' is supplied from 'huic . . . fuit.'

6. **non nisi,** etc., i.e. who could never let her rival live.

crimen, the charge now brought against her.

8. **puella,** used of a young wife in 16. 30, 3, and often in poets, as Hor. Od. 3. 22, 2; Prop. 4. 13, 23 (of Penelope); Ov. F. 2, 555, also in Gell. 12. 1, 4, etc.

vicensimo. This word is plainly wrong, and cannot be taken as a round number. She was evidently older than Britannicus (Suet. Cl. 27), whose birth is dated twenty-one, or at least twenty years before this year (see on 12. 25, 3; 13. 15, 1); and she had been promised in marriage to L. Silanus in 794, A.D. 41 (Dio, 60. 5, 7). It is suggested by Nipp. that the word in Tacitus may have been 'duo et vicensimo,' written in early MSS. as 'II et vicensimo,' and that it may have lost its first letters by confusion with the three last of 'puella.' Such a reading as 'quinto et vicensimo,' as suggested by Ritt., would seem more in accordance with her supposed real age, but less easy to reconcile with the text. Similar errors of Tacitus or his copyists are noted in 12. 25, 3, etc.

9. **vitae exempta**: the dat. is read by all recent edd., after Heins. for the Med. 'vita'; this case being used with 'eximere' in eighteen places by Tacitus (1. 48, 2; 64, 4, etc.), the classical 'eximere e vita' once (Agr. 3. 3), and the simple abl. never; though it is not unfrequent in Livy (6. 24, 8, etc.). The meaning is that this exile, so often the precursor of death, gave her such presentiment of her fate as to warn her that she had no longer a place among the living.

nondum tamen morte adquiescebat. The attempt to interpret this expression from Cic. Mil. 37, 102 ('qui maxime P. Clodii morte acquierunt'), so as to give the sense 'could not reconcile herself to death' (Church and Brodribb), seems less satisfactory than that of Orelli, Louandre, etc., that while thus cut off from life, she 'could not yet find repose in death' ('morte' being equivalent to 'in morte'). Orelli cites 'anno acquievit septuagesimo' (Nep. Hann. 13), and the frequent use of 'hic adquiescit' in inscriptions, not only in those of Christians (e. g. Or. 2313, 4084, 4491).

10. **paucis . . . diebus.** Suet. (Ner. 57) gives the day of her death as the same as that on which Nero afterwards perished (June 9).

11. **iam viduam,** 'she was now un-

munesque Germanicos et postremo Agrippinae nomen cieret,
qua incolumi infelix quidem matrimonium, sed sine exitio pertu-
3 lisset. restringitur vinclis venaeque eius per omnes artus ex-
solvuntur; et quia pressus pavore sanguis tardius labebatur,
4 praefervidi balnei vapore enecatur. additurque atrocior saevitia,
quod caput amputatum latumque in urbem Poppaea vidit. dona
5 ob haec templis decreta quem ad finem memorabimus? qui-
cumque casus temporum illorum nobis vel aliis auctoribus
noscent, praesumptum habeant, quotiens fugas et caedes iussit
princeps, totiens grates deis actas, quaeque rerum secundarum
6 olim, tum publicae cladis insignia fuisse. neque tamen silebimus,
si quod senatus consultum adulatione novum aut patientia postre-
mum fuit.

married, and no more to Nero than a sister' (by his adoption). The same speech is given in Pseudo-Sen. Oct. 658 ('soror Augusti, non uxor ero').

communes Germanicos. Her grandfather, the elder Drusus, was honoured at his death with the title Germanicus, to be borne by himself and his posterity (Suet. Cl. 1). This name was thus that of the family of Octavia on her father's side, and that of Nero on his mother's, and (by his adoption) on his father's also.

2. **qua incolumi . . . pertulisset**: cp. c. 1, 1.

4. **pressus**, equivalent to 'repressus' ('arrested'), as in c. 5, 2 to 'oppressus': cp. 'premunt sanguinem' (15. 64, 1).

labebatur, 'was trickling.' Dr. notes the similar application of this word in poetry to 'aqua,' 'flumen,' 'lacrima,' 'oleum,' etc.

5. **vapore**, 'hot air': cp. 11. 3, 2, and note. For a similar mode of hastening death see 15. 64, 5; 69, 3.

additur, 'is added to the rest': cp. 'adicitur' (13. 41, 4). This atrocity consisted in exhibiting her head as that of a malefactor, and allowing her rival to gloat upon the sight.

6. **dona . . . decreta quem ad finem memorabimus?** So Halm, Or., Nipp, Dr., Ritt., after Doed., for the Med. 'dona . . . decretaque ad finem,' etc. The older edd. follow Put. in reading 'dona . . . decreta: quod ('quae' G.) eum ad finem memorabimus, ut,' etc. This reading was formerly retained by Nipp., and is still defended by Jacob, who thinks that Tacitus would hardly have mentioned the fact itself thus by implication only, and would hardly have used 'ob haec' in the sense of 'ob haec atque talia.' These objections do not seem very weighty, and are balanced by the difficulty of taking 'finem' in the subjective sense of 'purpose' or 'design.' Also the rhetorical force of the whole passage is much heightened by supposing him thus to recoil from the explicit mention of this most loathsome instance of such mockeries of religion, while he begs his hearers to infer from it that the same took place on all similar occasions. The meaning would thus be 'how long shall I go on (cp. c. 52, 5, and note), recounting each occasion of such decrees'? Compare the similar passage in 3. 65, 1.

8. **nobis vel aliis auctoribus**, abl. abs., 'with myself or others as their authorities.'

9. **praesumptum habeant**, 'let them take for granted' (= 'cogitatione praesumant'): cp. 'utcumque se praesumit innocentem' (App. M. 7. 27, p. 200, 8), 'vulgo praesumitur' (Dig. 12. 3, 7). The sense is nearly akin to that in 12. 41, 4, and to 'spe praesumite bellum' (Verg. Aen. 11, 18). For the use of 'habere' cp. 13. 21, 3, and note.

11. **neque tamen silebimus**; i. e. though mere ordinary instances will be suppressed. Such a decree is mentioned in 15. 74, 1.

12. **patientia postremum**, 'the uttermost in submissiveness.' The sentiment may be compared in Agr. 2, 3 'dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum, et, sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute.' 'Postremus' is so used by Cic: cp. 'homines postremi' (Rosc. Am. 47, 137),

65. Eodem anno libertorum potissimos veneno interfecisse 1 creditus est, Doryphorum quasi adversatum nuptiis Poppaeae, Pallantem, quod inmensam pecuniam longa senecta detineret. Romanus secretis criminationibus incusaverat Senecam ut C. 2 Pisonis socium, sed validius a Seneca eodem crimine perculsus est. unde Pisoni timor et orta insidiarum in Neronem magna moles et inprospera.

'servitus postremum malorum omnium' (Phil. 2. 44, 113).

1. **libertorum**, etc. Suet. (Ner. 35), as in so many instances (see Introd. i. viii. p. 134), speaks vaguely and generally, without giving names: 'libertos divites et senes, olim adoptionis mox dominationis suae fautores atque rectores, veneno, partim cibis, partim potionibus indito, intercepit.'

2. **creditus est.** On this form cp. 13. 30, 3, etc.; Introd. i. v. § 45. It is to be noticed that what Tacitus is careful to state as a mere belief is given by Suet. (l. l.), with circumstantial details, as an established fact.

Doryphorum. It appears from Dio (61. 5, 4), who mentions gifts to him from Nero of ten million H.S., that he held the post 'a libellis'; in which he probably succeeded Callistus (11. 29, 1). It need not be implied by 'quasi' that his alleged offence was a pretext; nor could any pretext have been assigned in such a case.

3. **Pallantem.** See 11. 29, 1, etc. Dio (62. 14, 3) appears to assert as an established fact that he was put to death in some way (τὸν Πάλλαντα διεχρήσατο).

inmensam pecuniam. If Dio (l. l.) is right in estimating his wealth at 400 million H.S. (μυρίας μυριάδας), it must have considerably increased during the past ten years (see 12. 53, 5).

detineret, 'was keeping from him.' According to Gaius (3. § 42), when a freedman left less than three children and died possessed of more than 100,000 H.S., the patron could claim, under the Lex Papia Poppaea, a 'portio virilis,' or share equal to that of one child.

4. **Romanus.** It appears probable that this person, thus mentioned with the others without further explanation, was one of the same rank with them. Nipp. would identify him with a 'Ti. Claudius Romanus,' whose name would show that he was a freedman of Claudius, and who is mentioned in a 'collegium' of freedmen and slaves at Antium in 801, A.D. 48 (Fast. Antiat. in C. I. L. i. p. 327). Ritt. (Philol. xx. 291) supposes a lacuna to exist in which the praenomen ('T.' or 'Ti.') was given, and perhaps some particulars of what became of him. It is also possible that his name may have been here thus briefly given, as one already familiar to readers from mention in the lost portion of the work. Hispo Romanus (1. 74, 1) can hardly have been still alive; Fabius Romanus would not appear from 16. 17, 4 to have been mentioned previously.

5. **socium.** This term would seem to imply some treasonable design already on foot; but the real conspiracy of Piso (15. 48, 1, foll.) is expressly said in the context to have taken its first impulse from this incident, and could not have been even suspected by Nero till some time later. We must therefore suppose that the accuser only alleged that Seneca sought Piso's society, and that the distinguished position of the latter made this seem suspicious. This is certainly not in accordance with the usual meaning of 'socius'; and Nipp.'s bold substitution of 'amicum' might be defended by supposing the former word to have been originally a blundering marginal gloss on the latter, and to have afterwards supplanted it in the text.

6. **orta,** originating in these charges and his own fears.

7. **et inprospera.** The old edd. read 'sed' for 'et,' and it is plain that the 's' of 'set' might easily have been lost after 'moles'; but the use of 'et' with the force of 'et tamen' is not uncommon (cp. 1. 13, 2; 38, 4; 12. 52, 3). This Book ends in the middle of a year, with a series of crimes from c. 57.

BOOK XV.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

Ch. 1-17. Affairs in the East.

1. Vologeses summoned to help by Tiridates and by Monobazus, governor of Adiabene. 2. He calls a council, crowns Tiridates, and prepares for war. 3. Defensive measures of Corbulo. 4. Tigranes besieged in Tigranocerta by Parthians under Monaeses. 5. The siege raised in consequence of a message from Corbulo: Vologeses sends an embassy to Rome. 6. Caesennius Paetus sent to command in Armenia. 7, 8. War renewed: Paetus rashly invades Armenia and gains some successes. 9–11. Corbulo takes a strong position on the Euphrates: the Parthian attack turned to Armenia, where the Roman force, weakened by dispersion, is blockaded and reduced to extremities. 12–16. Corbulo comes to the rescue, but finds that Paetus had been forced to accept humiliating conditions. 17. Corbulo retires to Syria: Armenia left neutral, and an embassy again sent to Rome.

Ch. 18–22. Affairs at Rome.

18. The reverses ignored at Rome; as also a great loss of corn by storm and fire. Nero's boast of his public munificence. 19. Decree of the senate against fictitious adoptions. 20–22. Charge against Claudius Timarchus of Crete: votes of thanks by provincial subjects to their governors forbidden on the motion of Thrasea: portents and other minor events recorded.

A. U. C. 816, A. D. 63. C. Memmius Regulus, L. Verginius Rufus, coss.

Ch. 23. Birth (followed soon by death) of Nero's daughter by Poppaea: public rejoicings: evidence of Nero's dislike of Thrasea.

Ch. 24–31. Affairs in the East.

24, 25. The embassy from Vologeses shows the true state of affairs: their terms rejected, and Corbulo appointed to command with extensive powers: Paetus contemptuously pardoned. 26, 27. Corbulo takes the field in force, following the route of Lucullus, shows willingness to treat with Vologeses and Tiridates, expels the disaffected Armenian nobles from their strongholds. 28–31. Conference on the site of the defeat of Paetus: Tiridates agrees to lay down his diadem for the present, and to receive it from Nero at Rome: his visit to the camp, and subsequent journey to his brothers before departing for Italy.

Ch. 32. Ius Latii given to the people of the Maritime Alps: seats reserved for knights at the circus: more senators and women of rank enter the arena.

A. U. C. 817, A. D. 64. C. Laecanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, coss.

Ch. 33–35. Nero appears on the stage of the public theatre at Naples, which falls just after the performance. He attends a show of gladiators given by Vatinius at Beneventum: Torquatus Silanus forced to suicide.

Ch. 36, 37. He returns to Rome, and is deterred by some superstitious fear from his projected tour to the East. Banquet given by Tigellinus. Nero descends to the lowest depths of profligacy.

Ch. 38–45. Great fire in Rome, and its results.

38–41. Origin and progress of the fire: measures taken by Nero, and suspicion cast upon him, especially at its second outbreak: ancient temples destroyed. 42, 43. Magnificence of Nero's restored palace: grand schemes of his architects, Severus and Celer. Improvements made in rebuilding the houses of the city. 44. Expiatory ceremonies: Nero casts suspicion on the Christians; of whom a vast number are put to death with the utmost cruelty. 45. Contributions of money and works of art extorted everywhere: withdrawal of Seneca into greater privacy, and alleged attempt to poison him.

Ch. 46, 47. Minor events: outbreak of gladiators: great shipwreck: prodigies noted.

A. U. C. 818, A. D. 65. A. Licinius Silius Nerva, M. Vestinus Atticus, coss.

Ch. 48–74. Conspiracy of Piso, and its detection and suppression.

48–50. Character of Piso: names and motives of some of the leading conspirators, who are joined by several officers of the praetorian guard. 51–53. Epicharis tries to gain over an officer of the Misenian fleet and is betrayed. After various changes of plan, the plot is arranged to be carried out at the Circensian games. 54–57. Betrayal of the plot by Milichus a freedman: Scaevinus and Natalis are arrested and give up the names of others. Heroic death of Epicharis. 58, 59. Military occupation of Rome and its suburbs: many arrests made: Piso rejects bolder counsels and commits suicide. 60–65. Execution of Plautius Lateranus. Seneca accused by Natalis: his last moments and death: preservation of his wife Paulina. Notice of a report that some of the conspirators had designed to make him emperor. 66–70. Detection and execution of the chief military conspirators. The consul Vestinus put to death without a charge. Death of Lucan and others. 71. Milichus rewarded: several others sentenced to minor penalties or pardoned. 72–74. Gift to the soldiers. The senate summoned to confer various distinctions. Notice of Nymphidius Sabinus. Minutes of evidence recorded. Peril of Junius Gallio. Offerings decreed to gods. Ill-omened flattery of Anicius Cerialis.

APPENDIX II.

On the Neronian persecution of the Christians.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XV.

1 **1.** INTEREA rex Parthorum Vologeses cognitis Corbulonis rebus
regemque alienigenam Tigranen Armeniae impositum, simul
fratre Tiridate pulso spretum Arsacidarum fastigium ire ultum
volens, magnitudine rursum Romana et continui foederis reve-
rentia diversas ad curas trahebatur, cunctator ingenio et de-
fectione Hyrcanorum, gentis validae, multisque ex eo bellis
2 inligatus. atque illum ambiguum novus insuper nuntius con-
tumeliae exstimulat: quippe egressus Armenia Tigranes Adia-
benos, conterminam nationem, latius ac diutius quam per latro-
cinia vastaverat, idque primores gentium aegre tolerabant: eo

1. **Interea**, etc. The narrative of Eastern affairs is taken up from 14. 26, where it was carried down to the end of the year 813, A.D. 60. Corbulo had set up Tigranes and arranged the affairs of Armenia, and had himself retired into Syria; and the events here related begin in the following spring.

2. **alienigenam.** The pure Arsacidae profess so to regard him, though he appears to have been not without relationship to that stock (see notes on 14. 26, 1, 2).

3. **fastigium**, 'the dignity': cp. 11. 10, 8, etc.

ire ultum: cp. 4. 73, 6; 12. 45, 2, and notes.

4. **volens**, 'purposing.' This strict participial use is rare, and originates with poets, as 'multa volentem dicere' (Verg. G. 4, 501).

continui foederis. A standing treaty between Rome and Parthia had existed from 734, B.C. 20 (see 2. 1, 2, and notes), and had been renewed by Artabanus in the time of Tiberius (2. 58, 1) and of Gaius (see Introd. p. 104), and had been more recently recognised as binding (see 12. 10, 1; 13. 9, 2). The empires had been only indirectly at war with each other.

5. **defectione Hyrcanorum**: see 13. 37, 6; 14. 25, 2.

6. **ex eo** = 'ex ea re.'

7. **inligatus**, 'hampered'; so 'bello externo inligari' (H. 3. 46, 5), 'inligari Romano bello' (Liv. 32. 21, 11).

ambiguum, 'hesitating': cp. 2. 67, 1, and note.

novus . . . nuntius, enallage: cp. 'verus . . . nuntius' (Verg. Aen. 6, 456); 'ad maiora rerum initia' (Liv. 1. 1, 4), etc.

8. **Adiabenos**: see 12. 13, 1, and note.

9. **diutius quam per latrocinia**, i.e. so as to suggest an intention of permanent hostile occupation. 'Vastare' is so used with personal object in 14. 23, 4; H. 2. 16, 4, etc.

10. **primores gentium**; so 'proceres gentium' (2. 58, 1). The nations are those composing the Parthian Empire.

contemptionis descensum, ut ne duce quidem Romano incursa-
rentur, sed temeritate obsidis tot per annos inter mancipia habiti.
accendebat dolorem eorum Monobazus, quem penes Adiabenum 3
regimen, quod praesidium aut unde peteret rogitans. iam de 4
Armenia concessum, proxima trahi; et nisi defendant Parthi,
levius servitium apud Romanos deditis quam captis esse. Tiri- 5
dates quoque regni profugus per silentium aut modice querendo
gravior erat: non enim ignavia magna imperia contineri; virorum
armorumque faciendum certamen; id in summa fortuna aequius
quod validius; et sua retinere privatae domus, de alienis certare
regiam laudem esse.

2. Igitur commotus his Vologeses concilium vocat et proximum 1
sibi Tiridaten constituit atque ita orditur: 'hunc ego eodem
mecum patre genitum, cum mihi per aetatem summo nomine

1. **incursarentur**; so 'agmen incursatum' (Liv. 24, 41, 4), etc.: the active often takes a simple accus., as in 2. 19, 2; 11. 18, 1, etc.

2. **obsidis**: cp. 14. 26, 1.

3. **Monobazus.** This prince, according to Josephus (Ant. 20. 2, 1-2), was the elder brother of Izates (on whom see 12. 13, and note), but had given place to him. Izates had rewarded his compliance by leaving the kingdom to him instead of to any of his own sons (Jos. Ant. 20. 4, 3). He is mentioned again in c. 14, 4; and afterwards as sending hostages to Rome by Tiridates (Dio, 63. 1, 2).

4. **de Armenia concessum, proxima trahi**: 'Armenia was given up, the border land was following it:' so Nipp. who cites 'Delmaticum militem traxere' (H. 2. 86, 4), etc. (cp. 1. 31, 1, 3; 13. 57, 1; G. 36, 3, etc.). Others understand 'trahi' to mean 'were being plundered' (cp. 3. 74, 2; H. 2. 61, 2, etc.); but it is stated (§ 2) that his aggression went beyond mere plunder.

6. **levius esse**, etc. The sense is elliptical, being, 'unless the Parthians help, we must become subject to Rome, and had better do so at once voluntarily.'

7. **profugus**, used with genit. not elsewhere in Tacitus, but in Plin. N. H. 7. 28, 29, 104 ('vinculorum . . . profugus'), etc. The common use with the abl. is found in H. 3. 56, 1; 4. 49, 2, etc.

aut: so nearly all edd. after Beroald. for Med. 'haud,' which gives no satisfactory sense.

8. **gravior**; i. e. his condition, though he abstained from complaint, or at most said little, made more impression (cp. the analogous use of 'levior' in H. 4. 80, 3) on Vologeses than if he had loudly complained. The following words are best taken as explaining 'modice querendo.' Burnouf and Duebner take them less well as following out the thought of Vologeses.

contineri, 'are held together,' nearly equivalent to 'retineri': cp. 'ad continendam militarem fidem' (H. 1. 9, 5), 'parta continuit' (Agr. 14, 3).

9. **faciendum certamen**, they must try who has the greater force.

in summa fortuna, etc., 'in the most exalted rank (cp. 12. 12, 4: 13. 6, 5; 13. 2, etc.) might is right': cp. the sentiment in G. 36, 1 ('ubi manu agitur modestia et probitas nomina superioris sunt'). The position spoken of may be that of the greatest kings or greatest empires.

10. **de alienis certare**, 'to set up claim to what is another's'; a policy of prestige and conquest is alone fit for kings.

12. **concilium**, probably that of the 'megistanes,' who, in the kind of feudal system of the Parthian empire, were almost the only free warriors (see note on 12. 14, 5). Strabo speaks (11. 9, 3. 515), on the authority of Posidonius, of Parthian cabinet councils, that of the king's kindred, and that of wise men and magi; but their chief function appears to have been to act together to choose the king.

14. **summo nomine concessisset**, 'had

concessisset, in possessionem Armeniae deduxi, qui tertius
potentiae gradus habetur: nam Medos Pacorus ante ceperat.
2 videbarque contra vetera fratrum odia et certamina familiae
nostrae penates rite composuisse. prohibent Romani et pacem
numquam ipsis prospere lacessitam nunc quoque in exitium
3 suum abrumpunt. non ibo infitias: aequitate quam sanguine,
causa quam armis retinere parta maioribus malueram. si cuncta-
4 tione deliqui, virtute corrigam. vestra quidem vis et gloria *in*
integro est, addita modestiae fama, quae neque summis mortalium
5 spernenda est et a dis aestimatur.' simul diademate caput
Tiridatis evinxit; promptam equitum manum, quae regem ex
more sectatur, Monaesi nobili viro tradidit, adiectis Adiabenorum auxiliis, mandavitque Tigranen Armenia exturbare, dum ipse positis adversus Hyrcanos discordiis vires intimas molemque belli ciet, provinciis Romanis minitans.

withdrawn his claim to the highest title' (that of king of kings). Vologeses is spoken of in 12. 44, 2 as reigning 'concessu fratrum,' and as having been born of an inferior mother. For this use of 'concedere' cp. 3. 22, 6, and note.

1. **deduxi**: cp. 12. 50, 1. The way in which Armenia and Media are here regarded as inheritances for the great king's brothers would show a greater Parthian ascendancy than is evidenced by the previous history of these monarchies (see 2. 3-4, etc.).

2. **Pacorus**, his remaining brother (cp. c. 14, 1; 31, 1; H. 1. 40, 4). On Media Atropatene see 2. 56, 1, and note.

3. **contra**, 'in contradistinction to.' Nipp. compares 'contra veterem disciplinam' (H. 2. 69, 5), and the use of 'adversus' in c. 19, 2.

vetera, 'traditional' (so 'antiquas fratrum discordias' in 13. 17, 2): the massacre of brothers on the accession of an Eastern sultan is often exemplified in more recent history.

5. **lacessitam**, 'troubled'; so 'modice lacessita pax' (4. 32, 3).

6. **non ibo infitias**. This expression is found here alone in Tacitus, and is before him nearly confined to the comic writers and Livy. He also uses the Ciceronian 'infitiari' (3. 14, 1; cp. 11. 22, 1).

7. **causa**, 'by right': cp. the opposition 'causa . . . armis' in 13. 37, 5.

malueram = 'maluissem.' Nipp. compares Cic. Att. 2. 19, 3 ('malueram silentio transire'); ad Fam. 7. 3, 6 ('haec tecum coram malueram'); Luc. 8, 520 ('feriam tua viscera, Magne; Malueram soceri'). For other such rhetorical uses of the indic. for subjunct. see Introd. i. v. § 50 c.

10. **aestimatur**: cp. 13. 17, 2, and note.

11. **evinxit**: for this poetical word cp. 6. 42, 6, and note.

promptam, probably best taken, with Ritt., to mean 'ready to hand,' as contrasted with forces to be raised. The words 'quae regem,' etc. seem to favour this interpretation rather than that of Nipp. ('composed of resolute men').

12. **Monaesi**: so Med. here, but in c. 4, 1; 5, 5, 'Moneses' and 'Monesen.' Ritt. alters the form here, but Halm and Nipp. prefer to alter the other places; the name being read 'Monaeses' in Hor. Od. 3. 6, 9, and Μοναίσης in Dio 62. 20, 2.

13. **exturbare**: so all recent edd. after Ern. for the Med. 'exturba': the older edd. read 'exturbari,' with inferior MSS. The simple inf. with 'mando' occurs in Mart. 1. 88, 10, and is analogous to other examples in Tacitus (see Introd. i. v. § 43).

14. **vires intimas**, 'his reserves,' whatever could be called out within his empire.

molem belli, 'the main force of war': the expression is repeated from H. 3. 1, 4; cp. also 'tota mole belli' (H. 1. 61, 3), 'tota mole regni' (6. 36, 1), etc.

3. Quae ubi Corbuloni certis nuntiis audita sunt, legiones duas 1
cum Verulano Severo et Vettio Bolano subsidium Tigrani mittit,
occulto praecepto, compositius cuncta quam festinantius agerent:
quippe bellum habere quam gerere malebat. scripseratque 2
Caesari proprio duce opus esse, qui Armeniam defenderet:
Suriam ingruente Vologese acriore in discrimine esse. atque 3
interim reliquas legiones pro ripa Euphratis locat, tumultuariam
provincialium manum armat, hostiles ingressus praesidiis inter-
cipit. et quia egena aquarum regio est, castella fontibus in- 4
posita; quosdam rivos congestu harenae abdidit.

4. Ea dum a Corbulone tuendae Suriae parantur, acto raptim 1

2. **Verulano Severo**: see 14. 26, 1, and note.

Vettio Bolano. This officer is shown by an inscription at Rome (Grut. 128, 5) to have been cos. suff. with C. Calpurnius Piso. The year is thought to have been 820, A. D. 67, and must have been before 822, A. D. 69, when he became legatus of Britain (H. 2. 65, 5; 97, 1; Agr. 8, 1; 16, 6). He is also shown to have been proconsul of Asia at the end of Vespasian's life, coins of that emperor and of Titus, struck at Smyrna, being inscribed ἐπὶ Βωλάνου (Eckh. ii. 557). His qualities and achievements are dwelt upon by Statius in a poem (Sylv. 5. 2, 30-67) addressed to his son Crispinus, whom Nipp. takes to be the cos. suff. of 866, A. D. 113. Another son, named as Bolanus by Statius (l. l. 65, 75), was ordinary consul in 864, A. D. 111.

3. **compositius quam festinantius.** Dr. notes that this classical form of comparison is found only here in the Annals, but oftener in the earlier works (H. 2. 24, 2; 4. 65, 2; G. 36, 1; Agr. 44, 2). Tacitus does not elsewhere use the adverb 'composite'; but the participle has the adjectival sense of 'orderly,' as in H. 2. 89, 1; 4. 33, 2.

4. **bellum habere quam gerere malebat,** 'would rather have war on hand than prosecute it.' It was his interest that the war should drag on: if he closed it by any great victory, his command would be at an end; if he decisively failed, he would be recalled in disgrace. A similar motive is ascribed to Vocula in H. 4. 34, 8. For other imputations of unpatriotic motives to Corbulo see c. 6, 3, 6; 10, 7. In this place Madvig (Adv. iii. 235) thinks that 'habere' cannot mean 'trahere' or 'ducere,' and that 'cavere' should be read.

6. **ingruente.** The use of this verb of persons (cp. 12. 12, 2, and note) is not found in earlier prose. Vergil has 'ingruit Aeneas' (Aen. 12, 628).

7. **reliquas legiones.** To the original Eastern army of four legions (13. 8, 2) a fifth (13. 35, 4), and at this time a sixth (c. 6, 5) were added. The latter was to join Paetus, leaving three (l. l.) with Corbulo.

pro ripa, 'on the bank': cp. 12. 29, 2, etc.

tumultuariam: cp. 1. 56, 1, and note.

8. **hostiles ingressus praesidiis intercipit,** 'he blocks with forts the entrances of the enemy': it seems possible to take 'ingressus' to mean the points at which entrance could be made (cp. 'incessus' 6. 33, 5); which would be especially Zeugma (see 12. 12, 3) and Thapsacus. Nipp. takes the words to mean 'hostes ingredientes,' and notes the complaint in c. 5, 1, 'vim provinciae inlatam'; but 'praesidia' would more naturally be formed in anticipation of an attack than during it.

9. **quia egena,** etc., i. e. because the springs were so few that they could nearly all be thus guarded, so as to deprive the Parthians of water and to ensure a supply to the Romans. The springs especially important would be those on the roads leading from the points of crossing into the province.

10. **abdidit** = 'obruit.' He fortified those which he could hold, and destroyed those which he could not.

agmine Monaeses, ut famam sui praeiret, non ideo nescium aut
2 incautum Tigranen offendit. occupaverat Tigranocertam, urbem
3 copia defensorum et magnitudine moenium validam. ad hoc
Nicephorius amnis haud spernenda latitudine partem murorum
4 ambit et ducta ingens fossa, qua fluvio diffidebatur. inerantque
milites et provisi ante commeatus, quorum subvectu pauci avidius
progressi et repentinis hostibus circumventi ira magis quam metu
5 ceteros accenderant. sed Partho ad exsequendas obsidiones
nulla comminus audacia: raris sagittis neque clausos exterret
6 et semet frustratur. Adiabeni cum promovere scalas et machina-
menta inciperent, facile detrusi, mox erumpentibus nostris cae-
duntur.

1. **Monaeses.** Cp. c. 2, 5.

ut famam sui praeiret, 'to anticipate the news of his approach': 'fama sui' here is equivalent to 'fama de se,' and Nipp. would also so take it in H. 3. 3, 2 ('hanc sui famam...commoverat'). On the general use of this genit. by Tacitus see Nipp. on 12. 37, 4. 'Fama' stands by itself for news of a person in 2. 39, 5: cp. 'fama eius rei' (c. 33, 3). On the accus. here with 'praeire' cp. 2. 83, 2, and note.

2. **Tigranocertam.** On the variations in the grammatical form of this name see 14. 24, 6, and note.

3. **magnitudine moenium.** According to Appian (Mithr. 84), this city was originally constructed with walls fifty cubits high; the lower part being formed into stables. It had no doubt been dismantled by Lucullus, but had evidently been again strongly fortified.

4. **Nicephorius.** The identification of this stream is part of the question of the site of Tigranocerta (see on 12. 50, 2). The statement of Pliny (N. H. 6. 27, 31, 129), making a river of similar name one of the chief tributaries of the upper Tigris ('Tigris autem ex Armenia acceptis fluminibus claris Parthenia ac Nicephorione'), has been generally followed, and the Bitlis-Su (see on 12. 50, 2) or some other stream in the basin of the Tigris has been generally taken to be the river intended. If, however, according to the latest view, the site of Tell-Ermen is taken to be that of Tigranocerta (see note l. l.), the river is a branch of the Khabour, itself a tributary of the Euphrates (see the map at the end of this vol.). It is possible that such a name may have been given to more than one river.

latitudine, abl. of quality.

5. **ambit,** so used of rivers in Verg. Aen. 6, 550; Hor. Ep. 1. 16, 13; Vell. 2, 101, etc., and in a similar sense in c. 43, 4; 1. 68, 1, etc.

6. **milites,** sc. 'Romani,' the force left there by Corbulo in the previous year (see 14. 26, 3). It is also evident from c. 5 and 6 that the two legions mentioned above (c. 3, 1) were approaching the town.

provisi, 'taken thought for': cp. 2. 14, 2; 11. 7, 4.

quorum subvectu = 'qui (commeatus) dum subvehebantur.' This substantive appears to have been coined by Tacitus, like many other similar forms (see Introd. i. v. § 69 b), and is only found once afterwards in Cassiodorus. Ern. notes that the abl. abs. 'procursu' is used with similar force (= 'dum procurrebat') in Agr. 33, 1, and 'visu' and 'auditu' in several places. The soldiers in charge of the provision train were in advance of it.

7. **repentinis,** 'suddenly appearing,' i.e. 'unlooked for'; so 'adventus hostium . . . repentinos' (Cic. Rep. 2. 3, 6), 'repentinum periculum' (Caes. B. G. 3. 3, 2), etc. On the use of the abl. cp. 6. 44, 3, and note.

8. **accenderant,** used by zeugma with 'metu.'

ad exsequendas, etc. The same character is given to them in Just. 41. 2, 6 ('comminus in acie proeliari aut obsessas expugnare urbes nesciunt'). Prof. Holbrooke notes the contrast to the engineering skill of the Sassanians.

10. **semet frustratur.** Nipp. appears rightly to take this to mean 'deceives himself,' by supposing that he produces some effect.

5. Corbulo tamen, quamvis secundis rebus suis, moderandum 1
fortunae ratus misit ad Vologesen qui expostularent vim pro-
vinciae inlatam: socium amicumque regem, cohortes Romanas
circumsideri. omitteret potius obsidionem, aut se quoque in agro
hostili castra positurum. Casperius centurio in eam legationem 2
delectus apud oppidum Nisibin, septem et triginta milibus pas-
suum a Tigranocerta distantem, adiit regem et mandata ferociter
edidit. Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana 3
vitandi, nec praesentia prospere fluebant. inritum obsidium, 4
tutus manu et copiis Tigranes, fugati qui expugnationem sump-
serant, missae in Armeniam legiones, et aliae pro Suria paratae
ultro inrumpere; sibi inbecillum equitem pabuli inopia: nam

2. **qui expostularent,** 'to make complaint': this verb takes the accus. and inf. in c. 17, 5, etc., but in a different sense. Cp. 'expostulavit mecum, parum missum sibi' (Plaut. Mil. 3. 1, 103).

vim provinciae inlatam: see note on c. 3, 3. Some plundering raids which Tacitus has not cared to mention may probably be meant.

4. **circumsideri.** Recent edd. have followed Ryck. in so reading (with MS. Agr.) for the Med. 'circumsedere,' which Walth. thinks might stand; Vologeses being taken as the subject, and being called 'socius amicusque rex,' on the strength of his standing treaty (c. 1, 1); but such an expression (cp. 4. 26, 4) must denote a much nearer position to Rome, such as that of Tigranes.

omitteret potius . . . aut se = 'nisi omitteret . . . se quoque.' Dr. compares 'aut existat,' etc. (13. 21, 7), also 'aut me amor negotii . . . fallit, aut nulla unquam republica . . . maior . . . fuit' (Liv. Praef. 11), which are hardly parallel.

5. **Casperius centurio**: see 12. 45, 3.

6. **Nisibin.** This was the chief city of Mygdonia, a district in the north east of Mesopotamia, and still exists as Nisibin or Nessabin. From its position on the frontier of the Parthian dominions towards Armenia, it became important in the campaigns of Lucullus (Dio, 35. 8, 2; 10, 1; Plut. Luc. 32), and in those of Trajan (Dio, 68. 23, 2): see also Strab. 16. 1, 23, 747; Pl. N. H. 6. 13, 16, 42 ('Antiochia quam Nesebin vocant').

septem et triginta. This definite specification of distance, probably given by Corbulo himself, should help to determine the site of Tigranocerta (see on 12. 50, 2); but the sites generally assigned, except those of Tell-Abad of Tell-Ermen, are considerably more distant, and have to be supported by treating the statement here as an error.

9. **vitandi**: on this use of the gerund cp. 13. 26, 4, and note. Here the ellipse would be that of some word expressing habit, implied in 'vetus' and 'infixum.' Ritt. inserts 'studium,' and Madvig (Adv. iii. p. 235) 'votum,' after 'vetus'; in which position he suggests that it may easily have dropped out.

prospere fluebant. Nipp. compares 'rebus prospere fluentibus' (Dial. 5, 4), and 'cunctis super vota fluentibus' (H. 3. 48, 4); which latter is taken from 'rebus supra (perhaps 'super') vota fluentibus' in Sall. H. inc. 101 D, 70 K, iii. 96 G, and a similar metaphor in Cic. Off. 1. 26, 90 ('rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram fluentibus').

10. **manu et copiis,** referring to the 'milites' and 'commeatus' of c. 4, 4. Tacitus often uses 'copiae' for 'supplies' (e.g. c. 16, 1; 1. 68, 7; H. 2. 32, 2, etc.).

sumpserant, 'had undertaken'; so 'sumere bellum' (2. 45, 1, etc.), 'proelium' (H. 2. 42, 3), etc. Such expressions are also common in Livy.

11. **pro Suria,** 'on the frontier of Syria': cp. 'pro ripa' (c. 3, 3).

12. **sibi inbecillum,** etc. Nipp. notes that the transition to oratio obliqua is made less harsh by the fact that the previous sentences, though different in form, express in fact the thought of Vologeses. For a somewhat similar change cp. 1. 36, 2, and note.

exorta vis locustarum ambederat quidquid herbidum aut fron-
5 dosum. igitur metu abstruso mitiora obtendens, missurum ad imperatorem Romanum legatos super petenda Armenia et firmanda pace respondet. Monaesen omittere Tigranocertam iubet, ipse retro concedit.

1 **6.** Haec plures ut formidine regis et Corbulonis minis patrata ac magnifica extollebant: alii occulte pepigisse interpretabantur, ut omisso utrimque bello et abeunte Vologese Tigranes quoque
2 Armenia abscederet. cur enim exercitum Romanum a Tigranocertis deductum? cur deserta per otium quae bello defenderant? an melius hibernavisse in extrema Cappadocia, raptim erectis
3 tuguriis, quam in sede regni modo retenti? dilata prorsus arma, ut Vologeses cum alio quam cum Corbulone certaret, Corbulo
4 meritae tot per annos gloriae non ultra periculum faceret. nam,

1. **vis locustarum**: cp. 'vis piscium' (12. 63, 2).

ambederat. The Med. 'aberat' (with 'ui' for 'vis') is retained by Walth. and Rup. as giving a possible sense; but most edd. follow Lips. in reading as above. The verb is nowhere else found in Tacitus; but Verg. has the participle (Aen. 3, 257; 5, 752); and the perf. ('flumen agrum ambedit') is found in Alfenus Varus, a jurist of the Augustan age (cited in Dig. 41. 1, 38): see other instances in Nipp. Ritt. retains the Med. 'vi,' and reads 'ambesum erat.'

2. **metu abstruso**: cp. 'abstruserint tristitiam' (3. 6, 3).

3. **super = 'de'**: cp. 11. 23, 1, and note. It is to be supposed that the Parthians intended to ask for what they had formerly rejected (see 13. 34, 4), that Tiridates might be recognised on doing homage to Rome.

7. **ac magnifica,** 'and as glorious to Rome' (cp. 2. 2, 2; 12. 37, 2, etc.). Puteol. and many old edd. omitted 'ac' and read 'magnifice.' 'Extollere' is frequently so used by itself for 'laudibus efferre' (1. 9, 3; 2. 88, 4; 3. 51, 2, etc.).

alii, etc. On these two versions, and the confirmation of the latter by the actual facts mentioned, see Introd. p. 116. It is remarkable that Tacitus does not cite the authority of Corbulo himself on either side, and it would appear as if he had described the transaction in some ambiguous terms which his admirers and enemies interpreted differently. We should gather that Armenia was to be left neutral during the reference to Rome (c. 5, 5; 7, 1). It is strange that Tacitus has not cared to mention what afterwards became of Tigranes, who is only known from other sources to have left a son Alexander, who, according to Josephus (Ant. 18. 5, 4), married Iotape, daughter of Antiochus of Commagene (see on 12. 55, 3), and was set up by Vespasian as king of a small island off the coast of Cilicia.

9. **abscederet,** so with simple abl. in 13. 7, 2.

10. **defenderant**: on this indic. cp. 1. 10, 1, and note.

11. **hibernavisse.** We are to gather from this that the compact had been made just before winter, and that the Roman army, which was to have wintered at Tigranocerta, was hastily withdrawn to such quarters as it could find in Cappadocia. The winter can hardly be any other than that of 814-815, A. D. 61-62 (see Introd. p. 115, 10); and those who make that the winter referred to in c. 7, 4; 8, 3; 10, 3, give no satisfactory explanation of this passage, which must express the comments made in the following spring on the winter already past.

extrema Cappadocia, on its eastern frontier.

12. **retenti,** the correction in Med., by the same or another old hand, of the original text 'contenti.' Ritt. thinks such a term would be used rather of Tigranes than of the Romans, and reads 'obtenti'; but cp. 'retinendae Armeniae' (13. 8, 1).

14. **meritae,** 'earned.' Nipp. points out that the word does not always carry with it the idea of worthiness, and compares, amongst other passages, 'vulnera mereri'

ut rettuli, proprium ducem tuendae Armeniae poposcerat, et
adventare Caesennius Paetus audiebatur. iamque aderat, copiis 5
ita divisis, ut quarta et duodecuma legiones addita quinta, quae
recens e Moesis excita erat, simul Pontica et Galatarum Cap-
padocumque auxilia Paeto oboedirent, tertia et sexta et decuma
legiones priorque Suriae miles apud Corbulonem manerent;
cetera ex rerum usu sociarent partirenturve. sed neque Corbulo 6
aemuli patiens, et Paetus, cui satis ad gloriam erat, si proximus
haberetur, despiciebat gesta, nihil caedis aut praedae, usurpatas
nomine tenus urbium expugnationes dictitans: se tributa ac leges
et pro umbra regis Romanum ius victis impositurum.

7. Sub idem tempus legati Vologesis, quos ad principem 1
missos memoravi, revertere inriti bellumque propalam sumptum
a Parthis. nec Paetus detrectavit, sed duabus legionibus, quarum 2
quartam Funisulanus Vettonianus eo in tempore, duodecumam

(G. 14, 5), 'iram Gai Caesaris meritus' (Agr. 4, 1), 'ex eo, quod meruerat, odio' (Caes. B. G. 6. 5, 2).

non = 'ne': cp. 13. 40, 3, and note.

1. **ut rettuli**: see c. 3, 2.

2. **Caesennius Paetus**: see on 14. 29, 1. Josephus records him (B. I. 7. 7, 1-3) as again sent to the East, as legatus of Syria, by Vespasian.

audiebatur: on the nom. and inf. see Introd. i. v. § 45.

3. **legiones.** On these legions see 13. 35, 4; 38, 6; 40, 3.

4. **e Moesis.** The 'Quarta Scythica' and 'Quinta Macedonica' formed the regular garrison of Moesia (Introd. i. vii. p. 103), and are shown to have been there in 786-787, A.D. 33-34, by an inscription cited here by Nipp. (C. I. L. iii. i. 1698). For the changes of expression here from adjective to substantive, and the use of the name of the people ('Moesis') for that of the country cp. 2. 3, 2; 60, 4, and notes. The auxiliary troops mentioned are those raised and kept on foot in these provinces, where no legions were stationed: cp. 13. 35, 4; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 209, 5.

6. **prior**, the auxiliaries already under arms before the war.

7. **ex rerum usu**, 'in accordance with the requirements of events.' Cp. ('ex usu temporis') 4, 5, 6, and note.

8. **patiens**, so with genit. in H. 3. 26, 4, etc., and 'inpatiens' frequently (as in 4. 3, 2, etc.). Both are so used in prose by Livy; the former also by Sallust.

cui satis erat, 'whose real deserts would have been satisfied if he were placed next to Corbulo.' For the use of the indic. 'erat' see Introd. i. v. § 50 b, 2; also 'poterat' (c. 10, 1).

9. **usurpatas**, etc., 'only in name had he made a practice of storming cities': for 'nomine tenus' cp. 'oret enus' (c. 45, 4), 'verbo tenus' (Cic. Leg. 3. 6, 14; Liv. 34. 5, 4). Only 'castella' had been actually stormed (13. 39, 7; 14. 25, 1), and neither Artaxata nor Tigranocerta, which had surrendered voluntarily, had been permanently held.

11. **pro umbra regis**: 'instead of a phantom king (such as Tigranes or others before him), he would impose Roman jurisdiction after conquest' (would reduce Armenia to a province).

12. **Sub idem tempus**, i. e. in the spring of 815, A. D. 62: see note on c. 6, 2.

13. **memoravi.** It was mentioned in c. 5, 5, that the king had undertaken to send to Rome.

14. **duabus legionibus.** Such ablatives of the force with which anything is undertaken in war are usually explained as abl. of manner: see instances in Madv. 257, Obs. 4, Roby, 1234.

15. **Funisulanus Vettonianus.** This person became one of the foremost men in the state under Domitian, as is shown by the following inscription found in Pannonia (C. I. L. iii. 1. 4013 = Henzen 5431 = Wilm. 1150), 'L. Funisulano, L. f. Ani(ensi tribu), Vettoniano, trib. mil. leg. vi. vic(tricis), quaestori provinciae

3 Calavius Sabinus regebant, Armeniam intrat tristi omine. nam
in transgressu Euphratis, quem ponte tramittebant, nulla palam
causa turbatus equus, qui consularia insignia gestabat, retro
4 evasit. hostiaque, quae muniebantur, hibernaculis adsistens,
5 semifacta opera fuga perrupit seque vallo extulit. et pila mili-
tum arsere, magis insigni prodigio, quia Parthus hostis missilibus
telis decertat.

1 **8.** Ceterum Paetus spretis ominibus, necdum satis firmatis
hibernaculis, nullo rei frumentariae provisu, rapit exercitum trans
montem Taurum reciperandis, ut ferebat, Tigranocertis vastan-

Siciliae, trib. pleb., praet., leg(ato) leg. iiii. Scythicae, praef. aerari Saturni, curatori viae Aemiliae, cos., vii. vir. epulonum, leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) provinc. Delmatiae, item provinc. Pannoniae, item Moesiae superioris, donato [ab Imp. Domitiano Aug. Germanico] bello Dacico coronis iiii., murali, vallari, classica, aurea, hastis puris iiii., vexillis iiii., patrono, d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).' Another inscription (Henzen 5432) shows him to have been also curator aquarum, proconsul of Africa, and sodalis Augustalis. The date of his command in Pannonia is shown by a military diploma (C. I. L. iii. 1. p. 855, Henzen 5430) to have been 838, A. D. 85. His praetorship would appear from the order of mention to have preceded the legionary command here spoken of.

1. **Calavius Sabinus,** otherwise unknown. Freinsh. would read 'Calvisius,' but must be wrong in identifying him with the person mentioned in H. 1. 48, 4.

regebant: for the plural cp. 3. 62, 1, and note. It is to be noted that these legati legionum are not the same as those given in c. 3, 1, and would seem to have come out with Paetus.

tristi omine. Nipp. notes that only the first of these omens was seen at the time of entering Armenia, the others subsequently; hence the sing. is used here, the pl. in c. 8, 1.

2. **in transgressu.** Starting from Cappadocia, he would probably have crossed the river near Melitene (c. 26, 2), and was marching southward upon Tigranocerta (c. 8, 1). On his probable route see Introd. p. 118.

nulla palam causa: cp. 14. 32, 1; 11. 22, 1.

3. **equus.** The drowning of a richly caparisoned horse of the general marked the crossing of the Euphrates by Crassus (Plut. Crass. 19, 554), and the fall of another such was noted as ominous in the consulship of Pansa (Obsequens 129). Mommsen notes (Staatsr. i. 433, 4) that a richly adorned horse, such as formed part of the regal insignia descending to a dictator or consul (Dion. Hal. 10, 24), would not belong to the state of a legatus, and that the horse which carried the fasces on a march must here be meant.

4. **hibernaculis,** those for the coming winter, that of 815–816, A. D. 62–63 (see c. 8, 1; 10, 3, and notes). The construction of the camp would have to be begun sometime beforehand, and it would seem that this march of Paetus must have taken place late in autumn.

adsistens, i. e. put there to be sacrificed when the work was done.

5. **semifacta,** only here and in Bell. Afr. 83, 3. Similar omens are noted in H. 3. 56, 1; Liv. 21. 63, 13; Suet. Jul. 59, etc.

pila militum arsere: see 12. 64, 1, and note; and similar phenomena described in Liv. 33. 26, 8; 43. 13, 6.

8. **spretis ominibus.** Though Tacitus is not himself a disbeliever in omens generally (see Introd. i. p. 22) his language elsewhere would go far to justify those who thus disregarded them (see 14. 12, 5, etc., Introd. l. l.).

9. **nullo provisu.** This may mean that no pains were taken to collect corn on the spot. We are told of supplies collected by Paetus himself in § 3. Cp. also c. 16, 1.

rapit = 'raptim ducit': cp. 1. 56, 1, and note.

10. **reciperandis,** etc., dative of purpose (see Introd. i. v. § 226). On his route see c. 7. 3, and note. Tigranocerta had been evacuated by the Roman troops

disque regionibus, quas Corbulo integras omisisset. et capta 2
quaedam castella, gloriaeque et praedae nonnihil partum, si aut
gloriam cum modo aut praedam cum cura habuisset. longinquis 3
itineribus percursando, quae obtineri nequibant, corrupto, qui
captus erat, commeatu et instante iam hieme, reduxit exercitum
conposuitque ad Caesarem literas quasi confecto bello, verbis
magnificis, rerum vacuas.

9. Interim Corbulo numquam neglectam Euphratis ripam 1
crebrioribus praesidiis insedit; et ne ponti iniciendo impedimentum
hostiles turmae adferrent (iam enim subiectis campis magna
specie volitabant), naves magnitudine praestantes et conexas
trabibus ac turribus auctas agit per amnem catapultisque et
ballistis proturbat barbaros, in quos saxa et hastae longius permeabant,
quam ut contrario sagittarum iactu adaequarentur.
dein pons continuatus collesque adversi per socias cohortes, post 2
legionum castris occupantur, tanta celeritate et ostentatione
virium, ut Parthi omisso paratu invadendae Suriae spem omnem
in Armeniam verterent, ubi Paetus imminentium nescius quintam

(c. 6, 2), and, necessarily, also by Tigranes.

1. **omisisset**, subjunct., as part of the boast of Paetus.

3. **cum cura**, 'so as to take care of it.' Nipp. points out that the neglect of this is implied in the words 'corrupto . . . commeatu.'

4. **percursando.** The gerund has the force of a participle (cp. 6. 38, 2; 14. 31, 5, etc.), or rather in this place that of 'dum percursat,' and is taken closely with the following words: 'inasmuch as the corn which he had taken was spoilt, while he overran in long marches districts which he could not hold, and as winter was at hand,' etc.

5. **hieme**, that in anticipation of which the winter camp was being constructed (c. 7, 4; 8, 1), which, according to the reckoning here taken, is that of 815–816, A. D. 62–63. See Introd. p. 115, 10.

6. **verbis magnificis**: cp. 13. 8, 4.

7. **vacuas**: so with genit. in poets (Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 119, etc.) and in Sall. Iug. 90, 1 ('ager . . . frugum vacuus').

9. **ponti iniciendo.** His position was no doubt at Zeugma (see 12. 12, 3), where it appears that no permanent bridge was kept up, but that the means of constructing one were kept ready (see 6. 37, 4).

10. **subiectis** (see 'fluvio'), 'lying near the river': cp. 'subiectos Narniae campos' (H. 3. 63, 1). The abl. is that of place (Introd. i. v. § 25). The hexameter line hardly deserves notice (see Introd. i. v. § 79).

magna specie, 'with imposing display' (so as to make a show of great numbers). The abl. is modal, or that of quality.

11. **naves.** These are a kind of floating batteries to protect those who were building the bridge.

12. **agit per amnem**, 'he moves across the river.'

13. **ballistis.** Halm follows Med. in reading here 'balistis'; but Orelli and Nipp. seem right in altering it to the form used in all other places in the same MS. (12. 56, 3; H. 3. 23, 2; 29, 2; 4. 23, 6). The word does not occur in the first Med. or the minor works.

saxa et hastae, the former were thrown from 'ballistae,' the latter from catapults.

15. **adversi**, 'on the opposite side.'

17. **paratu**, 'the preparations made to attack Syria.'

18. **quintam**, the legion coming from Moesia (c. 6, 5).

legionem procul in Ponto habebat, reliquas promiscis militum commeatibus infirmaverat, donec adventare Vologesen magno et infenso agmine auditum.

1 **10.** Accitur legio duodecuma, et unde famam aucti exercitus speraverat, prodita infrequentia, qua tamen retineri castra et eludi Parthus tractu belli poterat, si Paeto aut in suis aut in
2 alienis consiliis constantia fuisset: verum ubi a viris militaribus adversus urguentes casus firmatus erat, rursus, ne alienae sen-
3 tentiae indigens videretur, in diversa ac deteriora transibat. et tunc relictis hibernis non fossam neque vallum sibi, sed corpora et arma in hostem data clamitans, duxit legiones quasi proelio
4 certaturus. deinde amisso centurione et paucis militibus, quos
5 visendis hostium copiis praemiserat, trepidus remeavit. et quia

1. **reliquas**, the Fourth and Twelfth (l. l.): even these were not together (c. 10, 1).

2. **commeatibus**, 'furloughs': cp. H. 1. 46, 4; Liv. 3. 46, 9, etc.

donec adventare Vologesen. In Introd. p. 115, 10, 119, reasons are given for supposing that this invasion, and all down to c. 17, 4, took place at the beginning of winter. The Parthian horsemen moved with great rapidity; and it should be noted that the seat of war is here in southern Armenia, where winter neither sets in so early or with such severity as that of the northern region (see 13. 35, 5). Lucullus, after having been driven back by stress of winter from his attempt on Artaxata, was still able, after returning to the neighbourhood of Tigranocerta, to undertake further operations (see Plut. Luc. 32).

4. **Accitur**, 'is summoned' (from some separate winter quarters) to join Paetus, who was in the camp of the Fourth Legion, at a place called by Dio (62. 21, 1) Rhandeia, on the Arsanias (see c. 15, 1, and note). The locality must evidently have been near the passes of the Taurus chain (cp. 'proximo Tauri iugo' § 5), and at no great distance from the frontier of Cappadocia (see note on c. 16, 4). If the Arsanias is taken to be the Murad (see note above cited), we should infer that Rhandeia must have been at some point on it near Kharput, on the borders of Armenia proper and Sophene (see 13. 7, 2, and note). As the Parthians had been in force near Zeugma (c. 9, 1), they would probably have marched thence to the spot by Amida (Diarbekir).

unde famam, etc. Med. has here 'fama,' which Jam. Gron. and Ern. would retain, altering 'speraverat' to 'sperata erat.' The concentration of the two legions, which he had hoped would give an imposing impression of strength, only served to show how his force had been weakened by the furloughs (c. 9, 2). 'Infrequentia' takes elsewhere an explanatory genitive (14. 27, 3; 33, 2), but the idea of such can be supplied here from the sense.

6. **eludi**, 'to be baffled': cp. 11. 9, 6.

tractu belli = 'trahendo bellum': cp. 'tractu . . . mortis' (c. 64, 3): nearly similar is the sense of 'tractus verborum' (Cic. de Or. 2. 50, 202), 'elocutionum' (Quint. 4. 2, 118), etc.

7. **viris militaribus**: cp. c. 26, 3. It is implied that Paetus himself had no military experience.

8. **firmatus**: in 1. 6, 1, the full expression is 'firmatus animo.'

11. **quasi . . . certaturus.** This purpose need not be supposed to be fictitious (see Introd. i. v. § 67). Dio (62. 21, 1) represents Vologeses as having marched upon Tigranocerta, and Paetus as having marched to its relief, and having been beaten off from it. This is improbable, as the Romans had now no interest in defending, or the Parthians in attacking, that city (cp. c. 6, 2; 8, 1).

13. **praemiserat.** Dr. notes that this verb is not found earlier with gerundive dative: for analogous uses see Introd. i. v. § 22 b.

minus acriter Vologeses institerat, vana rursus fiducia tria milia
delecti peditis proximo Tauri iugo imposuit, quo transitum regis
arcerent; alares quoque Pannonios, robur equitatus, in parte
campi locat. coniunx ac filius castello, cui Arsamosata nomen 6
est, abditi, data in praesidium cohorte ac disperso milite, qui in
uno habitus vagum hostem promptius sustentavisset. aegre 7
compulsum ferunt, ut instantem Corbuloni fateretur. nec a
Corbulone properatum, quo gliscentibus periculis etiam subsidii
laus augeretur. expediri tamen itineri singula milia ex tribus 8
legionibus et alarios octingentos, parem numerum e cohortibus
iussit.

11. At Vologeses, quamvis obsessa a Paeto itinera hinc pedi- 1
tatu inde equite accepisset, nihil mutato consilio, sed vi ac minis
alares exterruit, legionarios obtrivit, uno tantum centurione
Tarquitio Crescente turrim, in qua praesidium agitabat, defendere

1. **tria milia.** These were evidently selected from the legions: cp. 'legionarios obtrivit' (c. 11, 1).

2. **quo.** Nipp. rightly refers this to 'iugo.' There is no need to read 'quae' with Muret., or 'qui' with Ritt.

4. **Arsamosata.** This place, represented as a mere 'castellum,' and held by a small garrison, must have been near the main camp, as the Parthians were able to shift their attack from the one to the other (c. 13, 1). It seems difficult to identify it with the Armosata or Arsamosata of other writers, which was a considerable πόλις in the third century B.C. (Polyb. 8. 25, 1), and is ranked by Pliny (N. H. 6. 9, 10, 26) as one of the chief towns of Armenia (with Carcathiocerta, Tigranocerta, and Artaxata), and which continued subsequently to be important. Its situation is given by Polybius (with whom Ptol. 5. 13, 19: 8. 19, 14, is in agreement) as on the Καλὸν Πέδιον between the Tigris and Euphrates, and by Pliny as on the latter river.

5. **ac disperso milite.** His forces were further separated by this detachment, as also by that of the large force already mentioned.

6. **sustentavisset.** Med. has 'et' after this word, which most edd. have followed Rhen. in omitting, as a repetition of the ending of the preceding word. Walth. retains it, and defends by the analogy of 1. 11, 1, etc. Ritt. marks a lacuna after 'sustentavisset,' and thinks a line may have dropped out containing some such words as 'quo adventante discrimen non introspexit Paetus, et aegre,' etc.

7. **instantem,** sc. 'hostem,' supplied from the context.

nec a Corbulone, etc. On the motive here imputed to Corbulo see Introd. p. 121.

9. **itineri,** dative of purpose: see Introd. i. v. § 22 c.

tribus legionibus: see c. 6, 5.

10. **parem numerum.** This can hardly be explained by the preceding 'octingentos,' as the auxiliary foot accompanying the legionaries are generally about equal to them in numbers. Nipp. suggests that possibly 4000, a number roughly equal to that of all the rest of the force, were selected.

12. **hinc . . . inde**: cp. 13. 38, 3, and note. The horse and foot are those mentioned in c. 10, 5.

13. **sed vi ac minis.** The irregularity of the construction is well explained by Nipp., who notes that 'sed' contrasts the words 'vi ac minis' with 'nihil mutato consilio,' and that instead of going on with some such expression as 'inceptum iter perrexit,' Tacitus gives a more particular account of what took place on the march; also that 'obtrivit' answers to 'vi' and 'minis' to 'exterruit' (the arrangement being that called 'chiasmus.') The number of abl. abs. clauses following is also noteworthy.

15. **defendere auso**: for the use of this participle as abl. abs. with infin. cp. 1. 56, 6; H. 2. 56, 2; 4. 36, 3.

auso factaque saepius eruptione et caesis, qui barbarorum propius
2 suggrediebantur, donec ignium iactu circumveniretur. peditum
si quis integer longinqua et avia, vulnerati castra repetivere, vir-
tutem regis, saevitiam et copias gentium, cuncta metu extollentes,
3 facili credulitate eorum qui eadem pavebant. ne dux quidem
obniti adversis, sed cuncta militiae munia deseruerat, missis
iterum ad Corbulonem precibus, veniret propere, signa et aquilas
et nomen reliquum infelicis exercitus tueretur: se fidem interim,
donec vita subpeditet, retenturos.

1 **12.** Ille interritus et parte copiarum apud Suriam relicta, ut
munimenta Euphrati inposita retinerentur, qua proximum et
commeatibus non egenum, regionem Commagenam, exim Cap-
2 padociam, inde Armenios petivit. comitabantur exercitum
praeter alia sueta bello magna vis camelorum onusta frumenti,
3 ut simul hostem famemque depelleret. primum e perculsis
Paccium primi pili centurionem obvium habuit, dein plerosque
militum; quos diversas fugae causas obtendentes redire ad signa
et clementiam Paeti experiri monebat; se nisi victoribus im-

2. **suggrediebantur**: cp. 2. 12, 2, and note.

3. **longinqua et avia**, sc. 'petivere,' supplied from 'repetivere,' as 'emi' from 'redimi' in 1. 17, 6.

4. **saevitiam**, 'fierceness' (not in bad sense); so 'saevitia hostium' in 1. 67, 2; 2. 11, 4; Sall. Iug. 7, 2.

gentium, those composing the Parthian army; cp. c. 1, 2; 2. 58, 1, etc.

extollentes, 'exaggerating.' Nipp. notes the similar description of reports spread by the beaten side in H. 3. 61, 3.

5. **facili credulitate**, repeated from 14. 4, 2.

pavebant, with accus.: cp. 5. 4, 2, and note.

10. **et parte . . . relicta**: for the insertion of 'et' cp. 14. 47, 1 and note.

11. **munimenta**, those spoken of in c. 9.

qua proximum, etc. Madvig (Adv. ii. 556) thinks that 'iter' must have been lost between 'proximum' and 'et,' but the text is defended as it stands by Nipp. who notes the use of 'proximum' elsewhere in Tacitus (H. 3. 16, 3; 4. 28, 1) and in Livy (3. 27, 5; 5. 46, 9; 10. 17, 7) with 'qua' or 'qua cuique,' 'ut cuique,' 'unde cuique,' in all of which the construction is apparently to be completed by supplying an infinitive from the following verb (as here 'petere' from 'petivit'). The coordination of 'egenum' with 'proximum' appears to be a sacrifice of perspicuity to conciseness; the former term referring in strictness not to the route or line of march itself, but to the district through which the route lay.

12. **Commagenam**, here adject. On the country and its government see 2. 42, 7; 56, 5. The march of Corbulo was due north from Zeugma, but he did not enter Armenia, being met by Paetus on the Euphrates at the frontier of Cappadocia (c. 16, 4).

14. **onusta frumenti**; so Plaut. Aulul. 4. 2, 4 ('aulam onustam auri'). No other instance appears to be found, but such a genit. is analogous in sense to those with 'plenus,' etc.

16. **Paccium**: see 13. 36, 1 (where he is called 'primi pili honore perfunctum') and note there. Unless it is to be supposed that he had been degraded for the insubordination there mentioned, his rank must be taken to be here more loosely stated.

plerosque, 'many.'

18. **experiri**, 'to make trial of,' see whether Paetus would forgive them; so in 5. 6, 4; cp. 'misericordiam experiretur' (12. 18, 1).

se nisi, etc., 'his own forgiveness was to be won only by victory.'

mitem esse. simul suas legiones adire, hortari, priorum ad- 4
monere, novam gloriam ostendere. non vicos aut oppida Arme-
niorum, sed castra Romana duasque in iis legiones pretium
laboris peti. si singulis manipularibus praecipua servati civis 5
corona imperatoria manu tribueretur, quod illud et quantum
decus, ubi par eorum numerus aspisceretur, qui adtulissent salu-
tem et qui accepissent! his atque talibus in commune alacres 6
(et erant quos pericula fratrum aut propinquorum propriis stimu-
lis incenderent) continuum diu noctuque iter properabant.
13. Eoque intentius Vologeses premere obsessos, modo vallum 1
legionum, modo castellum, quo inbellis aetas defendebatur, adpug-

1. **priorum**, 'former victories'; those recorded in 13. 39, foll., 14. 23, foll.

4. **peti**, 'was their aim.'

praecipua, 'as a gift of special distinction.' The rewards accompanying the gift of a civic crown are stated by Pliny (N. H. 16. 4, 5, 13), 'accepta licet uti perpetuo, ludos ineunti semper adsurgi etiam ab senatu in more est. sedendi ius in proximo senatui. vacatio munerum omnium ipsi patrique et avo paterno.'

5. **imperatoria**, 'that of the emperor,' who alone was now competent to bestow it. Tiberius had recognised the right of the proconsul of Africa to confer such a distinction on legionary soldiers under his command (3. 21, 4); but no proconsul had now any such military force (see Introd. i. vii. p. 98), and the legati of Caesar carried on war under his, not their own, auspices.

6. **ubi par eorum numerus**, etc. This passage has been much commented upon by editors, and is also the subject of a dissertation by Joh. Müller (Beitr. iv. pp. 33–38). Halm and several recent edd. have followed Lips. in reading 'aspiceretur' for the Med. 'apisceretur,' so as to get rid of the absurdity of supposing that the preserved as well as the preservers were to win the crown; but the meaning yielded is still far from being altogether satisfactory. The general sense may be taken to be 'if the civic crown is given to a single soldier by the emperor's own hand as a most glorious honour, how much greater must be the glory where a whole army can be pointed to, as having saved a number equal to themselves.' 'Numerus' can certainly (as Jacob suggests) be taken to mean 'multitude,' as in 14. 49, 5, etc.; still we should have expected the passage to have been so worded, that the great number of the preservers and preserved, especially of the latter, should have been put prominently forward, rather than the equality between the two bodies, which does not in itself add to the glory. We should also have expected 'ac' to be used, rather than 'et,' in drawing the comparison between them. It is nevertheless possible that there may be no deeper error than that of a sacrifice of clearness to brevity and to a rhetorical mode of expression in which the 'verba magnifica' of Corbulo himself (13. 8, 4) seem to be closely followed. The chief alternative is that proposed by Nipp., who reads 'ubi per eorum numerum obrueretur,' and explains it to mean 'how much greater is the glory (than that of the civic crown to a single soldier) where individual distinction would be effaced (so 'obruere' in Agr. 17, 3; Dial. 38, 2) by the number of preservers and preserved.' Here the difficulty in the use of 'et' is removed, but the alteration is violent, and the sense given to the whole passage is still strained and unsatisfactory.

7. **in commune**, 'as a whole'; in distinction to the special incentives also acting on some: cp. 13. 27, 6; and the use of the term as opposed to 'singulos' (H. 1. 36, 4), to 'singularum gentium' (G. 27, 3), to 'in singulis' (G. 40, 2), etc.

9. **diu**, 'by day'; so with 'noctu' in H. 2. 5, 1; an archaism adopted from Plautus (Cas. 4. 4, 5), used also by Sallust (Iug. 38, 3; 44, 5; Fr. H. 2. 54 D, 63 K, 45 G).

iter properabant, transitive, as in 1. 56, 2, etc.: cp. 13. 17, 3.

11. **castellum**, Arsamosata (c. 10, 6).

adpugnare, 'to make a demonstra-

nare, propius incedens quam mos Parthis, si ea temeritate hostem
2 in proelium eliceret. at illi vix contuberniis extracti, nec aliud
quam munimenta propugnabant, pars iussu ducis, et alii propria
ignavia aut Corbulonem opperientes, ac vis *si* ingrueret, provisis
exemplis *cladis* Caudinae Numantinaeque; neque eandem vim
Samnitibus, Italico populo, ac Parthis, Romani imperii aemulis.
3 validam quoque et laudatam antiquitatem, quotiens fortuna

tion against': for this Tacitean word cp. 2. 81, 1; 4. 48, 4; in both of which places it denotes a feint attack.

1. **propius incedens**, 'approaching closer': cp. 1. 35, 6. On the unwillingness of Parthian troops to press a siege vigorously see c. 4, 5.

si, 'in case that.' The idea of expectation or design is here implied in the action (see 1. 48, 1, and note).

2. **contuberniis extracti** (sc. 'sunt'), for the simple abl. cp. 1. 39, 4, and note. The perfect may be used, as Dr. points out, to express the general result; so that it is needless to read 'extrahi' (with Nipp.), or to mark a lacuna and suppose the loss of some such words as 'nolle aciem' (with Ritt.).

nec aliud quam: cp. 4. 34, 7; 13. 40, 6, and notes.

3. **propugnabant**, with accus.: cp. 13. 31, 5, and note.

4. **aut Corbulonem opperientes.** Nipp. follows Rhen. and others in treating the 'a' as a repetition from the end of the preceding word, and reading 'ut' ('as if'), making the plea a pretence.

vis si ingrueret. All recent edd. follow Walth. in inserting 'si' here. The old edd. had inserted it before 'vis,' where it was less likely to have dropped out.

5. **exemplis**, etc. The Med. text 'exemplis caudi nenum antineque eandem' shows that 'Caudinae Numantinaeque' can be restored; and it is easy to suppose that after the ending of the latter word, 'neque' has dropped out before 'eandem.' 'Cladis' is inserted here by most recent edd., after Bezzenb., on the supposition that it may have been skipped by a copyist through the similarity of its termination to that of 'exemplis.' The older edd. chiefly follow G in reading 'Caudinae ac Numantinae cladis, neque'; MS. Agr. has 'deditionis' (in similar position); both which insertions are less capable of explanation. Baiter follows Haase in reading 'Numantinaeque cladis, neque,' which, as also the insertion of 'pacis' in similar position (Madv. Adv. iii. 235), can be defended by the supposition that the copyist had skipped from '-neque' to 'eandem.' Orelli had avoided insertion by reading 'Caudii et Numantiae, neque,' and Ritt. supplies 'vis' (noting its use as a genit. in the MS. text of Dial. 26, 4) from the preceding nominative. On the Caudine disaster see Liv. 9, 1-6; by the Numantine, the capitulation of Mancinus in 617, B.C. 137 (App. Hisp. 80) is meant. The soldiers of Paetus felt that if they had to surrender, their disgrace would not be equal to either of these cases, as they surrendered to a greater power.

6. **Italico populo**, 'merely one among the peoples of Italy.' Nipp. points out that Tacitus appears to ignore the fact that the Roman confederacy was hardly then stronger than the Samnite. According to the reading here given (see next note), the Numantine power may be supposed to be dismissed without mention as evidently weaker.

ac Parthis. The Med. text 'aut poenis' has been very generally regarded as corrupt; for no good reason can be shown for bringing the Carthaginians into the comparison, nor would it be true that that power had never been as strong, relatively to Rome, as the Parthian empire. Orelli leaves the Med. text obelized; Halm reads as above; Nipp. prefers 'ut Parthis'; Ritt. (partly after Freinsh., partly after Gron.) reads 'aut Hispanis, ut Parthis,' treating the former name as the restoration of 'poenis,' and the latter words as having dropped out after it.

7. **antiquitatem** = 'antiquos Romanos,' cp. 3. 4, 3. Jacob notes that Livy (22. 59, 7) represents an orator as pleading the precedent of antiquity for redeeming the prisoners after Cannae.

quotiens fortuna contra daret, 'whenever fortune pronounced against them.' The phrase is repeated from H.

contra daret, saluti consuluisse. qua desperatione exercitus dux 4
subactus primas tamen literas ad Vologesen non supplices, sed
in modum querentis composuit, quod pro Armeniis semper
Romanae dicionis aut subiectis regi, quem imperator delegisset,
hostilia faceret: pacem ex aequo utilem; ne praesentia tantum
spectaret. ipsum adversus duas legiones totis regni viribus 5
advenisse: at Romanis orbem terrarum reliquum, quo bellum
iuvarent.

14. Ad ea Vologeses nihil pro causa, sed opperiendos sibi 1
fratres Pacorum ac Tiridaten rescripsit; illum locum tempusque
consilio destinatum, quid de Armenia cernerent; adiecisse deos
dignum Arsacidarum, simul ut de legionibus Romanis statuerent.
missi posthac Paeto nuntii et regis conloquium petitum, qui 2
Vasacen praefectum equitatus ire iussit. tum Paetus Lucullos, 3
Pompeios et si qua Caesares optinendae donandaeve Armeniae

1. 65, 5, and is a metaphor analogous to the juridical expression 'secundum aliquem dare.'

1. **dux subactus.** Dio (62. 21, 2) ignores the excuse here offered for the action taken by Paetus.

3. **pro Armeniis.** Nipp. notes that they were now certainly on the Parthian side (c. 15, 3), and that Paetus had advanced into Armenia as a hostile country, to make it a province (c. 6, 6). In c. 27, 4 certain of the 'megistanes' are called the leaders of revolt from Rome.

5. **ex aequo,** best taken with 'utilem' ('peace would be equally advantageous to both'); cp. the sense of the term in 13. 2, 2; H. 2. 77, 2; 4. 74, 2. Dr. would take 'pacem ex aequo' to mean 'peace on equal terms' (such being the meaning of 'ex aequo' in H. 4. 64, 5; Agr. 20, 3; Liv. 7, 30); but 'utilem' would seem thus to need a reference.

9. **pro causa** = 'pro re ipsa': 'causa' appears to have this force in H. 1. 80, 3 ('tempus in suspicionem, causa in crimen . . . evaluit'). The force of 'pro causa' in H. 3. 7, 3; 9, 6, appears to be different.

10. **illum locum,** 'the place in which he was.' The assertion is inconsistent with the apparent suddenness of his invasion.

11. **consilio . . . quid,** etc., 'for deliberation, as to what,' etc.: cp. a similar elliptical expression in c. 16, 2 ('litterae . . . an').

cernerent. This verb is here alone used by Tacitus in the sense of 'decernere,' an archaic sense, found in judicial language (Cic. de Legg. 3. 3, 6; Liv. 43. 12, 2), also, with especial reference to decision by combat, in old poets and in Verg. Aen. 12, 708 ('cernere ferro'), a passage cited by Sen. (Ep. 58, 3) to illustrate a sense obsolete in his time.

12. **dignum Arsacidarum,** 'a thing worthy of the Arsacidae'; 'dignum' is thus used substantively in 6. 29, 7, and other such adjectives in many places (Introd. i. v. § 4 b). The genit. with 'dignus,' though used by poets (e.g. Plaut. Trin. 5. 2, 29; Ov. Tr. 4. 3, 57, and 'indignus' Verg. Aen. 12, 649) and by Balbus in Cic. Att. 8. 15 A, 1 ('dignissimam tuae virtutis') and others, is ἅπ. εἰρ. in Tacitus, who elsewhere uses it very frequently with abl. There seems, however, no need to suppose (with Ritt.) that 'decore' has dropped out. All recent edd. follow Vertr. and Urs. in reading 'ut' for 'et', to be taken with 'simul' ('that at the same time').

13. **missi posthac Paeto.** Nipp. follows Haase in inserting 'a'; but 'Paeto' can be taken as a dat. of the agent (Introd. i. v. § 18).

14. **Lucullos, Pompeios,** rhetorical plurals. Lucullus had gained great victories over Tigranes I in 685, 686, B.C. 69, 68, and Pompeius had compelled him to submission in 688, B.C. 66.

15. **et si qua Caesares:** so all recent edd. after Pich. for Med. 'et siquaces.' The old edd. read, with some inferior

egerant, Vasaces imaginem retinendi largiendive penes nos, vim
4 penes Parthos memorat. et multum in vicem disceptato, Mono-
bazus Adiabenus in diem posterum testis iis quae pepigissent
5 adhibetur. placuitque liberari obsidio legiones et decedere
omnem militem finibus Armeniorum castellaque et commeatus
Parthis tradi, quibus perpetratis copia Vologesi fieret mittendi
ad Neronem legatos.

1 **15.** Interim flumini Arsaniae (is castra praefluebat) pontem
imposuit, specie sibi illud iter expedientis, sed Parthi quasi
documentum victoriae iusserant; namque iis usui fuit, nostri
2 per diversum iere. addidit rumor sub iugum missas legiones et

MSS., 'et si qui duces.' The intervention of Augustus and his successors in Armenia is fully set forth in Introd. pp. 102, foll.

obtinendae . . . Armeniae, best taken, with Nipp., as a dat. of purpose, rather than as a genit. depending on 'qua.'

1. **vim**, the real power of keeping or giving it; so opposed to 'speciem' in 3. 30, 6; to 'nomen' in 6. 43, 4.

2. **disceptato**, according to Dr., here alone used as abl. abs.; for analogous instances see Introd. i. v. § 31 a.

Monobazus: see c. 1, 3, and note.

6. **quibus perpetratis**, 'after this had been fully accomplished.' Nipp. notes that the word is designedly chosen, to emphasise the irony of the next sentence. When Armenia had been thoroughly surrendered to Vologeses, he was to be allowed as a favour to send ambassadors to Nero to ask for it. Cp. c. 25, 2 ('intellecto barbarum inrisu, qui peterent quod haberent').

8. **Arsaniae, is.** Med. has here 'Arsanieti Is,' and the oldest edd. read, with inferior MSS., 'Arsameti, is'; the correct form having been restored by Acid. from the Med. 'Arsaniam' below (§ 6), and from Dio, 62. 21, 1. Some have followed Lips., who approaches somewhat nearer to the Med. text by reading 'Arsaniae, etenim is.' The river is mentioned as having been crossed by Lucullus in his northward march from Tigranocerta towards Artaxata (Plut. Luc. 31, 513), and is given by Pliny (N. H. 5. 29, 30, 84; 6. 27, 31, 128), as one of the principal confluents of the upper Euphrates. Orelli and Nipp. take it to be the Arsen or Ardjis, a tributary falling into the Euphrates south of Melitene; but as it is evidently a very considerable stream (see § 6), it is more generally taken to be the eastern and principal branch of the Euphrates itself, the Murad (on which see Introd. p. 110). It would appear from what is said here that the camp of Rhandeia (see note on c. 10, 1) was on its northern bank, so that the Parthians had to cross it, but the Romans could retreat towards Cappadocia without doing so.

praefluebat: cp. 2. 63, 1, and note.

9. **imposuit.** Ritt. thinks that 'Paetus' has dropped out after 'praefluebat.' The omission is certainly harsh, but the subject seems sufficiently indicated in contrast to 'Parthi.'

specie, 'under pretence of preparing this route for his retreat.' If the Murad be the river meant, the pretext would be so far plausible, that his most direct line of retreat to Cappadocia would have involved crossing it.

quasi documentum victoriae: 'quasi' here denotes a real motive. The account in Dio (62. 21, 4) appears here closely to follow Tacitus. He says that neither had the Parthians any real need of the bridge; that they had got there without it, and did not even use it to go away.

10. **usui fuit.** It appears from § 6 that it was used by some, probably by those who were conveying the booty taken in the camp.

11. **per diversum**, 'taking an opposite direction.'

addidit rumor. Dio says nothing about this report; Suet., on the contrary (Ner. 39), accepts it as an unquestioned fact, and further exaggerates ('ignominia ad Orientem, legionibus sub iugo missis, aegreque Syria retenta').

alia ex rebus infaustis, quorum simulacrum ab Armeniis usurpa-
tum est. namque et munimenta ingressi sunt, antequam agmen 3
Romanum excederet, et circumstetere vias, captiva olim mancipia
aut iumenta adgnoscentes abstrahentesque: raptae etiam vestes, 4
retenta arma, pavido milite et concedente, ne qua proelii causa
existeret. Vologeses armis et corporibus caesorum aggeratis, 5
quo cladem nostram testaretur, visu fugientium legionum ab-
stinuit. fama moderationis quaerebatur, postquam superbiam
expleverat. flumen Arsaniam elephanto insidens, proximus 6
quisque regem vi equorum perrupere, quia rumor incesserat
pontem cessurum oneri dolo fabricantium: sed qui ingredi ausi
sunt, validum et fidum intellexere.

16. Ceterum obsessis adeo suppeditavisse rem frumentariam 1
constitit, ut horreis ignem inicerent, contraque prodiderit Corbulo
Parthos inopes copiarum et pabulo attrito relicturos oppugna-

1. **alia ex rebus infaustis.** Nipp. takes this as equivalent to 'alias res infaustas,' and supposes the expression to be similar to the neuter with genitive (Introd. i. v. § 32 b); but it seems better to take the words, with Burnouf and others, to mean 'other indignities suitable to their miserable plight': cp. 'ex memoria . . . fortunae' (2. 63, 1); 'ex severitate prisca' (11. 25, 5).

quorum simulacrum, 'some resemblance of which.' Though the legions did not pass under the yoke, they had to submit to such indignities as approached that ignominy (such as are described in the following sentences). 'Simulacrum' can hardly here mean an empty semblance (as in 1. 77, 3; 11. 31, 4; etc.), and there seems to be no strict parallel to its use for 'simile aliquid'; the nearest being that cited by Dr. from Plaut. Most. 1. 2, 6 ('quoius rei . . . similem esse arbitrarer simulacrumque habere').

3. **captiva** = 'capta,' 'formerly taken as booty': cp. 'captivos in agros' (12. 32, 5), 'captivum . . . ebur' (Hor. Ep. 2. 1, 193), etc.

4. **adgnoscentes.** Nipp. points out that this word has here the force of 'recognising as their own,' a sense nearly akin to that of 'adgnoscere crimen,' 'factum,' etc.

5. **retenta,** 'were detained' by the enemy.

6. **caesorum.** These must chiefly have consisted of the force mentioned in c. 11, 1, as the camp had not been assaulted.

aggeratis: so all edd. after Heins. for the Med. 'aggregatis': cp. 1. 61, 3; 6. 19, 3.

9. **insidens,** sc. 'ipse,' Dio (l. l.) here again follows Tacitus closely, but does not add the reason for not using the bridge.

proximus, not elsewhere found with accus. in Tacitus, but so used by Plaut. (Poen. 5. 3, 1), Caes. (B. G. 1. 54, 1), Sall. (Iug. 49, 6), as is also 'propior' (Sall. Iug. 49, 1): with 'proxime' (cp. 16. 11, 3), as also with 'propius,' the regular and classical construction is the accus., though the dat. is also found.

10. **vi equorum.** We gather from the expression that the stream, though fordable to an elephant, had to be swum by horses.

14. **ut horreis,** etc. They preferred no doubt to destroy their store, rather than deliver it to the Parthians according to the terms (c. 14, 5). It is therefore only proved that they had some corn left, not that they had abundance.

prodiderit. The expression would show that Tacitus here quotes Corbulo as an author (cp. 12. 67, 1; 13. 20, 4; etc.), i. e. his written memoirs, used by Pliny (see N. H. 2. 70, 72, 180; 6. 8, 8, 23, and the list of authors for Books 5 and 6). The subjunctive appears to be an error, as there is no reason for extending the force of 'ut' beyond 'inicerent'; but Ritter's emendation 'contra quae prodidit' gives no satisfactory sense.

15. **pabulo attrito,** 'their forage' (or

2 tionem, neque se plus tridui itinere afuisse. adicit iure iurando
Paeti cautum apud signa, adstantibus iis quos testificando rex
misisset, neminem Romanum Armeniam ingressurum, donec
3 referrentur litterae Neronis, an paci adnueret. quae ut augendae
infamiae composita, sic reliqua non in obscuro habentur, una die
quadraginta milium spatium emensum esse Paetum, desertis
passim sauciis, neque minus deformem illam fugientium trepida-
4 tionem quam si terga in acie vertissent. Corbulo cum suis copiis
apud ripam Euphratis obvius non eam speciem insignium et
5 armorum praetulit, ut diversitatem exprobraret. maesti manipuli
ac vicem commilitonum miserantes ne lacrimis quidem temperare;
6 vix prae fletu usurpata consalutatio. decesserat certamen virtutis

'foraging ground': cp. 6. 34, 1, and note) being nearly exhausted' (worn thin): cp. 'attritus vomer' (Virg. G. 1, 46), 'attritis opibus' (H. 1. 10, 2), 'rebus' (H. 2. 56, 4); etc.

relicturos. Nipp. notes that the omission of 'fuisse' (see Introd. i. v. § 39 c) is here made less harsh by 'afuisse' following.

1. **adicit.** The reference is again to his memoirs.

iure iurando, etc., 'that Paetus gave security by oath before the standards,' i.e., in the 'principia,' where the standards, the effigy of the emperor, and the altars for sacrifice were kept (cp. 1. 39, 7, and note; also c. 24, 3; 29, 5).

2. **testificando**: cp. 13. 11, 2, and note.

4. **litterae . . . an**: cp. c. 14, 1; for the dat. with 'adnuere' cp. 12. 48, 4, and note.

quae ut . . . composita, 'admitting that these statements were made up (by Corbulo) to increase the disgrace of Paetus.' This admission, however guarded, shows that Tacitus did not consider the memoirs of Corbulo altogether trustworthy. Mommsen notes (Hist. v. 390, 2; E. T. ii. 58, 1) that such an agreement as is here spoken of is so far perfectly credible, inasmuch as it corresponds to what actually took place. It should, however, be observed that Paetus on meeting Corbulo is made to propose at once to re-enter Armenia (c. 17, 1), and that it appears to be assumed by both generals that they were free to do so. Another and a more obvious exaggeration is given by Dio (62. 21, 2), that Paetus pledged Nero to give the kingdom to Tiridates.

5. **non in obscuro habentur,** 'are not reckoned as in uncertainty': cp. 'in incerto habeantur' (c. 17, 2).

6. **quadraginta.** Vegetius states (1, 9) that the ordinary Roman march on a summer day was five hours, in which time twenty miles were accomplished at the ordinary pace, twenty-four at quick march; that beyond this, 'quidquid addideris, iam cursus est.' Nipp. notes that the 'iustum iter' of Caes. B. C. 3. 76, 1, agrees with this, but that further on in the same chapter, 'xviii.' must be read for 'viii.'

9. **apud ripam Euphratis,** probably at or near Melitene, where he was intending to cross (see note on c. 7, 2). If Corbulo was only three days' march distant at the time of the surrender (§ 1), we should be led to infer that the one forced march of forty miles represented the whole distance travelled by Paetus to the meeting point. If, however, he had not crossed the Murad, but marched round by its junction with the Kara Su, the distance traversed by him must apparently have been greater, and Corbulo had no doubt intended to take a more direct route.

insignium: cp. 'neque insignibus fulgentes' 1. 24, 4 (and note); also c. 29, 4.

10. **ut diversitatem,** etc., 'as if to taunt them by the contrast.'

11. **lacrimis . . . temperare,** so in Liv. 30. 20, 1; probably to be taken as dative: cp. 'risui temperare' (13. 3, 2).

12. **consalutatio**: so, when the disgraced legions meet Cerialis, there is 'nulla inter coeuntes . . . consalutatio' (H. 4. 72, 4); and Livy similarly

et ambitio gloriae, felicium hominum adfectus: sola misericordia
valebat, et apud minores magis.

17. Ducum inter se brevis sermo secutus est, hoc conquerente 1
iam inritum laborem, potuisse bellum fuga Parthorum finiri: ille
integra utrique cuncta respondit: converterent aquilas et iuncti
invaderent Armeniam abscessu Vologesis infirmatam. non ea 2
imperatoris habere mandata Corbulo: periculo legionum com-
motum e provincia egressum; quando in incerto habeantur
Parthorum conatus, Suriam repetiturum: sic quoque optimam 3
Fortunam orandam, ut pedes confectus spatiis itinerum alacrem
et facilitate camporum praevenientem equitem adsequeretur.
exim Paetus per Cappadociam hibernavit: at Vologesis ad 4
Corbulonem missi nuntii, detraheret castella trans Euphraten

describes the return from Caudium (9. 6, 12) 'non reddere salutem, non salutantibus dare responsum.' Nipp. notes that the ordinary salutation probably consisted in acclamations; the lowering of arms mentioned as part of the 'salutatio militaris' in Bell. Afr. 85, 5 being an acknowledgment of defeat.

2. **minores,** 'the lower ranks,' i.e. the rank and file. So in Ov. Ex P. 4. 7, 49 ('pugnat ad exemplum primi minor ordine pili'). Their feeling appears to be contrasted with that of the 'duces' (c. 17, 1).

3. **hoc,** 'Corbulone': by 'laborem' his long march is meant.

5. **integra utrique cuncta,** 'nothing was lost for either,' all could yet be restored for his position and that of Corbulo by a joint invasion.

7. **Corbulo,** sc. 'ait' (see Introd. i. v. § 38 a). Nipp. notes that the omission is here rendered less harsh by the preceding 'respondit.' The omission of 'se' is common enough (Id. § 8) to make it needless to insert it (with Ritt.) before 'habere.'

8. **quando** = 'quoniam;' so in 1. 44, 5, etc.: for 'in incerto' cp. c. 16, 3.

9. **sic quoque,** 'even as it was (cp. 4. 40, 4, and note) they must pray for fortune to be at her best' (cp. 'precandam modestiam' 4. 7, 3), i.e. it would be a rare stroke of good fortune if they got back in time.

10. **pedes,** his own army, consisting mainly of infantry (c. 10, 8), as contrasted with the Parthian army of horsemen ('equitem'), whom he supposed to be on their way to invade Syria.

alacrem, apparently in contrast to 'confectus spatiis itinerum,' and referring (as Nipp. takes it) to their rest during the siege. They were also inspirited by victory.

11. **facilitate camporum praevenientem,** 'outstripping them by the ease of moving over plains': cp. 'facilitate . . . adulteriorum' (11. 26, 1); also 'difficultates itineris' (13. 53, 3), 'locorum' (Agr. 17, 3).

12. **per Cappadociam hibernavit.** By the reckoning adopted, the winter here meant is the remainder of that spoken of as impending in c. 8, 3 (where see note). The difficulty of supposing that so much had taken place within so short a time is less than that of the alternative supposition, that a whole spring, summer, and autumn had intervened, since the advance of Vologeses (c. 9, 2), and that Rome had been more than a year without news from the East, between the despatches of Paetus (c. 8, 3) and the embassy from Vologeses (c. 24, 1). By 'per' separate winter quarters are denoted. Dr. compares 'per fora ac templa' (11. 14, 5), etc.

13. **nuntii.** There is some harshness in supplying 'expostulabant' from the next sentence, on which account Ritt. reads 'Vologeses' and 'missis nuntiis' (with only a comma after 'faceret'), and also inclines to alter 'expostulabat' to the plural.

detraheret castella. The verb is probably best taken (with Gerber and Greef) in the sense of 'dirueret' (cp. 'diruta' below), as in H. 4. 64, 3 ('muros . . . detrahatis'). Dr. takes it as a new phrase, analogous to the use of the word

5 amnemque, ut olim, medium faceret. ille Armeniam quoque diversis praesidiis vacuam fieri expostulabat. et postremo concessit rex; dirutaque quae Euphraten ultra communiverat Corbulo, et Armenii sine arbitro relicti sunt.

1 **18.** At Romae tropaea de Parthis arcusque medio Capitolini montis sistebantur, decreta ab senatu integro adhuc bello neque
2 tum omissa, dum aspectui consulitur spreta conscientia. quin et dissimulandis rerum externarum curis Nero frumentum plebis vetustate corruptum in Tiberim iecit, quo securitatem annonae
3 sustentaret. cuius pretio nihil additum est, quamvis ducentas ferme naves portu in ipso violentia tempestatis et centum alias
4 Tiberi subvectas fortuitus ignis absumpsisset. tris dein consulares,

of withdrawing troops, etc. The forts are those mentioned in c. 9, 2; 12, 1.

2. **diversis** = 'hostilibus'; so 'diversa acies' (13. 57, 3; 14. 30, 1), etc.

expostulabat (= 'postulabat' as in 1. 19, 3, etc.); so used with accus. and inf. in H. 1. 82, 1; 3. 83, 1; and (in different sense) in c. 5, 1. 'Postulo' takes this construction in Cic., etc.

4. **sine arbitro**, 'without interference'; cp. 'mortem sine arbitro' (16. 11, 6); also 1. 26, 6, and note.

5. **tropaea**: cp. 2. 18, 2, and note.

arcusque, possibly that which had been decreed four years previously (13. 41, 5).

6. **integro adhuc bello**, 'while the war was yet undecided'; so in H. 2. 57, 1 (in 2. 46, 2, the meaning is different): cp. 'rebus integris' c. 25, 1.

7. **dum aspectui**, etc., 'inasmuch as appearances are consulted, sense of truth despised.' The criticism is only so far true, that the exaggerated despatches of Paetus 'quasi confecto bello' (c. 8, 3) had been believed and perhaps still further magnified: the news of his subsequent reverses was not received until the following spring (c. 24, 1); so that the 'neque tum omissa' is altogether unfair.

8. **dissimulandis . . . curis**, gerundive dat. (Introd. i. v. § 22 b), 'to conceal his anxiety about foreign affairs.' This imputation of motive again is wholly gratuitous; nor could any disaster, or apprehension of such, in Parthia, affect the corn supply of Rome.

frumentum plebis. The context shows that this was stored not for gratuitous distribution, but for sale at a low rate; it being part of the 'cura annonae' to regulate prices, not only by sale from public stores, but also in dear times by compensating merchants for selling below market value. (See c. 39, 2; 1. 2, 2; 2. 87, 1, and notes.) All costs connected with the 'frumentum publicum' were borne formerly by the 'aerarium,' especially, no doubt, by the revenues of the senatorial provinces of Sicily, Asia, and Africa, but appear from the time of Claudius or Nero to have been transferred to the 'fiscus' generally, and under the Flavian Caesars to a special 'fiscus frumentarius.' See Hirschfeld, Untersuch. p. 132; also Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. pp. 126, 133.

10. **sustentaret**, i.e. to keep up the confidence respecting plenty which the public had hitherto felt, by leading them to believe that there must be abundance of good corn in store. Nipp. follows Ryck. and others in reading 'ostentaret' (after MS. Agr.), taking 'securitatem' to mean 'safety' (i.e. 'assured abundance'), as in 11. 31, 2 ('securitati . . . consulere'); Agr. 3, 1 ('securitas publica'); Plin. N. H. 28. 2, 4, 21 ('securitatem itinerum'). The alteration perhaps gives a better sense, but is hardly necessary. Medals were struck inscribed 'Annona Augusti,' Ceres. S. C. (Cohen, i. p. 279).

11. **portu in ipso**, at Ostia.

12. **Tiberi subvectas**, i.e. which had reached Rome: for the expression cp. 'Nilo subvehebatur' (2. 60, 1).

tris . . . consulares. In appointing this commission he followed the precedent of Augustus, who in 759, A.D. 6, according to Dio (55. 25, 6) τὰ ἀναλώματα διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπατευκότων, οὓς

L. Pisonem, Ducenium Geminum, Pompeium Paulinum vectigalibus publicis praeposuit, cum insectatione priorum principum, qui gravitate sumptuum iustos reditus anteissent: se annuum sexcentiens sestertium rei publicae largiri.

19. Percrebruerat ea tempestate pravissimus mos, cum pro- 1
pinquis comitiis aut sorte provinciarum plerique orbi fictis adoptionibus adsciscerent filios, praeturasque et provincias inter patres

ὁ κλῆρος ἀπέφηνε, τὰ μὲν συνέστειλε, τὰ δὲ καὶ παντάπασι διέγραψε. Another commission, also selected by lot, was appointed for this purpose ('qui . . . modum publicis impensis facerent') together with others, at the accession of Vespasian (H. 4. 40, 3). Here Nero appears to have selected the persons instead of leaving the choice to the lot.

1. **L. Pisonem, etc.** On this person see 13. 28, 3; 31, 1. Ducenius Geminus (the date of whose consulship is unknown) was praef. urbis under (Galba H. 1. 14, 1). Mommsen reads the name 'M. Duceni Gemini' for 'Meceni Gemini' in a Delmatian inscription (C. I. L. iii. 2883, Wilm. 868, Or. 3452), as legatus of the Eleventh legion (which left Delmatia in Vespasian's time). On Paulinus Pompeius see 13. 53, 2, and note.

vectigalibus publicis. This would strictly include the corn dues and other indirect taxes payable into the 'aerarium publicum' (see 4. 6, 4, and note; 13. 50, 1, and note); but it is possible that the term is here taken widely, so as to include also the tribute of the senatorial provinces, and in fact the whole revenue of the 'aerarium.' The object was to produce such a balance between income and expenditure as should enable the treasury to meet its regular obligations.

2. **priorum.** Gaius, whose reckless expenditure Suet., on the contrary (Ner. 30), represents Nero as admiring, would seem here especially to be referred to.

3. **iustos reditus anteissent,** 'had forestalled in their extravagant expenditure the proper revenue,' i.e. had counted on public money before it was due, and then left the treasury always with a deficit. The princeps was so far responsible for the administration of the aerarium, that any decree for extraordinary expenditure from it was either directly originated by him (see 2. 47, 3; 4. 13, 1, etc.), or could at least be checked by his veto.

se, etc., 'whereas he annually gave the commonwealth sixty million sesterces.' The statement is obscure, and has been very variously understood, but seems to refer to some regular annual payment, distinct from such subventions to the aerarium as are mentioned in 13. 31, 2. It is perhaps best to suppose, with Hirschfeld (Unters. p. 133), that allusion is made to the transference of the cost of the corn distribution from the aerarium to the fiscus, which appears to have been carried out by Claudius or Nero, and for which, even if it had been the work of the former, the latter may have chosen to take credit. Nipp. and Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 1009) would take 'reipublicae' in a general sense, and make him assert that his expenditure from the fiscus for public purposes exceeded by that sum the income derived by it from public sources; the balance being a gift from his 'res privata.' Augustus certainly professed to have given very large sums in this way (see note on 1. 8, 3), and similar acts are recorded of Antoninus Pius (Eutr. 8, 8) and others.

5. **Percrebruerat:** cp. 2. 82, 1, and note.

6. **plerique** = 'permulti.' The object was to evade the 'Lex Papia Poppaea,' which prescribed that a candidate who had children, or who had more children, was to be preferred to one who had none, or fewer: see vol. i. app. ii. p. 441; also 2. 51, 2.

8. **sortiti.** This word must be used of 'praeturas' by a zeugma, in the general sense of being elected. The lot however determined the jurisdiction and duties of the several praetors of the year, as well as the assignment of provinces to ex-praetors; and appears only to have obtained among those who were otherwise equal. Dio (53. 13, 2) describes Augustus as ordaining with respect to the senatorial provinces, κληρωτοὺς εἶναι, πλὴν εἴ τῳ πολυπαιδίας ἢ γάμου προνομία προσείη: see also Momms. Staatsr. ii. 215, 253. 'Comitiis,' as a general term, ap-

2 sortiti statim emitterent manu, quos adoptaverant. magna cum
invidia senatum adeunt, ius naturae, labores educandi adversus
3 fraudem et artes et brevitatem adoptionis enumerant. satis
pretii esse orbis, quod multa securitate, nullis oneribus gratiam
4 honores cuncta prompta et obvia haberent. sibi promissa legum
diu exspectata in ludibrium verti, quando quis sine sollicitudine
parens, sine luctu orbus longa patrum vota repente adaequaret.
5 factum ex eo senatus consultum, ne simulata adoptio in ulla
parte muneris publici iuvaret ac ne usurpandis quidem hereditatibus prodesset.

plies to the election in the senate of all ranks of magistrates; but the praetorship is specially instanced as most sought for (cp. 14. 28, 1); because the lower magistracies were chiefly valuable as stepping-stones to it, and because this magistracy carried with it eligibility to all senatorial provinces except Asia and Africa (Introd. i. vii. p. 95). The consulship is not mentioned, probably because there was no real candidature for it, the office being wholly filled up at the will of the prince.

inter patres, 'among those who were really fathers of families.'

1. **emitterent manu.** This variation of the usual 'manu mittere' is found several times in Plaut. and Ter. and in Liv. 24. 18, 12, and later.

magna cum invidia, 'with loud reproaches': on this apparently Tacitean sense of 'invidia' cp. 3. 67, 4, and note.

2. **adeunt.** All edd. have followed Rhen. in restoring 'adeunt, ius' for the Med. 'adeuntibus'; but the text still seems corrupt. The complainants are evidently such persons as really had children; but to supply such a subject to 'adeunt' from 'inter patres,' or from the general sense, is very harsh. It seems less violent to mark a lacuna before 'magna' (with Nipp. and Ritt.) than, with Dr., to insert 'at patres.' The old edd. had followed Put. in inserting 'qui,' which might indeed have dropped out from the proximity of 'quos,' but which does not remove the difficulty, as its reference would be wholly ambiguous.

ius naturae, 'the right they have gained by nature,' as opposed to 'fraudem et artes' ('artifice'). It seems best to take the two latter terms as a hendiadys, rather than (with Nipp.) to distinguish them by making the latter denote the artificial character of all adoptions (as against 'ius naturae'), the former such adoptions as were not even made bona fide. The attack here appears to be on sham adoptions only.

adversus, 'in contrast to': cp. 12. 15, 3; Dial. 33, 2; Liv. 7. 32, 8. Nipp. compares 'contra' in c. 2, 2.

4. **securitate**, 'freedom from cares,' i.e. the 'labores educandi.'

5. **honores.** Nipp. takes this to mean that senators won the favour of a childless brother senator by voting him magistracies whenever it was possible to do so. But such a practice would too closely touch the special ground of complaint to be alluded to thus concessively. It would seem therefore that 'honores' means 'marks of respect' (cp. 1. 14, 2; 4. 37, 2, etc.), though we should certainly have rather expected 'honorem.' On the general court paid to the childless see 3. 25, 2 (and note); 13. 52, 3, etc.

6. **diu exspectata**, 'looked forward to from the time when they began to rear children': cp. 'longa patrum vota' below. Nipp. thinks it refers to the long time which might elapse after the legal age for office was reached, by preference given to those who had more interest. But this grievance would not be specially that of 'patres.'

in ludibrium verti, 'were turned into a laughing-stock,' as if they had never been seriously made.

sine sollicitudine, etc., 'a parent without the cares of paternity, and childless without the sorrows of bereavement.'

7. **longa patrum vota**, 'the aspirations long cherished by parents.'

8. **in ulla parte muneris publici**, 'in anything partaking of the nature of a public office,' i.e. not only in respect of actual tenure of magistracies, but also in allotment of provinces, functions, etc.

9. **ne usurpandis quidem heredi-**

20. Exim Claudius Timarchus Cretensis reus agitur, ceteris 1
criminibus, ut solent praevalidi provincialium et opibus nimiis
ad iniurias minorum elati: una vox eius usque ad contumeliam
senatus penetraverat, quod dictitasset in sua potestate situm, an
proconsulibus, qui Cretam obtinuissent, grates agerentur. quam 2
occasionem Paetus Thrasea ad bonum publicum vertens, post-
quam de reo censuerat provincia Creta depellendum, haec ad-
didit: 'usu probatum est, patres conscripti, leges egregias,
exempla honesta apud bonos ex delictis aliorum gigni. sic 3
oratorum licentia Cinciam rogationem, candidatorum ambitus
Iulias leges, magistratuum avaritia Calpurnia scita pepererunt;

tatibus. On the disabilities of the unmarried and childless in this respect see vol. i. app. ii. p. 442.

1. **Cretensis.** Crete was a senatorial province, with Cyrene (see on 3. 38, 1; 70, 1); and the senatorial court would be the natural tribunal (see 13. 4, 3, and note) for considering any charge against a provincial which appeared too important to be left to the proconsul.

reus agitur: cp. 3. 13, 3, and note; 14. 18, 2.

ceteris criminibus, abl. abs., 'there being other charges.'

2. **ut solent.** The construction connects itself, as Nipp. points out, with 'reus agitur,' but the sense depends on 'ceteris criminibus,' the expression being equivalent to 'qualibus obnoxii esse solent.' Nipp. gives several instances in which 'ut' or 'ac' has the force of 'qualis' or 'quantus' (Agr. 20, 3; Cic. de Prov. Cons. 10, 25; in Vat. 4, 10); but none of them have the elliptical character here noticed.

3. **ad iniurias minorum elati**, 'so uplifted as to oppress their inferiors' (for this sense of 'minores' cp. c. 16, 6; 11. 21, 4, and notes). On the position of such wealthy persons, in the Hellenic provinces, see Mommsen, Hist. v. 259; E. T. i. 283. Their arrogance is alluded to in Plut. Praec. Rei Gerendae, 19, 3.

ad contumeliam senatus penetraverat, 'had gone to the length of insulting the senate' (in the person of its proconsul). No other instance of the metaphorical use of 'penetrare' appears to be quite parallel.

5. **grates agerentur.** This was done by a deputation sent to Rome on the motion of a 'concilium sociorum' (see c. 22, 2). Such a vote of thanks would be a valuable counter demonstration, in case of complaint.

6. **Paetus Thrasea**: see 13. 49, 1, etc.

7. **depellendum** = 'relegandum'; so in 3. 24, 2; 14. 50, 2; 16. 33, 3.

9. **exempla honesta.** Nipp. takes this to mean 'honourable exemplary acts' (cp. 13. 44, 8, etc.), and points out that from this sense of the word is derived that in which it is equivalent to 'poena' (12. 20, 4, etc.); a meaning which Dr. and others suppose to be intended here, and which is perhaps most in accordance with 'leges egregias' (the laws referred to being penal laws), and with 'poena' below. 'Apud bonos' is perhaps best taken with 'gigni' ('originate among the good').

10. **licentia**, 'wickedness' (cp. 'libido' 12. 46, 3), here more especially of corruptibility or greed. On the Cincian rogation see 11. 5, 3; 13. 42, 2.

11. **Iulias leges**, those of Augustus, who appears twice to have taken some action to punish and prevent this offence, in 736 and 746, B.C. 18 and 8 (Dio, 54. 16, 1; 55. 5, 3); though it would only seem to have been on the latter occasion that any general enactment took place, such as is referred to in Suet. Aug. 34. The plural may be rhetorical, like 'Calpurnia scita.'

Calpurnia scita. The 'lex Calpurnia de repetundis,' passed by the tribune L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi in 605, B.C. 149 (Cic. Brut. 27, 106, etc.), is remarkable as the first occasion of constituting the 'quaestiones perpetuae.' Nipp. notes that the variation of terms ('rogationem,' 'leges,' 'scita') appears to be only rhetorical. The enactments spoken of were probably all in form plebiscites.

nam culpa quam poena tempore prior, emendari quam peccare
4 posterius est. ergo adversus novam provincialium superbiam
dignum fide constantiaque Romana capiamus consilium, quo
tutelae sociorum nihil derogetur, nobis opinio decedat, qualis
quisque habeatur, alibi quam in civium iudicio esse.
1 **21.** Olim quidem non modo praetor aut consul, sed privati
etiam mittebantur, qui provincias viserent et quid de cuiusque
obsequio videretur referrent, trepidabantque gentes de aestima-
2 tione singulorum: at nunc colimus externos et adulamur, et quo
modo ad nutum alicuius grates, ita promptius accusatio decernitur.
3 decernaturque et maneat provincialibus potentiam suam tali
modo ostentandi: sed laus falsa et precibus expressa perinde
4 cohibeatur quam malitia, quam crudelitas. plura saepe peccan-
tur dum demeremur quam dum offendimus. quaedam immo

1. **nam culpa**, etc. The sentiment appears to show traces of that ascribed by Livy (34. 4, 8) to Cato, when speaking against the repeal of the Oppian law: 'sicut ante morbos necesse est cognitos esse quam remedia eorum, sic cupiditates prius natae sunt quam leges quae iis modum facerent.' Nipp. points out that the second clause ('emendari quam peccare,' etc.) does not merely repeat the sense of the former, but brings in the idea of amendment, as distinct from that of mere punishment.

2. **superbiam**, the arrogance implied in such votes of thanks.

3. **fide constantia.** Jacob appears rightly to distinguish these by taking the first of the honour or good faith shown in dealing with allies, the latter of the sense of dignity that should keep Romans from courting praise.

4. **nobis opinio decedat**, 'we (magistrates) should get rid of the idea that it rests with any but our fellow-citizens at home to judge our character,' i. e. that we have anything to gain from a provincial demonstration of this kind.

6. **privati etiam mittebantur.** This appears to have been the idea of the senatorial privilege of 'legatio libera,' though in fact it was usually employed for private purposes. Professor Holbrooke instances the commission of Cato Uticensis to manage the annexation of Cyprus (Cic. pro Sest. 28, 60); but the reference here appears to be to a more general practice.

8. **de aestimatione singulorum**, 'concerning the judgment of individuals respecting them.'

10. **alicuius**, sc. 'e provincialibus'; so also 'decernatur,' sc. 'a provincialibus.'

11. **decernaturque**, sc. 'accusatio.'

et maneat, etc. Halm, who admits the other instances of the elliptical gerundial genit. (c. 5, 3; 13. 26, 4), here inserts 'ius' before 'potentiam'; Ritt. inserts 'potestas' before 'provincialibus'; Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 556) more felicitously takes 'potentiam' to be a corruption of 'potestas sententiam.' The text is certainly here so far more difficult to defend than in the other instances, in that there is no adjective which could, even by a stretch of meaning, be taken substantivally; but it seems possible to consider the general idea of 'custom' to be implied in 'maneat,' or to suppose, with Nipp., that 'decernere accusationem' is supplied as subject of that verb, and that the genit. is added epexegetically. 'Ostentandi' is read by all edd., after G, for the Med. 'optentandi.'

12. **expressa**, 'extorted': cp. 1. 19, 5, etc.

13. **malitia . . . crudelitas.** The latter of these is clearly that of the governor, as 'laus falsa' is that of the subjects. It seems best to take 'malitia' also of the governor (cp. 13. 30, 4); though it could well be understood of spite on the part of the subject as the cause of false accusations.

14. **demeremur**, 'oblige': this verb, found here alone in Tacitus, is thus used as a deponent by Quint. and Sen., and in the gerund by Liv. (3. 18, 3) and others, also in the act. by Ov., etc., and (in a

virtutes odio sunt, severitas obstinata, invictus adversum gratiam
animus. inde initia magistratuum nostrorum meliora ferme et 5
finis inclinat, dum in modum candidatorum suffragia conquiri-
mus: quae si arceantur, aequabilius atque constantius provinciae
regentur. nam ut metu repetundarum infracta avaritia est, ita 6
vetita gratiarum actione ambitio cohibebitur.'

22. Magno adsensu celebrata sententia, non tamen senatus 1
consultum perfici potuit, abnuentibus consulibus ea de re relatum.
mox auctore principe sanxere, ne quis ad concilium sociorum 2
referret agendas apud senatum pro praetoribus prove consulibus
grates, neu quis ea legatione fungeretur.

Isdem consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminis conflagravit, effi- 3

different sense) in Plaut. That the desire to win favour with the subjects, to set against possible complaints, was a frequent motive to crime, is shown by the cases of Pilate, Herod Agrippa (Acts 12, 3), Felix (Id. 24, 27), Festus (Id. 25, 9).

3. **inclinat**, 'declines': cp. 'si fortuna belli inclinat' (Liv. 3. 61, 5); so, passively, 'inclinata fortuna' (Cic. ad Fam. 2. 16, 1), and, actively, 'inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur' (Quint. 10. 1, 80).

4. **aequabilius atque constantius**, 'with more uniformity and consistency': the sentence is imitated from Sall. Cat., 2, 3 ('aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent'). For this sense of 'aequabilis' see 4. 20, 4, and note.

5. **repetundarum**, shortened for 'quaestionis repetundarum.' Nipp. compares 'maiestatem' (for 'crimen maiestatis') in H. 1. 77, 6.

6. **ambitio**, 'intrigue to win favour,' as in 2. 38, 4; 3. 12, 6, etc.

cohibebitur: so Halm, Nipp., and others, after Lips., as suitable to describe the effect of a law not yet enacted. The Med. 'cohibetur' can be retained by taking the maxim as a general truth.

8. **perfici**. The same term is used of the formal ratification of a senatus consultum in 14. 49, 2.

abnuentibus . . . relatum, sc. 'esse' (cp. 3. 34, 1): 'abnuere' has the force of 'negare' in 2. 78, 3; H. 1. 1, 4, etc., also in Cic. Leg. 1. 14, 40, and several times in Liv. (e. g. 3. 72, 7; 9. 17, 5, etc.). Senators, after speaking 'extra relationem' (see 2. 33, 2; 38, 3), might ask the consuls to bring the matter formally before the house (13. 49, 2); but this rested with their discretion; and they would naturally delay action till the pleasure of the princeps was known (see 13. 26, 2), especially as the question was not only important in itself, but also affected the legati of Caesar, as well as proconsuls (see below).

9. **sanxere, ne quis**, etc. Augustus had enacted in 764, A. D. 11, that the subjects should decree no honour to a governor until sixty days after his retirement (Dio, 56. 25, 6). The custom of voting such honours under the Republic may be gathered from Cicero (e. g. Verr. 2. 2, 5, 13; ad Fam. 3. 8, 3; and many other passages cited in Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 371, 1); and it does not appear that either the decree of Augustus or the present one were able to stop the practice afterwards: see Plin. Pan. 70; Vit. Al. Sev. 22, 6; Ammian. 30. 5, 8.

concilium sociorum. A diet of this kind, called also the 'commune,' or τὸ κοινόν, existed in all provinces, and appears usually to have met once a year. On its constitution and functions see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 369, foll.

10. **pro praetoribus prove consulibus**. By the first term, the 'legati Augusti propraetore' in the Caesarian provinces are meant; all governors of senatorial provinces (whether of praetorian or consular rank) having the proper title of proconsuls (see on 1. 74, 1). 'Proconsul legatusve' appear to be more commonly used (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 243, 3). The position of 've' is in accordance with the practice of Tacitus and others to treat such terms as two words ('pro consule,' etc.).

12. **gymnasium**. On its erection see 14. 47, 3. It appears from Philost. 4.

4 giesque in eo Neronis ad informe aes liquefacta. et motu terrae
celebre Campaniae oppidum Pompei magna ex parte proruit.
defunctaque virgo Vestalis Laelia, in cuius locum Cornelia ex
familia Cossorum capta est.

1 **23.** Memmio Regulo et Verginio Rufo consulibus natam sibi
ex Poppaea filiam Nero ultra mortale gaudium accepit appella-
2 vitque Augustam, dato et Poppaeae eodem cognomento. locus
puerperio colonia Antium fuit, ubi ipse generatus erat. iam
senatus uterum Poppaeae commendaverat dis votaque publice
3 susceperat, quae multiplicata exsolutaque. et additae supplica-
tiones templumque Fecunditati et certamen ad exemplar Actiacae

72, to have been rebuilt by 819, A. D. 66. The fact that neither its destruction nor the earthquake are noted as divine portents, though similar occurrences are constantly so designated, shows the ambiguous attitude of Tacitus on this subject.

1. **motu terrae,** etc. This earthquake, sixteen years before the eruption which destroyed the town, is mentioned by Seneca (Nat. Quaest. 6. 1, 1), 'Pompeios . . . consedisse terrae motu . . . audivimus. . . . Nonis Februariis hic fuit motus Regulo et Verginio consulibus.' This testimony, which must have been written very shortly after the event, would make Tacitus wrong as to the year; but it has been thought (see Friedl. iii. 179, 6) that the names of the consuls in Seneca have been interpolated. Seneca adds that the same earthquake overthrew part of Herculaneum, and caused destruction at Nuceria and Neapolis. I am indebted to Mr. Haverfield for the reference to a graffito at Pompeii (Notizie degli Scavi, 1888, p. 517) 'pro salute Ner[onis] in terr[ae motu].'

3. **Laelia,** thought by Nipp. to have been a daughter of Laelius Balbus (6. 47, 1), and the Laelia for whom Domitius Afer (see 4. 52, 1) made a speech, from which Quint. quotes (9. 4, 31).

4. **Cossorum,** possibly a daughter of the consul mentioned in 14. 20, 1. On the selection of Vestals and the use of the term 'capere' see 2. 86, 1, and note.

5. **Memmio Regulo et Verginio Rufo.** The full names are 'C. Memmio Regulo (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2002), L. Verginio Rufo.' The former was son of the person whose death and character are recorded in 14. 47, 1; the latter, one of the most famous men of his age, is chiefly known from his conduct as governor of Upper Germany in 821, A. D. 68 (see Appendix to Book 16), and is frequently mentioned in the Histories. He received a second consulship from Vitellius, and a third from Nerva in 850, A. D. 97, in which year he died, and was succeeded by Tacitus, who spoke his 'laudatio' (Pl. Ep. 2, 1). Med. has here 'uirginio,' but in all other places 'uerginius' or 'uergenius.'

7. **Augustam.** She was called 'Claudia Augusta' (see C. I. L. vi. 1. 2043, 11).

dato et Poppaeae, etc. On this title as given to the emperor's wife see 12. 26, 1, and note. Medals are preserved, struck in Greek cities, giving her this title (Cohen i, 314, foll.).

8. **colonia Antium**: see 14. 3, 1, and note; also note on 14. 27, 3.

generatus = 'natus.' Dr. compares Mela 3. 8, 83 ('Phoenix . . . non partu generatur').

9. **votaque,** etc.: cp. 3. 71, 1, etc. It is to be understood that such vows were undertaken also by the priestly and other bodies (see 12. 68, 1; and the numerous passages cited in Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 268). The Arval Acts (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2043) record on Jan. 21 in this year ['In capi]tolio vota soluta, quae susceper[ant pr]o partu et incolumitate Poppaeae'; which shows that the birth had taken place by that date.

10. **supplicationes.** This is not to be taken with 'Fecunditati'; being no doubt a general thanksgiving to all gods (cp. 'supplicatio . . . ad omnia pulvinaria' Liv. 22. 1, 15). 'Fecunditas' is nowhere else thus deified; for similar personifications see note on 1. 14, 3.

ad exemplar Actiacae religionis.

religionis decretum, utque Fortunarum effigies aureae in solio
Capitolini Iovis locarentur, ludicrum circense, ut Iuliae genti apud
Bovillas, ita Claudiae Domitiaeque apud Antium ederetur. quae 4
fluxa fuere, quartum intra mensem defuncta infante. rursusque
exortae adulationes censentium honorem divae et pulvinar aedem-
que et sacerdotem. atque ipse ut laetitiae, ita maeroris inmodi- 5
cus egit. adnotatum est, omni senatu Antium sub recentem
partum effuso, Thraseam prohibitum inmoto animo praenuntiam
inminentis caedis contumeliam excepisse. secutam dehinc vocem 6
Caesaris ferunt, qua reconciliatum se Thraseae apud Senecam
iactaverit, ac Senecam Caesari gratulatum: unde gloria egregiis
viris et pericula gliscebant.

The quinquennial Actian festival instituted by Augustus at Nicopolis (see 2. 53, 1, and note; Mommsen, Hist. v. 272; E. T. i. 296), after the model of the Olympian, was itself adopted elsewhere as a model. Mommsen quotes ἀγὼν ἰσάκτιος (C. I. G. 4472) and notes the analogous term ἰσολύμπιος. This 'certamen' (as also the temple) was of course to be at Rome, and may probably have been, as Nipp. thinks, the restoration of a former quinquennial festival originally commemorative of Actium at Rome (Dio, 53. 1, 4, etc.), which may have been suppressed by the general prohibition of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 23), or more probably was limited to the lifetime of Augustus, being in fact kept as a festival 'pro valetudine' (see Mommsen, R. G. D. A. 41, foll.; Friedl. Sitteng. ii. 434).

1. **utque**: on the change of construction cp. 13. 8, 1, and note.

Fortunarum. The great worship of Fortune at Antium represented the deity in the form of two sisters (Fortunae Antiates, cp. Or. Insc. 1738, 1740), taken to represent the fortune of war and of peace (Preller, Myth. Rom. iii. 193). Oracles were given from the statues (see Suet. Cal. 57; Macrob. Sat. 1, 23), whence Martial (5. 1, 3) calls them 'veridicae sorores.'

2. **apud Bovillas.** On the worship of the Iulii there see 2. 41, 1, and note.

4. **fluxa,** 'transitory': cp. 3. 50, 5; 13. 19, 1, etc.

5. **censentium,** with accus.: cp. 13. 8, 1, and note.

divae. In 16. 6, 3 she is called 'divina infans'; and medals are inscribed to her as 'diva Claudia, Ner. f.' (Cohen i. 315).

pulvinar, i.e. a position among the deities which shared in a 'lectisternium': cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 43, 110 ('ut pulvinar haberet'); Liv. 24. 10, 13 ('supplicatio omnibus deis, quorum pulvinaria Romae essent').

aedemque et sacerdotem. A chapel (σηκός), with a body of twenty priests and priestesses, had been previously decreed to Drusilla the sister of Gaius (Dio, 59. 11, 3).

6. **inmodicus,** with genit. (see Introd. i. v. § 33, e. γ), as in H. 1. 53, 1; also in Sall. H. 1. 114 D, 113 K, 92 G; Vell. 2. 11, 1, etc.: cp. 'modicus' (2. 73, 3, and note).

7. **egit,** 'spent his time': cp. 3. 44, 4, etc.

senatu . . . effuso. On such salutations of the princeps by senators see Friedl. i. p. 135.

8. **prohibitum,** 'forbidden to present himself.' This happened again later to Thrasea (16. 24, 1), and was nearly tantamount to formal 'renuntiatio amicitiae' (see 2. 70, 3, and note).

10. **ferunt.** The reference may be, as Orelli thinks, to the biography of Thrasea by Arulenus Rusticus (Agr. 2, 1), or to contemporary letters.

11. **iactaverit.** He had vaunted this as a proof of his clemency; the answer of Seneca implies that the friendship of Thrasea was worth more to Nero than Nero's to him. This boldness of speech reflected glory both on the speaker and on Thrasea, and embittered Nero against them. Tacitus gives this as a report, but in the following sentence ('unde . . . gliscebant') adopts it and remarks upon it.

gloria . . . et pericula. Nipp.

1 **24.** Inter quae veris principio legati Parthorum mandata regis
Vologesis litterasque in eandem formam attulere: se priora et to-
tiens iactata super optinenda Armenia nunc omittere, quoniam di,
quamvis potentium populorum arbitri, possessionem Parthis non
2 sine ignominia Romana tradidissent. nuper clausum Tigranen; post
Paetum legionesque, cum opprimere posset, incolumes dimisisse.
3 satis adprobatam vim; datum et lenitatis experimentum. nec
recusaturum Tiridaten accipiendo diademati in urbem venire,
nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur. iturum ad signa et effigies
principis, ubi legionibus coram regnum auspicaretur.

1 **25.** Talibus Vologesis literis, quia Paetus diversa tamquam
rebus integris scribebat, interrogatus centurio, qui cum legatis
advenerat, quo in statu Armenia esset, omnes inde Romanos
2 excessisse respondit. tum intellecto barbarum inrisu, qui pete-
rent quod eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero,

compares the association 'famam fatumque' (Agr. 42, 4).

1. **legati Parthorum**: cp. c. 14, 5.

mandata, 'the message': cp. 1. 23, 5, etc.

2. **in eandem formam**: cp. 13. 41, 5, and note.

3. **super**, with gerundial abl.; so 'super iugandis feminis' (Hor. Carm. Saec. 18), 'super adimenda vita' (Amm. 14. 7, 12).

4. **quamvis potentium**, 'however powerful'; so adv. in 16. 16, 1; H. 1. 26, 3; and often in Cic., etc.

possessionem. Their subsequent evacuation of the country (c. 17, 5) is here ignored.

5. **clausum Tigranen**: see c. 4–5.

6. **incolumes**, 'with their lives' (cp. 14. 1, 1, and note): with 'dimisisse,' 'se' is supplied.

7. **satis adprobatam**, etc., 'his strength had been sufficiently demonstrated; proof had also been given of his clemency.' For this sense of 'adprobare' cp. 3. 12. 8; H. 1. 3, 3; Agr. 34, 4; Cic. Inv. 1. 36, 63; for that of 'dare experimentum' cp. 13. 24, 1.

nec recusaturum, sc. 'fuisse.'

8. **venire**, so used with gerundive dat. in 6. 43, 3. Dr. compares the use of 'vagari' (3. 39, 1), 'pergere' (12. 66, 1), 'digredi' (11. 32, 2): see also Introd. i. v. § 22 b.

9. **sacerdotii religione.** This seems sufficiently explained by the statement of Pliny (N. H. 30. 2, 6, 16), that Tiridates was a Magian, and that it was one of his tenets not to pollute the sea by travelling upon it. When he subsequently went to Rome, he so far held to this as to cross only the Hellespont (Plin. l. l.), though he appears to have crossed from Brundisium to Dyrrhachium on his return (Dio, 63. 7, 1). Nipp. thinks that some more special priesthood must here be meant, by the obligation of which he was detained.

iturum ad signa, etc., i.e. he would go to some neighbouring camp, in Cappadocia or Syria, and there do homage to the eagles and the effigy of the emperor in the principia. See c. 29, 5; and, on the sanctity of the place, see 1. 39, 7; 4. 2, 4; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 814.

12. **integris**, 'undecided': cp. c. 18, 1, and note. The imperf. 'scribebat' seems to point to some despatch received from Paetus at the same time, not to those which he had previously written 'tamquam confecto bello' (c. 8, 3).

14. **barbarum**: cp. 14. 39, 1, and note.

qui peterent, etc. This is not strictly true, for Vologeses treats Armenia as won, and disdains to ask for it (c. 24, 1).

15. **primores civitatis**, those who were the usual counsellors of the princeps. On the existence of such a (perhaps permanent) privy council under the Empire see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 903.

bellum anceps an pax inhonesta placeret. nec dubitatum de
bello. et Corbulo militum atque hostium tot per annos gnarus 3
gerendae rei praeficitur, ne cuius alterius inscitia rursum pecca-
retur, quia Paeti piguerat. igitur inriti remittuntur, cum donis 4
tamen, unde spes fieret non frustra eadem oraturum Tiridaten, si
preces ipse attulisset. Suriaeque exsecutio C. Cestio, copiae 5
militares Corbuloni permissae, et quinta decuma legio ducente
Mario Celso e Pannonia adiecta est. scribitur tetrarchis ac 6
regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus et qui praetorum finiti-

1. **nec dubitatum de bello.** On the apparently discrepant statement of Dio see below (on § 4).

3. **praeficitur.** Dr. notes this verb as used with gerundive dat. (on the analogy of 'praeesse') in Cic. pro Dom. 9, 20, and compares the use of 'praeponere' in 13. 8, 1).

cuius alterius. Nipp. considers that 'alterius' is here used because only two persons are compared in thought, Corbulo and a second, whoever he might be. But abundant instances are given in Lexicons to show that 'alterius' commonly serves as genit. of 'alius.'

4. **inriti,** 'baulked of their purpose': cp. 14. 7, 3, and note.

5. **unde spes fieret,** etc. The statement of Dio (62. 22, 3), that Nero distinctly offered to recognise Tiridates, on condition of his coming to Rome to do homage, is not inconsistent with what is here said, and is in full accordance with the sequel of events. Tacitus need not mean more than that the Parthian modified offer (c. 24, 3) was rejected.

6. **exsecutio:** so read for the Med. 'excutio.' The use of 'exsecutio negotii' (3. 31, 7) is not parallel, but those of 'exsequi munia' (1. 11, 3), 'officia' (11, 11, 4), are somewhat nearer; and it is possible that Tacitus may have used 'exsecutio Suriae' as a condensed expression for 'exsecutio rerum in Suria gerendarum.' It is, however, obvious that only the civil government of the province, as distinct from the command of its forces, is meant; whence Madvig (Adv. ii. 557) thinks that 'exsecutio' must be altered to 'iurisdictio' (cp. 1. 80, 2), and Ritt. alters 'Suriaeque' to 'iurisque.'

C. Cestio: so Halm and others after Nipp. ('Cestio' Pigh.), for the Med. 'citio,' which Orelli formerly took to represent the name 'C. Itio'; others read, with some MSS., 'Cincio.' The reading here given is supported by the fact that C. Cestius Gallus is known to have been legatus of Syria in the autumn of 818, A.D. 65 (coins of Antioch in Eckh. iii. 282), and in the following spring (Jos. B. I. 2. 14, 3), and to have died there (H. 5. 10, 2). On his action in that office see Appendix to Book 16. He is also known to have been cos. suff., on the resignation of Claudius, in April 795, A. D. 42 (Fasti of Fer. Lat. C. I. L. vi. 1. 2015), and was perhaps son of the cos. of 788, A. D. 35 (6. 31, 1: cp. 3. 36, 2, and note).

7. **quinta decuma,** one of the Pannonian legions in 767, A.D. 14 (1. 23, 6).

8. **Mario Celso,** frequently mentioned in the Histories, as true to Galba and afterwards to Otho, and as allowed by Vitellius to hold the consulship (H. 2. 60, 4) to which he had been designated (H. 1. 14, 1).

scribitur, with inf.: cp. 12. 29, 2, and note.

tetrarchis ac regibus. By the latter, those mentioned in 13. 7, 1; 14. 26, 3 are meant. Polemo, king of Pontus Polemoniacus, died or retired in the year following this, and his kingdom became a province (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 202, 13). The term 'tetrarch' lost its etymological meaning in Roman times, and came to be applied generally to such Oriental princes as were below the dignity of βασιλεῖς.

9. **praefectis,** probably best taken, with Nipp., to be those commanding the 'cohortes' or 'alae' in the lesser provinces. We have also record in inscriptions of 'praefecti' as subordinate governors in some provinces (see Henzen, Index, p. 108; Wilm. do. p. 563). The 'procuratores' meant are those in command of minor provinces.

qui praetorum. This is probably here a general term (see 1. 74, 1, and note), applicable either to the legati or proconsuls of the Asiatic provinces.

mas provincias regebant, iussis Corbulonis obsequi, in tantum
ferme modum aucta potestate, quem populus Romanus Cn.
7 Pompeio bellum piraticum gesturo dederat. regressum Paetum,
cum graviora metueret, facetiis insectari satis habuit Caesar, his
ferme verbis: ignoscere se statim, ne tam promptus in pavorem
longiore sollicitudine aegresceret.

1 **26.** At Corbulo quarta et duodecuma legionibus, quae fortissimo quoque amisso et ceteris exterritis parum habiles proelio
videbantur, in Suriam translatis, sextam inde ac tertiam legiones,
integrum militem et crebris ac prosperis laboribus exercitum,
2 in Armeniam ducit. addiditque legionem quintam, quae per
Pontum agens expers cladis fuerat, simul quintadecumanos
recens adductos et vexilla delectorum ex Illyrico et Aegypto,
quodque alarum cohortiumque, et auxilia regum in unum con-
3 ducta apud Melitenen, qua tramittere Euphraten parabat. tum

2. **Cn. Pompeio**, by the 'Lex Gabinia' in 687, B.C. 67. His power even at that time is called *οὐ ναυαρχία ἀλλὰ μοναρχία* by Plut. (Pomp. 25, 631); but Mommsen points out (Staatsr. ii. 655) that the parallel is inexact; as the power of Pompeius under this law was only 'imperium aequum in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus usque ad quinquagesimum miliarium a mari' (Vell. 2. 31, 1); and that the express 'imperium maius' afterwards held by Pompeius (Cic. Att. 4. 1, 7), or that of Brutus and Cassius (App. B. C. 4. 58), would be a more apt comparison. Corbulo had possessed some exceptional extension of power from the date of his appointment (13. 8, 4), and had probably now an 'imperium proconsulare' in the East, like that of Germanicus and others (see 2. 43, 2, and note); though his official title, as shown by an inscription later than this date (Eph. Epig. v. 35), still continued to be that of 'legatus Augusti propraetore' (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 853, 2).

6. **aegresceret**, 'might fall ill'; a poetical word (Lucr. 5, 350; Verg. Aen. 12, 45, etc.), also in Pl. ma., and here alone in Tacitus.

7. **quarta et duodecuma**, those which had been blockaded under Paetus: see c. 10, 1, and note. Dio (62. 22, 4) makes the removal of these troops the direct injunction of Nero (*Παῖτον τῆς ἀρχῆς παύσας, τούς τε στρατιώτας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ γενομένους ἄλλοσέ ποι πέμψας*). He also adds that Nero had intended to take the field in person, but was deterred by an omen.

9. **sextam ac tertiam**: cp. c. 6, 5. No mention is here made of the Tenth legion, which must be supposed to have been left in Syria.

10. **exercitum**: cp. 14. 2, 4, and note. These legions had served with him in his previous campaigns (see 13. 38, 6; 40, 3).

11. **quintam**: see c. 6, 5; 9, 2.

12. **quintadecumanos**, c. 25, 5: for the adverbial use of 'recens' cp. 12. 18, 2, and note.

13. **vexilla delectorum**, 'detachments (see 1. 38, 1; 2. 78, 3, and notes) of picked troops.' Illyricum is taken in a wide sense as including Pannonia (cp. 1. 46, 1) as well as Delmatia. Nipp. thinks it may be taken to include all the Danubian provinces.

14. **quodque**, etc., 'and what he had of auxiliary horse and foot.'

regum, those of the kings and tetrarchs referred to in c. 25, 6. Nipp. notes that 'in unum conducta apud Melitenen' refers to these troops only: Corbulo on arriving with the rest of his army found them there.

15. **Melitenen**, the name of a district (Strab. 12. 2, 5, 537; Plin. N. H. 6. 3, 9), also of a town near the Euphrates, belonging strictly to Armenia minor (Ptol. 5. 7, 5), and, with it, forming afterwards part of the province of Cappadocia. From its important position, as commanding

lustratum rite exercitum ad contionem vocat orditurque magnifica de auspiciis imperatoris rebusque a se gestis, adversa in inscitiam Paeti declinans, multa auctoritate, quae viro militari pro facundia erat.

27. Mox iter L. Lucullo quondam penetratum, apertis quae 1
vetustas obsaepserat, pergit. et venientes Tiridatis Vologesisque
de pace legatos haud aspernatus, adiungit iis centuriones cum
mandatis non inmitibus: nec enim adhuc eo ventum, ut certamine
extremo opus esset. multa Romanis secunda, quaedam Parthis 2
evenisse, documento adversus superbiam. proinde et Tiridati
conducere intactum vastationibus regnum dono accipere, et Vologesen melius societate Romana quam damnis mutuis genti Parthorum consulturum. scire quantum intus discordiarum quamque 3

a passage of the Euphrates, it was made in 823, A.D. 70, the headquarters of the 'legio duodecima fulminata' (Jos. B. I. 7. 1, 3). It continued for some centuries to be a considerable town, and its existing ruins still preserve the name 'Malatia.'

1. **lustratum**, purified with 'suovetaurilia,' as was usual at the opening of a campaign: cp. 6. 37, 2, and note.

orditur magnifica. Corbulo is described as 'verbis magnificis' (13. 8, 4): cp. c. 12, 5; 30, 1. On the accus. with 'ordior' cp. 2. 10, 1, and note.

2. **auspiciis.** Any campaign undertaken would be said to be 'ductu Corbulonis, auspiciis Caesaris': cp. 2. 41, 1, etc.

3. **declinans**, 'turning off upon,' i.e. imputing to (so 'referebat' 14. 38, 5). This sense of 'declinare' is akin, though not strictly parallel, to that in 13. 4, 2; and the expression appears to be taken from Sall. (H. 2. 30 D, 36 K, 66 G): 'adversa in pravitatem, secunda in casum, fortunam (v. l. fortuita) in temeritatem declinando.'

auctoritate, 'weight': cp. 14. 43, 2; 47, 1. His words carried weight from the sense of his ability impressed on his hearers.

viro militari: cp. c. 10, 2, etc. To a man of action this gift was equivalent to eloquence.

5. **L. Lucullo.** In his campaign of 685, B.C. 69, Lucullus crossed the Euphrates, and marched through Sophene and over Mt. Taurus, and thence, after crossing the Tigris, to Tigranocerta (Plut. Luc. 24. 25, 508). The uncertainty as to the site of that city (see 12. 50, 2, and note) makes it difficult to trace his route further than to say that it must have led from Taurus apparently to Arsinia and Amida (Diarbekir): see Introd. p. 119.

penetratum. The expression 'penetrare iter' is noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ., formed on the analogy of 'pergere iter,' and conveying the idea of an advance surmounting obstacles. The verb is used by Tacitus and others with simple accus. in the sense of 'forcing an entrance into' (so 'Tiberii animum' 1. 69, 4; 'Tiberium' 3. 4, 3), and of crossing a river in 2. 68, 2.

6. **vetustas**, the length of intervening time (132 years).

et venientes, etc. Dio (62. 23, 1) says nothing of any embassy sent by Vologeses, but makes Corbulo send a centurion, formally to order the king to leave Armenia, but privately advising him to send his brother to Rome.

8. **nec enim.** The verb of speaking is implied in 'mandatis.'

eo ventum ut: cp. 11. 26, 2, etc.

certamine extremo = 'quo res ad extrema perduceretur,' 'an internecine conflict': cp. 'rebus extremis' (12. 17, 3; 43, 3).

10. **documento**, 'so as to be a lesson' (cp. 14. 33, 2, etc.): the use of such a dative in apposition is very rare (see Introd. i. v. § 23).

13. **scire**, etc., i.e. the Romans were well aware of the internal weakness of the Parthian empire. The omission of 'se' (see Introd. i. v. § 8) is here unusually harsh. Ritt. suggests that 'eum' may have dropped out after 'scire,' and

indomitas et praeferoces nationes regeret: contra imperatori suo 4 immotam ubique pacem et unum id bellum esse. simul consilio terrorem adicere, et megistanas Armenios, qui primi a nobis defecerant, pellit sedibus, castella eorum excindit, plana edita, validos invalidosque pari metu complet.

1 **28.** Non infensum nec cum hostili odio Corbulonis nomen etiam barbaris habebatur, eoque consilium eius fidum credebant. ergo Vologeses neque atrox in summam, et quibusdam praefecturis indutias petit: Tiridates locum diemque conloquio 2 poscit. tempus propinquum, locus, in quo nuper obsessae cum Paeto legiones erant, barbaris delectus est ob memoriam laetioris sibi rei, Corbuloni non vitatus, ut dissimilitudo fortunae gloriam 3 augeret. neque infamia Paeti angebatur, quod eo maxime patuit,

that the consciousness of Vologeses himself is appealed to. In either case the imperfect subjection of some races, as the Hyrcanians, the frequent treachery of subordinate governors, and the encouragement thereby given to pretenders to the sovereignty, are alluded to.

1. **praeferoces**: cp. 4. 60, 6, and note.

3. **adicere et . . . pellit.** The historical inf. is often thus combined with a finite verb (see Introd. i. v. § 46).

megistanas, 'magnates,' elsewhere called 'proceres gentium' (2. 58, 1) or 'primores' (2. 2, 1). The term is taken from late Greek (LXX. N. T., etc.), and is used in Latin by Seneca (Ep. 21, 4) and Suet. (Cal. 5), and is the equivalent of the Persian term 'mehestàn' (from the same general root as μέγας, 'magnus,' etc.).

a nobis defecerant. The same claim of Armenia as Roman territory is implied, which is elsewhere put forward: cp. c. 13, 4, etc.

6. **Non...habebatur,** 'was not regarded with animosity, nor with the hatred of an enemy.' The use of 'cum' (cp. 12. 48, 3, and note) is akin to those instances in which the abl. with this prep. has the force of an adverb of manner (2. 58, 2; 3. 16, 5, etc.).

8. **neque atrox in summam,** 'was not unconciliatory as to the general issue.' Dr. compares 'temeritas . . . nihil in summam profutura' (H. 2. 16, 1), 'ad summam profectum aliquid puto' (Cic. Att. 7. 13, 1). Jacob would take the expression here to be shortened for 'in summam pacis' (13. 38, 1).

quibusdam praefecturis, 'for some districts'; i. e. for those then menaced (c. 27, 4). The 'praefecturae' of Armenia (see 13. 37, 2, and note), not those of the whole Parthian Empire (see 11. 8, 4, and note), must be meant.

10. **tempus propinquum,** sc. 'delectum est,' supplied from below.

locus, Rhandeia: see note on c. 10, 1.

11. **delectus est.** Med. has 'cum' before 'barbaris,' which is retained by Walth. and Ritt., and defended by the former. Other editors have either struck out 'cum,' as having been probably repeated by error from the line above, or have followed G in reading 'esset'; the abbreviation of which ('eŝt') might easily have become 'est.' The latter correction is adopted by Halm, the former by Orelli, Nipp., Dr., Jacob, and gives the best construction to the whole passage; as it seems harsh to supply 'est' from 'cum . . . esset' with 'tempus,' and contrary to good sense to throw back the force of 'cum' to that clause (with Pfitzner).

12. **Corbuloni non vitatus.** This reading, adopted by most modern edd. from MS. Agr., comes nearer to that of Med. ('Corbulo non uitatus') than that of 'Corbulo non uitavit,' which Halm has adopted from Bekker. The last syllable of 'Corbuloni' might have been lost in the following 'non.'

13. **neque infamia Paeti angebatur,** 'nor was he distressed about the disgrace of Paetus'; he felt no sympathy for the way in which the associations of the place would recall the memory of his incapacity, and had no wish to spare him.

quia filio eius tribuno ducere manipulos atque operire reliquias malae pugnae imperavit. die pacta Tiberius Alexander, inlustris 4
eques Romanus, minister bello datus, et Vinicianus Annius, gener Corbulonis, nondum senatoria aetate sed pro legato quintae legioni inpositus, in castra Tiridatis venere, honori eius ac ne metueret insidias tali pignore; viceni dehinc equites adsumpti. et 5
viso Corbulone rex prior equo desiluit; nec cunctatus Corbulo, sed pedes uterque dexteras miscuere.

This he showed by going out of his way to keep it up by sending his son to command the burying party. This interpretation seems to suit the words and the context better than that of Orelli, Nipp., and Jacob, who take the meaning to be that he had no superstitious fear that the spot, or the name of Paetus, had become ominous of disaster.

1. **filio**, evidently an older son than the one mentioned in c. 10, 6.

reliquias, the bones of the dead, broken arms, etc.: see c. 15, 5.

2. **imperavit**, with simple inf.: cp. 2. 25, 2, and note; Introd. i. v. § 43.

Tiberius Alexander. We learn from Josephus (Ant. 20. 5, 2) that this person was son of Alexander, the brother of Philo and Alabarch of Alexandria under Tiberius and Gaius (Id. 18. 6, 3, etc.); also that he renounced the Jewish religion, and was procurator of Judaea after Cuspius Fadus (799, A. D. 46). In 820–823, A. D. 67–70, he was praefect of Egypt, and in that position gave valuable aid to the cause of Vespasian (H. 1. 11, 2; 2. 74, 2; 79, 2; Jos. B. I. 2. 15, 1); which led to his appointment as lieutenant-general of the forces under Titus (πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπάρχοντος Jos. B. I. 6. 4, 3). One of his edicts in Egypt is extant, bearing date 28 Sept. 821, A. D. 68, and giving his full name 'Tiberius Iulius Alexander' (C. I. G. 4957). Nipp. suggests that the legatus of the same name under Trajan (Dio, 68. 30, 2) was probably his son.

inlustris eques: cp. 2. 59, 4, and note.

3. **minister bello.** Nipp. renders 'a war commissary,' to manage matters of finance and provision, and compares H. 1. 88, 2 ('non participes aut ministros bello').

Vinicianus: so all recent edd., after Ryck., for the Med. 'uinianus.' On his father, the conspirator against Claudius (Introd. p. 11), see 6. 9, 5, and note. He was probably brother of Annius Pollio (see c. 56, 4, and note). Whether his wife was the same daughter of Corbulo who afterwards married Domitian (see on 11. 18, 2) is unknown.

4. **nondum senatoria aetate,** not yet twenty-five years old (see Dio, 52. 20, 1): the expression is used again in H. 4. 42, 1, and 'quaestoria aetas' in Quint. 12. 6, 1. See also Momms. Staatsr. i. 573, 1. The age for equestrian service was eighteen (Dio, l. l.).

pro legato. He could not be properly 'legatus legionis'; that position being always filled by senators, most commonly by men of praetorian rank (see on 2. 36, 1). A similar instance of a knight 'pro legato legionis' is found in an inscription cited by Nipp. (C. I. L. iii. 1. 605). It is mentioned by Dio (62. 23, 6) that Corbulo sent him afterwards to escort Tiridates to Rome, partly as a pledge of his own fidelity, which Nero recognised by making Vinicianus cos. suff., apparently in 819, A. D. 66 (Borgh. Œuvr. iv. 488), though he had never been praetor, and could hardly have been twenty-eight years old. Schiller gives reasons (p. 202, 2) for thinking that Dio must be in error, and that some lesser distinction must have been given. Vinicianus is thought to have been afterwards the leader of what Suet. (Ner. 36) mentions as the 'coniuratio Viniciana,' formed at Beneventum and detected after that of Piso, on which see Appendix to Book 16.

5. **honori eius.** Most edd. read, after G, 'honore'; which is a slighter correction of the Med. 'honor' and might be taken as a causal abl.; but the dat., as read by Halm, Nipp., and Dr., after Lips. (see Introd. i. v. § 23), gives a better sense, and the parallel passage in H. 1. 44, 3 (where Med. has 'non honore Galbae') has been also corrected to dat. The change of construction ('honori . . . ac ne') resembles others noted in Introd. i. v. § 91, 8.

6. **tali pignore,** abl. abs.

8. **uterque.** The use of this pronoun

1 **29.** Exim Romanus laudat iuvenem omissis praecipitibus tuta
2 et salutaria capessentem. ille de nobilitate generis multum praefatus, cetera temperanter adiungit: iturum quippe Romam laturumque novum Caesari decus, non adversis Parthorum rebus
3 supplicem Arsaciden. tum placuit Tiridaten ponere apud effigiem Caesaris insigne regium nec nisi manu Neronis resumere;
4 et conloquium osculo finitum. dein paucis diebus interiectis, magna utrimque specie, inde eques compositus per turmas et insignibus patriis, hinc agmina legionum stetere fulgentibus
5 aquilis signisque et simulacris deum in modum templi: medio tribunal sedem curulem et sedes effigiem Neronis sustinebat.
6 ad quam progressus Tiridates, caesis ex more victimis, sublatum capiti diadema imagini subiecit, magnis apud cunctos animorum

with pl. predicate (cp. 4. 34, 6; H. 2. 97, 1; 3. 35, 2; 4. 34, 1), on the analogy of collectives (Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 29 b), is not found in Cic., rarely in classical prose (e.g. Caes. B. C. 3. 30, 3; Sall. Cat. 49, 2), more commonly in older Latin and in the silver age.

dexteras miscuere, noted by Dr. as a new phrase for 'dexteras iunxere.' In illustration of the sacredness of this pledge among Eastern races Lips. cites the account of Artabanus in Jos. Ant. 18. 9, 3 (*τὴν δεξιὰν ἐδίδου, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις παράδειγμα τοῦ θαρσεῖν γίνεται τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσιν*): cp. 'renovari dextras' (2. 58, 1).

1. **praecipitibus**, 'desperate counsels': cp. 2. 39, 3; also 'praeceps consilium' (Suet. Aug. 8), 'cogitatio' (Id. Cal. 48).

3. **temperanter**, 'modestly.' This adverb is very rare: in 4. 33, 2 it has the sense of 'discreetly'; so Cic. (Att. 9. 2. a 2) opposes 'temperantius agere' to 'perdite se gerere.'

4. **non adversis**, etc., i.e. he would be an Arsacid appearing in the form of a suppliant, but voluntarily, not like the exiled princes who usually took refuge at Rome.

5. **apud effigiem Caesaris**: cp. c. 24, 3, and note, and the similar symbolical submission of Zorsines (12. 17, 3).

6. **insigne regium**, so used for the 'diadema' (§ 6) in 2. 56, 3.

7. **osculo**. This mode of salutation had been always usual in the East (see Hdt. 1. 134, 1), and was adopted by Alexander (Arr. 7. 11, 10), and introduced at Rome apparently in the time of Augustus (see Friedl. i. 142). Cp. the stipulation 'neu . . . complexu . . . arceretur' (c. 31, 1).

8. **inde . . . hinc**: cp. 13. 38, 3, and note.

eques, the Parthian army, all horsemen.

9. **insignibus patriis**, 'with their national decorations.' The construction of this abl. must be the same as that of the corresponding clause, 'fulgentibus aquilis,' etc. It is perhaps best to take them, with Nipp., as bold uses of the abl. of quality, similar to 'legionariis armis' (3. 43, 2). Dr. would take the abl. as that of manner; but the instances of this are hardly so apposite (see Introd. i. v. §§ 28, 29).

fulgentibus aquilis, etc. On such adornment in token of rejoicing see 1. 24, 4, and note.

10. **simulacris**, etc., 'with images of the gods, so as to represent (i.e. to give the place the sanctity of) a temple.' Nipp. seems in error in supposing that the force of 'fulgentibus' extends to this clause.

medio, 'between the armies' (cp. 1. 64, 7); abl. of place: see Introd. i. v. § 25.

11. **effigiem**; Dio (62. 23, 3) uses the pl. (*εἰκόνες*). Each legion, no doubt, had such an effigy, and they may have been all collected.

13. **capiti**. Halm, Nipp., and Ritt. here retain the dat. (Med. has 'sublati capiti' by an error of assimilation); which, though such a construction is *ἅπ. εἰρ.*, can be defended by the analogy of that with 'abstrahere' (2. 26, 6), 'detrahere' (2.

motibus, quos augebat insita adhuc oculis exercituum Romanorum caedes aut obsidio. at nunc versos casus: iturum Tiridaten 7
ostentui gentibus, quanto minus quam captivum?

30. Addidit gloriae Corbulo comitatem epulasque; et rogi- 1
tante rege causas, quotiens novum aliquid adverterat, ut initia vigiliarum per centurionem nuntiari, convivium bucina dimitti et structam ante augurale aram subdita face accendi, cuncta in maius attollens admiratione prisci moris adfecit. postero die 2

21, 3), 'extrahere' (6. 23, 5), 'deripere' (13. 57, 7): see Introd. I. v. § 15. Others adopt an old correction 'capite,' and take it as a poetical abl., like 'tollentes aequore currum' (Sil. 5, 55).

1. **insita oculis**, 'fixed in their eyes' (by memory); so used of what is firmly rooted in the mind or character: cp. 1. 4, 3; 6. 22, 2; H. 2. 94, 3; etc.

exercituum, either a rhetorical plural or = 'legionum' (cp. 1. 52, 3, and note).

2. **iturum . . . ostentui**, 'he would go to be a gazing-stock': cp. 'abiecta ostentui' (1. 29, 4), and other similar datives instanced in Introd. i. v. § 23.

3. **quanto minus quam captivum**, 'how little short of a captive' = 'quantum abesse quin captivus esset,' or 'tantummodo non captivum.' Jacob notes that such an expression seems taken from ὀλίγου δεῖν, and compares 'quod paulo minus utrumque evenit' (Suet. Tib. 39), and 'quantulo minus quam congesti frumenti pulverem vidimus' (Quint. Decl. 12. 18).

4. **gloriae**, 'to the glorification which the homage of Tiridates reflected upon him.'

rogitante rege. The accus. would rather have been expected: cp. 14. 10, 1, and note; also c. 51, 1.

5. **adverterat**, 'had noticed'; so in 4. 54, 2; 12. 51, 5, etc.

ut, 'as for instance.'

initia vigiliarum. The beginning of each of the four watches into which the night was divided was proclaimed with the bucina (Liv. 7. 35, 1, etc.), whence we have such an expression as 'tertia bucina' (Id. 26. 15, 6). This regulation devolved on the 'centurio primipilus' (Polyb. 6. 35, 12), who appears from this passage to have also reported the hour to the general. On the general watch system of the Romans see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 420, foll.

6. **convivium bucina dimitti.** Polybius mentions (14. 3, 6) the custom of sounding all the bugles and trumpets at the beginning of the first night watch, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ δείπνου καιρόν. This would rather mean the beginning than the end of dinner-time, and appears to correspond to the time when the general dismissed his council ('praetorium'): cp. Liv. 30. 5, 3 'ubi, praetorio dimisso, signa concinuissent . . . sub occasum solis . . . ad primam ferme vigiliam.' It is probable, though apparently not otherwise known, that both the beginning and end of dinner-time were marked by a bugle-call.

7. **structam . . . aram . . . accendi.** Dr. and others would understand these words of kindling fire upon an altar (like 'adolere aras' or 'altaria'); but the whole sentence seems certainly to point to such an interpretation as that of Nipp., that the altar itself was a kind of pyre of combustible materials, and was set on fire. Whether its purpose was to light the camp, to consume the libations of the feast, or to pay respect to the divinities of the night, is wholly unknown. It seems distinct from the regular altar for camp sacrifices (Marquardt, ii. 412, 4).

augurale, perhaps here a name for the 'praetorium' itself: see 2. 13, 1, and note.

8. **attollens**, so used of rhetorical exaggeration in H. 1. 70, 2; 90, 2, etc., and here suitably to the general description given (c. 26, 3; 13. 8, 4) of Corbulo's grandiloquence. The mention of 'prisci moris admiratio' may imply that he dilated on the antiquity of these customs, perhaps to suggest a contrast between the ancient greatness of Rome and the comparatively modern empire of the Arsacidae.

adfecit. Ritt. inserts 'eum' after 'admiratione,' and Jacob notes that the pronoun is usually in such cases expressed by Tacitus (cp. 14. 10, 1; 16. 14, 6; 17, 4, etc.); but the omission is not harsher than that in many other places (see Introd. i. v. § 8).

spatium oravit, quo tantum itineris aditurus fratres ante matremque viseret; obsidem interea filiam tradit litterasque supplices ad Neronem.

1 **31.** Et digressus Pacorum apud Medos, Vologesen Ecbatanis
repperit, non incuriosum fratris: quippe et propriis nuntiis a
Corbulone petierat, ne quam imaginem servitii Tiridates perferret neu ferrum traderet aut complexu provincias optinentium
arceretur foribusve eorum adsisteret, tantusque ei Romae quantus
2 consulibus honor esset. scilicet externae superbiae sueto non
inerat notitia nostri, apud quos vis imperii valet, inania tramittuntur.

1. **spatium**, sc. 'temporis,' as in 1. 35, 7; Agr. 22, 1, etc.

fratres, c. 31, 1. The statement of Dio (62. 23, 4) that Monobazus and Vologeses also came to Corbulo, is certainly, as regards the latter, wholly inconsistent with the account of Tacitus here. Dio adds that they also gave hostages, which may have been the case subsequently (see Appendix to Book 16).

4. **apud Medos**, in his own kingdom (c. 2, 1).

Ecbatanis. The opinion of Sir H. Rawlinson, that two distinct cities under this name are confused in ancient accounts, will be found stated and discussed by Mr. Vaux in D. of Geog. It will be observed that the place here mentioned is contrasted with 'apud Medos,' and is thus implied to have been outside the limits of Media Atropatene; which would agree with the site of Hamadân, in Media Magna.

5. **incuriosum**, with genit. in 2. 88, 4, etc. (also in Pl. mi. and Gell.): for other constructions see 14. 38, 3, and note.

propriis, 'special,' as distinct from the joint embassy of c. 27, 1.

6. **imaginem servitii**, 'semblance of subjection': cp. c. 14, 3; 13. 28, 1, and many other passages.

7. **ferrum**, the 'acinaces' (cp. 12. 51, 4, and note), which was always worn by Parthians: cp. μαχαιροφορεῖν ἔθος ἅπασιν (Jos. Ant. 18. 2, 4). Tigranes had been obliged to deliver his sabre to the lictors of Pompeius (Plut. Pomp. 33, 636); and Dio states (63. 2, 4) that Tiridates, on being required to do the same before his introduction to Nero's presence (cp. 4. 21, 3; 11. 22, 1), refused to do so, but nailed it to the scabbard.

complexu, the same as the 'osculum' of c. 29, 3. Vologeses stipulates that his brother shall receive from the governors of all provinces through which he passes, this mark of respect, which appears to have been rigidly limited to persons of high rank. Septimius Severus is stated (Vit. 2, 6), when he was a legatus in Africa, to have put to death one who embraced him as an old friend, with the words 'legatum P. R. homo plebeius temere amplecti noli.'

8. **foribusve eorum adsisteret**, 'or be kept waiting at their doors' (for an interview). The insolence of the great at Rome in this respect is often noted (see 4. 74, 5, etc.); that the right of admission to a provincial governor was also jealously guarded, is shown by the contrast implied by Cicero (ad Att. 6. 2, 5) to his own conduct ('aditus autem ad me minime provinciales; nihil per cubicularium'), also in later times by the evidence of Salvianus (de Gub. Dei 3. 82) cited by Lips.

9. **externae superbiae**, 'barbaric pomp' (cp. 'more externo' 2. 3, 5, etc.): the case is best taken as dat., as also 1. 31, 4 (where see note). Dr. less well explains both passages to be genitives, on the analogy of that with 'insolens.'

10. **apud quos**, referring to 'nostri.'

vis imperii valet, 'the reality of dominion is valued': 'vis' is opposed to 'inania' (vanities of etiquette), as in c. 14, 3 to 'imago.'

tramittuntur, 'are passed over' (not cared for): cp. 4. 55, 3; 16. 12, 3, etc.; also in Curt. 9. 4, 17; Stat. Th. 8, 596. With this sentence closes the account of Eastern affairs in the extant Books of the Annals.

32. Eodem anno Caesar nationes Alpium maritimarum in ius 1
Latii transtulit. equitum Romanorum locos sedilibus plebis 2
anteposuit apud circum; namque ad eam diem indiscreti inibant, quia lex Roscia nihil nisi de quattuordecim ordinibus sanxit.
spectacula gladiatorum idem annus habuit pari magnificentia ac 3
priora; sed feminarum inlustrium senatorumque plures per arenam foedati sunt.

1. **Alpium maritimarum.** Along the coast the limits of Italy extended to the mouth of the Var (Introd. i. vii. p. 92); but the inland mountain district drained by that river, including part of the French departments of the Basses Alpes and Nice, was formed by Augustus in 740, B.C. 14 (Dio, 54. 24, 3) into a small province under an equestrian procurator (Strab. 4. 6, 4, 203): cp. H. 2. 12, 5; 3. 42, 3, and other references given in Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 127.

ius Latii. This ancient status, which, as regards all communities within Italy, had long since merged in full Roman citizenship, was a great privilege to provincials, and an important stepping-stone by which many acquired the 'civitas': cp. Plin. Pan. 37 ('novi seu per Latium in civitatem seu beneficio principis venissent'). Augustus gave it to many (Suet. 47), and other emperors still more freely (cp. 'Latium externis dilargiri' H. 3. 55, 2). Pliny (N. H. 3, 20, 24, 136) gives from an inscription of 747, B.C. 7, the names of the Alpine tribes subjected by Augustus, and mentions many who had at some time received Latin rights; among them that of the Cottian Alps, which perhaps received the privilege at this same time, having become a province under Nero on the death of its king (Suet. Ner. 18). The reduction of Pontus Polemoniacus to a province (Suet. l. l.) belongs also to this date (see on c. 25, 6).

2. **equitum,** etc. The statements on this subject are not easy to reconcile with each other. It would appear from Suet. Cl. 21, and from this passage, that neither senators, till the time of Claudius, nor knights, previous to this regulation, had any distinct places at the circus; whereas other authorities make such distinctions to have been of much earlier date, or even of primitive institution (Liv. 1. 35, 8). It would seem that 'indiscreti' is an exaggeration, and that senators in Republican times, and knights also from the year 757, A.D. 4 (Dio, 55. 22, 4), sat by custom in some way separate from the populace, but that the formal and permanent setting apart of a portion of reserved seats for the former may be dated from the time of Claudius (Dio, 60. 7, 3), and for the latter from this time (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 520, 6; Marquardt, iii. 507). The position is to be gathered from Plin. N. H. 8. 6, 7, 21 ('Caesar dictator . . . euripis arenam circumdedit, quos Nero princeps sustulit, equiti loca addens').

4. **lex Roscia,** that of Roscius Otho, trib. pl. in 687, B.C. 67, by which the 'quattuordecim ordines' (6. 3, 1) next above the orchestra (which was reserved for senators) should be set apart for the equestrian order (Liv. Epit. 99). Tacitus means here that this law applied to the theatre alone.

5. **spectacula,** etc. It is suggested that these games were in especial commemoration of the birth of the child (c. 23, 1).

6. **plures,** 'more than before.' Tacitus had previously mentioned only the appearance of well-known knights in the arena (14. 14, 6), and that of persons of great senatorial families (14. 14, 5), and even of high public honours (14. 15, 2), as also that of women of rank (14. 15, 3) on the pantomimic stage. But the expression used here gives support to the statements of Suet. and Dio, who make senators as well as knights, and women belonging to families of both these ranks, appear also in the amphitheatre and in the circus as early as 812, A.D. 59, or even earlier (see notes on 14. 14, 5, 6). Such exhibitions of women were still one of the great scandals of Juvenal's time (see Sat. 1, 22, and Prof. Mayor ad loc.; also 2, 53; 6, 246–267), and continued till the end of the second century, when, by an edict of Septimius Severus, ἐκωλύθη μηκέτι μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα μηδαμόθεν μονομαχεῖν (Dio, 75. 16, 1).

per arenam, i.e. by their appearance in it (Nipp.).

1 **33.** C. Laecanio M. Licinio consulibus acriore in dies cupidine
adigebatur Nero promiscas scaenas frequentandi. nam adhuc
per domum aut hortos cecinerat Iuvenalibus ludis, quos ut parum
2 celebres et tantae voci angustos spernebat. non tamen Romae
incipere ausus Neapolim quasi Graecam urbam delegit: inde
initium fore, ut transgressus in Achaiam insignesque et antiqui-
tus sacras coronas adeptus maiore fama studia civium eliceret.
3 ergo contractum oppidanorum vulgus, et quos e proximis colo-
niis et municipiis eius rei fama acciverat, quique Caesarem per
honorem aut varios usus sectantur, etiam militum manipuli,
theatrum Neapolitanorum complent.
1 **34.** Illic, plerique ut arbitrabantur, triste, ut ipse, providum

1. **C. Laecanio M. Licinio.** The full names are given in a military diploma (Henzen 6858; C. I. L. iii. 2, p. 846) as C. Laecanius Bassus (cp. also C. I. L. vi. 1. 2002), M. Licinius Crassus Frugi. The former, who died under Vespasian (Pl. N. H. 26. 1, 4, 5, where apparently 'atque Laecanius' should be read for 'et Q. Lecanius'), and appears from an inscription of the time of Claudius (C. I. L. v. 1. 698) to have had estates near Tergeste (Trieste), is thought by Nipp. to have been son of a C. Laecanius given in an inscription as praet. urb. in 795, A.D. 32. The other was son of the cos. of 780, A.D. 27 (see 4. 62, 1, and note), and descended through his mother Scribonia from Pompeius (see note on 2. 27, 2), and was brother of L. Piso Frugi Licinianus, adopted by Galba (see H. 1. 14, 2). He appears to have been put to death by Nero, as his brother Cn. Pompeius Magnus had been by Claudius (H. 1. 48, 1). Another brother surnamed Scribonianus was alive in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 1. 47, 4). For his sister Licinia Magna see note on 13. 28, 3. Nipp. notes an honorary inscription at Athens (C. I. Att. iii. 1. 609) to one Μάρκος Λικίννιος Κράσσος Φροῦγι, who may be this man or his father.

2. **adigebatur**, used absolutely (cp. 12. 20, 2, and note; Agr. 28, 2): such use appears to be rare, except where 'sacramento' is implied (H. 4. 15, 1), or where the verb has a local sense, as in the phrase 'adigere naves' (2. 7, 1, etc.).

promiscas, 'open to the public' (cp. 14. 14, 3). Suet. says (Ner. 20) that he quoted a Greek proverb expressing the sentiment 'occultae musicae nullum esse respectum.'

3. **Iuvenalibus ludis**: see 14. 15, 1, where it appears that these were held in a theatre of his own. See also Plin. N. H. 37. 2, 7, 19 ('theatrum peculiare trans Tiberim in hortis, quod a populo inpleri canente se, dum Pompeiano praeludit, etiam Neroni satis erat').

parum celebres, 'not thronged enough': cp. c. 34, 2; 13. 47, 2; 14. 33, 1, etc.

4. **tantae voci**, ironical. The language of courtiers spoke of his 'caelestis vox' (16. 22, 1); but tradition calls it feeble and hoarse ('exiguae vocis et fuscae' Suet. Ner. 20; βραχὺ καὶ μέλαν φώνημα ἔχων Dio, 61. 20, 2).

non . . . Romae. On his appearance there see 16. 4, 2.

5. **quasi**, 'as being' (cp. Introd. i. v. § 67). Neapolis was a colony from Cumae, which had been itself colonised from Chalcis (Liv. 8. 22, 5; Vell. 1. 4, 1); and Greek institutions, theatres, gymnasia, games, etc., were there as matter of course kept up.

7. **coronas**, those of the great Greek games.

civium, 'the people of Rome' (cp. c. 36, 4; 3. 59, 6), in contrast to those of Naples ('oppidanorum').

9. **acciverat**: so Halm and Nipp., after MS. Bud., Rhen., etc. Others retain the Med. 'civerat,' which Dr. defends by 11. 30, 2; Liv. 9. 39, 8 ('cietur miles'), etc.

per honorem, etc., 'by way of respect or service of various kinds': cp. 'per officium' (1. 24, 4), 'per reverentiam' (12. 10, 3), etc.

10. **militum**, praetorians.

12. **triste**, 'something ill-omened': on the substantival use of this word and 'providum' ('providential') see Introd.

potius et secundis numinibus evenit: nam egresso qui adfuerat
populo vacuum et sine ullius noxa theatrum conlapsum est.
ergo per conpositos cantus grates dis atque ipsam recentis casus 2
fortunam celebrans petiturusque maris Hadriae traiectus apud
Beneventum interim consedit, ubi gladiatorium munus a Vatinio
celebre edebatur. Vatinius inter foedissima eius aulae ostenta 3
fuit, sutrinae tabernae alumnus, corpore detorto, facetiis scurrilibus, primo in contumelias adsumptus; dehinc optimi cuiusque criminatione eo usque valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi etiam malos praemineret.

35. Eius munus frequentanti Neroni ne inter voluptates qui- 1

i. v. § 4. The latter term is explained by 'secundis numinibus,' which is an abl. abs. The Med. 'arbitrantur' would imply that such belief was still held in the historian's time, or by writers whom he follows, but does not go so well with 'ut ipse.' The correction of Rhen. as above is generally followed.

2. **conlapsum est.** Suet. (Ner. 20) says that the fall was due to an earthquake, and that Nero insisted on finishing his performance, even after the first shock was felt.

3. **conpositos**, apparently rightly explained by Nipp. to mean 'elaborated' (cp. 6. 24, 3; 16. 4, 4, etc.), not merely extemporised. It appears to be implied that they were composed by himself.

grates, used by zeugma with the aoristic 'celebrans,' taken in the sense of 'agens.'

4. **Hadriae.** This form of the name of the Hadriatic is used several times in Horace, also in H. 3. 42, 2; and in Lucan, Mela, Pl. ma.

traiectus, so used of a place of crossing in Bell. Al. 56, 5; Pl. N. H. 6. 23, 26, 98.

5. **Beneventum.** This town lay on the Appian way (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 71), by which Nero was journeying to Brundisium. It was the native town of Vatinius: see Juv. quoted below.

6. **celebre.** Cp. c. 33, 1.

ostenta, 'monstrosities.' The word is equivalent to 'monstrum,' 'portentum,' and 'prodigium' (Cic. N. D. 2. 3, 7); and is so used of Vitellius in H. 3. 56, 2.

7. **sutrinae tabernae.** He was also either a manufacturer of cheap drinking cups, or in some other way gave his name to such: cp. Mart. 10. 3, 4; 14. 96, 1 ('vilia sutoris calicem monumenta Vatini'); Juv. 5, 46 ('tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem Siccabis calicem').

corpore detorto: cp. the description of Paelignus in 12. 49, 1. The long nose of Vatinius is satirized in Martial l. l. ('sed nasus longior ille fuit').

facetiis scurrilibus, abl. of quality (answering to 'corpore detorto'): see Introd. i. v. § 29.

8. **in contumelias**, 'to be a mark for insults' (a laughing-stock). Such was often the position of a parasite even in old times; and there is abundant evidence that regular persons to jest and be jested at, called 'copreae' (Suet. Tib. 61, etc.), and usually chosen on the ground of some personal deformity, were an institution of the imperial court (see Friedl. Sitteng. i. p. 134). Among such may be mentioned Sarmentus (the quality of whose jests may be judged from Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 51, foll.) and Gabba (or Galba) under Augustus (Juv. 5, 3), Paelignus in the household of Claudius (12. 49, 1), and Crispinus, the 'purpureus . . . scurra Palati' (Juv. 4, 31) under Domitian.

optimi cuiusque: acc. to Dio (63. 15, 1), he was the author of the saying μισῶ σε, Καῖσαρ, ὅτι συγκλητικὸς εἶ.

9. **etiam malos**; i.e. only the bad rose at Nero's court, and he, as the worst, rose even among them: on the use of 'praeminere' with accus. cp. 3. 56, 2, and note. In H. 1. 37, 8 Vatinius is mentioned with the rich and rapacious freedmen of Nero. Nothing is known respecting the allusion in Dial. 11, 2, where Maternus is made to say 'improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii potentiam fregi.' The allusion in Hist. l. l. implies that he was then dead.

2 dem a sceleribus cessabatur. isdem quippe illis diebus Torquatus
Silanus mori adigitur, quia super Iuniae familiae claritudinem
3 divum Augustum abavum ferebat. iussi accusatores obicere
prodigum largitionibus, neque aliam spem quam in rebus novis
esse. quin eum inter libertos habere, quos ab epistulis et libellis
et rationibus appellet, nomina summae curae et meditamenta.
4 tum intimus quisque libertorum vincti abreptique. et cum
5 damnatio instaret, brachiorum venas Torquatus interscidit. secu-
taque Neronis oratio ex more, quamvis sontem et defensioni

1. **Torquatus Silanus**: for his full name, etc. see 12. 58, 1, and note. Dio (62. 27, 2) puts his death in the following year.

2. **mori adigitur**: cp. 13. 25, 2.

claritudinem, 'the nobility': the gens Iunia included many very distinguished plebeian families, the Bruti, Bubulci, Norbani, etc.

3. **abavum**: so all recent edd., after Ryck and Ruperti, for the Med. 'atauum'; which, if sound, must be taken as an error of the author (see the pedigree in Introd. i. ix. p. 139). Cp. 14. 53, 3, and note.

ferebat, 'displayed': cp. 'avunculum Augustum ferens' (2. 43, 6), and the fuller expression 'prae se ferre' (G. 39, 3; Agr. 43, 3), etc.

4. **prodigum**, 'that he had wasted his fortune.' Dio (l. l.) suggests that he may have designedly impoverished himself to escape the peril of being rich.

5. **quin eum inter libertos**: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., for the Med. 'qui ne Innobiles'; which many edd. followed Rhen. in correcting to 'quin eum nobiles'; but it was evidently impossible to suppose that, at a time when those holding such departments in the household of Caesar (see on 11. 29, 1) were as yet no more than freedmen (see H. 1. 58, 1), any private citizen should have had persons of any higher rank so designated; and it is plain from 16. 8, 1 that the persons so styled were freedmen, and that the charge was that he had dared to give persons in his household the titles borne by the chief freedmen of Caesar. The alteration of text here adopted is certainly violent, but would have the merit of more evidently expressing what is meant than 'quin immo viles' (Rup.) or 'quin eum ignobiles habere' (Ritt.), which are certainly nearer to the MS. text. Orelli would read 'quin eum habere' (bracketing 'nobiles' as an ignorant gloss); and many other attempts at correction may be seen in his critical note and those of Halm and Walther. This restriction of titles originally supposed to be such as might be borne by the freedmen of any great house, is a fact to be noted: see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 837, 2; Hirschf. 31, 1. It is also probable (Momms. iii. 558, 1) that the title of procurator gradually became similarly restricted.

6. **nomina summae curae et meditamenta**, 'titles of the highest (i.e. of imperial) duties, and a preparation for them' (an evident prelude to an attempt for the principate). Cp. 'tamquam disponeret iam imperii curas' (16. 8, 1). 'Meditamentum' (not found before Tacitus) is so used of military operations undertaken to train soldiers for war in H. 4. 26, 3. Cp. 'meditans' in 3. 31, 2, etc., 'meditamina belli' in Sil. 8, 326.

7. **cum damnatio instaret.** The reasons for thus anticipating sentence are given in 6. 29, 1.

8. **interscidit**: for this verb (which appears to be nowhere else so used) Zumpt (see Halm, Not. Crit.) would read 'intercidit,' from comparison of 16. 14, 6 (where see note); but 'venas abscindere' is used in c. 69, 3; 16. 11, 4; and it is characteristic of Tacitus thus to invent new expressions for facts often mentioned (see Introd. i. v. § 93).

9. **ex more.** Compare the expressions of Nero at the trial of Antistius (14. 49, 4), and the similar language of Tiberius in 2. 31, 4. As Nero calls himself 'iudex,' it is probable that Silanus had been tried personally before him (cp. 11. 2, 1, etc.); but a sentence passed by the senate could equally have been modified by his tribunitian power.

quamvis = 'quantumvis.'

merito diffisum victurum tamen fuisse, si clementiam iudicis expectasset.

36. Nec multo post, omissa in praesens Achaia (causae in 1
incerto fuere) urbem revisit, provincias orientis, maxime Aegyptum, secretis imaginationibus agitans. dehinc edicto testificatus 2
non longam sui absentiam et cuncta in re publica perinde immota ac prospera fore, super ea profectione adiit Capitolium. illic veneratus deos, cum Vestae quoque templum inisset, repente 3
cunctos per artus tremens, seu numine exterrente, seu facinorum recordatione numquam timore vacuus, deseruit inceptum, cunctas sibi curas amore patriae leviores dictitans. vidisse maestos 4
civium vultus, audire secretas querimonias, quod tantum *itineris* aditurus esset, cuius ne modicos quidem egressus tolerarent, sueti adversum fortuita aspectu principis refoveri. ergo ut in 5
privatis necessitudinibus proxima pignora praevalerent, ita *in re publica* populum Romanum vim plurimam habere paren-

3. **in praesens**: for his intention see c. 33, 2; for its subsequent execution see Appendix to Book 16.

5. **secretis imaginationibus agitans**, 'contemplating in his private thoughts': 'agitare provincias' is a concise expression for 'agitare iter ad provincias.' 'Imaginatio,' used only here in Tacitus, is found earlier only in Pl. N. H. 20. 7, 26, 68 ('imaginationes in somno'): cp. 'imaginari' (c. 69, 4), and the subjective sense of 'imago' (1. 62, 3, etc.).

7. **super**, 'about,' i. e., as Nipp. explains, to pray for protection and to offer vows for his return.

8. **Vestae**, the temple of Vesta, near the Forum, recently discovered. A general reason for the adoration of this goddess on such occasions is given in Cic. N. D. 2. 27, 67 ('vis eius ad aras et focos pertinet. Itaque in ea dea, quae est rerum custos intimarum, omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est'). Professor Holbrooke suggests that Nero went there to bid a solemn farewell to the Penates of Rome.

9. **numine exterrente**. According to Suet. (Ner. 19) 'consurgenti ei primum lacinia obhaesit, deinde tanta oborta caligo est, ut dispicere non posset.'

10. **numquam timore vacuus**: cp. 14. 10, 5; 16. 15, 2; Suet. Ner. 46; Introd. pp. 64, 78.

deseruit inceptum. According to Suet. (19), 'Alexandrina (peregrinatione) ipso profectionis die destitit.' That preparation had been already made for him at Alexandria is to be gathered from Suet. 35. Schiller thinks (p. 181) that the cause for the change of plan may be found in some hint of the Pisonian conspiracy.

cunctas . . . curas = 'omnia quae curae essent' (Orelli), 'all his interests.'

11. **dictitans**, i. e. in another edict.

12. **tantum itineris**. Halm and Nipp. follow Heins. in inserting this genit. (which he had placed after 'esset'), on comparison of c. 30, 2; Agr. 33, 5. Orelli follows the older edd., who, by a somewhat less violent change, inserted 'iter' (after G.); Madvig (Adv. ii. 557) would read 'tantum abiturus'; but 'tantum' hardly seems able to bear the meaning of 'tam diu' or 'tam longe.'

14. **fortuita**, 'chance misfortunes': so 'firmior adversus fortuita' (H. 4. 5, 2).

ut, etc., 'as in private ties the nearest are dearest': so 'pignora,' without genit., for pledges of affection, in c. 57, 3; Agr. 38, 1.

16. **in republica**. Halm (Ed. 4) follows Wurm and Orelli in inserting these words, which might perhaps have been dropped out before 'populum Romanum'; Ritt. inserts 'publice'; Nipp. and Dr. 'apud se.' Other edd. make no insertion; and the Med. text as it stands hardly seems to be beyond what so concise an author might possibly have written.

6 dumque retinenti. haec atque talia plebi volentia fuere, volup-
tatum cupidine et, quae praecipua cura est, rei frumentariae
7 angustias, si abesset, metuenti. senatus et primores in incerto
erant, procul an coram atrocior haberetur: dehinc, quae natura
magnis timoribus, deterius credebant quod evenerat.
1 **37.** Ipse quo fidem adquireret nihil usquam perinde laetum
sibi, publicis locis struere convivia totaque urbe quasi domo uti.
2 et celeberrimae luxu famaque epulae fuere, quas a Tigellino
paratas ut exemplum referam, ne saepius eadem prodigentia
3 narranda sit. igitur in stagno Agrippae fabricatus est ratem,
cui superpositum convivium navium aliarum tractu moveretur.
4 naves auro et ebore distinctae, remigesque exoleti per aetates
5 et scientiam libidinum componebantur. volucres et feras diversis

1. **volentia**, 'welcome' (= 'quae volebant'), as in H. 3. 52, 4: so 'volentia plebi facturus' (Sall. H. 4. 31 D, 56 K, 33 G).

voluptatum, etc. While he was absent, their amusements were in abeyance, and they could put no pressure on him to lower the price of corn. The two things, besides being the chief objects of the people ('panem et Circenses'), were connected, as the games gave occasion for expressions of discontent (6. 13, 1, etc.). For the coordination of causal abl. and participle see Introd. i. v. § 91, 3.

4. **haberetur**, 'whether they would have him.' Nipp. compares 'habebantur' in 1. 73, 2.

5. **quod evenerat**, the alternative which had befallen them.

6. **nihil usquam**, etc., 'that he enjoyed no place as much as Rome.'

7. **publicis locis**: cp. Suet. (Ner. 27), 'caenitabatque nonnumquam et in publico, naumachia praeclusa vel Martio Campo vel Circo Maximo, inter scortorum totius urbis et ambubaiarum ministeria.' He adds that Nero often forced his friends to give such feasts.

8. **celeberrimae luxu famaque**. Nipp. compares the expression in c. 50, 4 ('vita famaque laudatum') and thinks that in both places fame is spoken of as a ground of further fame. It seems, however, better to take both as Dr. takes the words here, and to explain the expression as a kind of hendiadys, here equivalent to 'fama propter luxum.' It was in its extravagance and profligacy that the notoriety of this banquet consisted. Dio (62, 15) describes it with many additional details, and makes it take place in a theatre or amphitheatre where a sea-fight and gladiatorial combat had already been held.

9. **prodigentia**: cp. 13. 1, 4.

10. **stagno Agrippae**. It is thought that this pond or basin is that referred to by Strabo, who says (13. 1, 19, 590) *ἐντεῦθεν δὲ (ἐκ Λαμψάκου) μετήνεγκεν Ἀγρίππας τὸν πεπτωκότα λέοντα, Λυσίππου ἔργον· ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τοῦ εὐρίπου*. Ammianus also (29. 6, 19) mentions an 'Agrippae lavacrum.' It is supposed to have been in that part of the Campus Martius called the 'Campus Agrippae' (Dio, 55. 8, 3; Gell. 14. 5); which would appear from the 'Notitia' to have been at the foot of the Quirinal or of the Pincian (see Dyer, D. of Geog. 'Roma,' p. 839; Burn, 331).

11. **navium aliarum**. The raft and the boats towing it are here combined, as Nipp. notes, in the general idea 'naves.'

tractu, in this sense almost wholly poetical (Verg. G. 3, 183; Val. Fl. 6, 359, etc.).

12. **per aetates**, i. e. those of the same age and accomplishment in profligacy were grouped together.

13. **feras**, etc. Friedl. has collected (ii. 353) instances of the quantity of foreign animals brought together at Roman public shows, as by Augustus (Mon. Anc. 4. 39, and Momms. ad loc.), Titus (Suet. Tit. 7), and Trajan (Dio, 68. 15, 1).

diversis, 'distant': cp. 1. 17, 5, and note.

e terris et animalia maris Oceano abusque petiverat. crepidi- 6
nibus stagni lupanaria adstabant inlustribus feminis completa,
et contra scorta visebantur nudis corporibus. iam gestus motus- 7
que obsceni; et postquam tenebrae incedebant, quantum iuxta
nemoris et circumiecta tecta consonare cantu et luminibus clares-
cere. ipse per licita atque inlicita foedatus nihil flagitii reliquerat 8
quo corruptior ageret, nisi paucos post dies uni ex illo contamina-
torum grege (nomen Pythagorae fuit) in modum solemnium
coniugiorum denupsisset. inditum imperatori flammeum, visi 9
auspices, dos et genialis torus et faces nuptiales, cuncta denique
spectata, quae etiam in femina nox operit.

1. **Oceano abusque**: for this preposition cp. 13. 47, 2, and note.

crepidinibus, local abl.: see Introd. i. v. § 25.

3. **iam gestus**, etc. Suet. (Ner. 27) speaks as if such scenes were common: 'quotiens Ostiam Tiberi deflueret aut Baianum sinum praeternavigaret, dispositae per litora et ripas deversoriae tabernae parabantur insignes ganea et matronarum institoria copas imitantium atque hinc inde hortantium ut appelleret.'

4. **incedebant** = 'ingruebant.' Tacitus uses this verb in various metaphorical senses (cp. 1. 5, 2; 3. 26, 4; 4. 68, 1, etc.).

5. **clarescere**: cp. 'eloquentia, sicut flamma, . . . urendo clarescit' (Dial. 36, 1). This sense is noted by Dr. as rare, and not found before the silver age (Sen. Trag., etc.); the metaphorical sense (11. 16, 5, etc.) being more common.

6. **licita atque inlicita**; by the former such acts as are not abhorrent to the law of nature are meant: cp. 'fas nefasque' (H. 2. 56, 1; 3. 51, 1).

7. **contaminatorum grege**, a reminiscence of Hor. Od. 1. 37, 9.

8. **Pythagorae**, to be taken as genit. (cp. 14. 50, 1; 4. 59, 2, and note). Dio (62. 28, 3) speaks of him as a freedman and notes this and another similar enormity after the death of Poppaea (see 16. 6, 1). Later on, he says (63. 13, 2) κἀκ τούτου συνεγίνοντο ἅμα τῷ Νέρωνι Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὡς ἀνήρ, Σπόρος δὲ ὡς γυνή. Suet. (Ner. 29) substitutes, apparently by error, the name of Doryphorus (see 14. 65, 1) for that of Pythagoras: 'cui etiam, sicut ipsi Sporus, ita ipse denupsit, voces quoque et eiulatus vim patientium virginum imitatus.'

in modum, etc. Aurelius Victor (de Caes. 5, 5) has evidently here followed Tacitus or his authorities: 'eo progressus est, ut neque suae neque aliorum pudicitiae parcens, ad extremum amictus nubentium virginum specie, palam senatu, dote data, cunctis festa more celebrantibus in manum conveniret lecto ex omnibus prodigiosis.' It is more important to note the verbal resemblance in Sulpicius Severus (Chron. 2. 28, 2), who here, as elsewhere (see on c. 44, 6), can hardly be doubted to have transcribed from Tacitus: 'adnotasse contentus sum hunc . . . eo processisse ut . . . Pythagorae cuidam in modum solemniorum coniugiorum nuberet; inditumque imperatori flammeum, dos et genialis torus et faces nuptiales, cuncta denique quae vel in femina non sine verecundia conspiciuntur, spectata.' Such an outrage at later date is described in Juv. 2, 117, foll.

9. **denupsisset.** On this verb cp. 6. 27, 1, and note.

imperatori, emphatic.

flammeum: cp. 'dudum sedet illa parato flammeolo' (Juv. 10, 333).

visi: so Halm, Orelli, Dr., after Rhen. for Med. 'misit.' Nipp. and others follow Lips. in reading 'missi' (sc. 'a Pythagora'); and other suggestions are 'missi et' (Doed.), 'visi et' (Halm, Not. Crit.). On the presence of 'auspices' at a marriage see 11. 27, 1, and note. The whole passage there may be compared with this.

10. **dos**: cp. 'dote inter auspices consignata' (Suet. Cl. 26). The dowry in wealthy families appears to have been usually a million H.S.: see 2. 86, 2; Juv. 10. 335.

genialis torus: cp. Juv. l. l. The Genius was apparently invoked to bless the marriage, that the family might not die out. See Preller, Myth. Rom. 1. p. 78.

11. **in femina**, i. e. when the union is

1 **38.** Sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum (nam utrumque auctores prodidere), sed omnibus quae huic urbi per
2 violentiam ignium acciderunt gravior atque atrocior. initium in ea parte circi ortum, quae Palatino Caelioque montibus contigua est, ubi per tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat quo flamma alitur, simul coeptus ignis et statim validus ac vento
3 citus longitudinem circi corripuit. neque enim domus munimentis saeptae vel templa muris cincta aut quid aliud morae
4 interiacebat. impetu pervagatum incendium plana primum, deinde in edita adsurgens et rursus inferiora populando, anteiit remedia velocitate mali et obnoxia urbe artis itineribus hucque

not revolting to nature. For the use of 'in' ('in the case of') cp. 'in Druso' (2. 41, 5).

1. **incertum.** We owe it to Tacitus that any doubt is left on the subject. Suet. (Ner. 38) and Dio (62. 16, 1) follow unhesitatingly those authors who charged Nero with the crime; the former supposing that he desired the glory of rebuilding Rome with grandeur, the latter, that he desired to realise the spectacle which Priam had witnessed. Pliny also (N. H. 17. 1, 1, 5) speaks of 'Neronis principis incendia quibus cremavit urbem'; and a similar view is taken by the author of the 'Octavia' (831–833), and is followed by Orosius (7, 7); while Sulp. Severus (see on c. 40, 3) more closely follows Tacitus; who however at least inclines to charge Nero with the second outbreak (c. 40, 3).

2. **omnibus.** The most famous of old time was that caused by the Gauls (cp. c. 41, 3); the notices of the principal fires under the Empire are collected in Friedl. i. 25, foll. Two under Tiberius have been already mentioned by Tacitus (4. 64, 1; 6. 45, 1). The date of outbreak of this fire is given in c. 41, 3.

4. **in ea parte,** the north-eastern corner of the Circus.

5. **tabernas.** Dionysius says (3, 38) ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἔξωθεν ἑτέρα στοὰ μονόστεγος, ἐργαστήρια ἔχουσα ἐν αὑτῇ καὶ οἰκήσεις ὑπὲρ αὐτά. His words would imply that this colonnade was not part of the Circus itself; but it might easily have been the case that shops existed in many arches of the outer colonnade of the actual building, fronting outwards, and extending inwards under the rows of seats. Several notices of trades and callings carried on in the Circus exist (see Friedl. ii. 286).

mercimonium, here alone in Tacitus, and noted as an archaism (see Introd. i. v. § 96), being found previously only in Plaut. (Amph. Prol. 1, etc.) and Turpilius (ap. Non. 213, 8).

7. **citus,** probably best taken as a participle ('impelled'): cp. 2. 6, 3.

domus, here 'palaces,' as opposed to 'insulae' (cp. c. 41, 1; 43, 3; 6. 45, 1). Such mansions usually stood isolated in their own grounds, whose substantial boundary walls, or walls of protection ('munimenta'), might arrest a fire. Temples also would often have outer walls ('muri') surrounding the precinct of the actual structure. These two kinds of obstruction to fire are distinguished from each other by 'vel,' and from all others by 'aut' (cp. 14. 3, 1, and note).

9. **impetu,** 'impetuously,' modal abl.: see Introd. i. v. § 28. Nipp. notes that the words are arranged as if 'pervagatum' were to extend over the other clauses, but the construction is changed as it were by an afterthought.

10. **adsurgens . . . populando**: for a similar coordination cp. 13. 47, 1.

11. **et obnoxia urbe** (abl. abs.), 'and from the fact that the city lay at its mercy,' was peculiarly liable to such ravages (for the reasons here given). 'Obnoxius' is frequently used of persons subject to a particular influence or dominion (cp. 3. 58, 4; H. 1. 1, 2; 2. 56, 2, etc.). For its use of things Nipp. compares Sen. Ep. 65, 21, where the body is called 'obnoxium' (dependent on circumstances) in contrast with the soul; also Plin. N. H. 14. 2, 3, 27, where a vine is spoken of as 'numquam floris obnoxii' (liable to attacks of weather), and 31. 6, 32, 60, where 'obnoxia cor-

et illuc flexis atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit. ad 5
hoc lamenta paventium feminarum, fessa aetate aut rudis pueritiae [aetas], quique sibi quique aliis consulebant, dum trahunt invalidos aut opperiuntur, pars mora, pars festinans, cuncta impediebant. et saepe, dum in tergum respectant, 6
lateribus aut fronte circumveniebantur, vel si in proxima evaserant, illis quoque igni correptis, etiam quae longinqua crediderant in eodem casu reperiebant. postremo, quid vitarent 7
quid peterent ambigui, complere vias, sterni per agros; quidam amissis omnibus fortunis, diurni quoque victus, alii caritate suorum, quos eripere nequiverant, quamvis patente effugio

pora' is used in the sense of liable to disease.

itineribus, causal abl.

1. **vicis.** The rows of houses forming the sides of the streets are here meant, which were 'enormes' ('shapeless and irregular, built on no plan'): so perhaps in Agr. 10, 4 ('inmensum et enorme spatium . . . terrarum'); also Quint. (11. 3, 139) uses 'enormis toga' of an ill-cut and ill-fitting gown. Livy 5. 55, 4 ascribes the irregularity of the Rome of his day to the hasty rebuilding after the destruction by the Gauls.

ad hoc, 'besides': cp. 12. 20, 2, and note.

2. **fessa**, etc. The Med. text here ('fessa aetate aut rudis pueritiae aetas') would oblige us to suppose that Tacitus either used such an expression as 'fessa aetate aetas,' or that he has coordinated with 'lamenta feminarum' an abl. of quality, and then a nominative ('rudis aetas'). A single inferior MS. (Agr.) gives 'senum' for 'aetate,' which has generally been treated as a mere conjecture, but has been adopted by some older edd., and by Walth. and Ritt. Halm, Nipp., and Dr. follow Jac. Gron. in bracketing or omitting 'aetas' as an ignorant gloss, and thus suppose an abl. and genit. of quality, both taken brachylogically (see Introd. i. v. §§ 29, 34), to be coordinated ('persons of feeble age or ignorant childhood'). This construction would be extremely harsh, and it may seem somewhat less objectionable to follow Orelli and others, who adopt, from Lips., the excision of 'aetate' as a gloss; and to suppose that both clauses are nominatives, and that 'fessa aetas' is left to explain itself, and 'rudis' is explained by 'pueritiae.' It is also possible to take 'aetas rudis pueritiae' (with Pfitzner) as coordinating a genit. of quality with the nom. 'fessa.' Haase would bracket or omit both 'aetate' and 'pueritiae.' The expression 'fessa aetas' is one of which Tacitus is fond (cp. 1. 46, 3; 3. 59, 6; 14. 33, 3; H. 1. 12, 3; 3. 67, 2), and 'rudis aetas' is also found (4. 8, 5); but it is certainly difficult to suppose that in any of these emendations the true words of Tacitus are restored to us.

3. **dum . . . opperiuntur.** Nipp. points out that these words belong only to 'qui aliis consulebant.' 'Invalidos' is supplied also with 'opperiuntur.'

4. **mora . . . festinans**, a similar coordination to that in c. 36, 6.

6. **lateribus aut fronte**, local abl.: cp. c. 37, 6, etc.

7. **etiam quae**, etc. Those who after having made for some near spot, when the flames overtook them there, went on to a locality which they had supposed to be far beyond the danger, found when they got there that the fire had reached it. All recent edd. follow Gron. in reading 'reperiebant' for 'reperiebantur,' which seems erroneously assimilated to 'circumveniebantur.'

9. **ambigui**, 'uncertain,' used with similar construction in 11. 10, 6.

10. **diurni**, 'for the day' (cp. 'diurnum stipendium' (1. 26, 2), i. e. for a single day. From 'fortunis' some general idea of 'means of providing' appears to be supplied. The omission is harsh, but it hardly seems possible to take the genit., with Dr., as appositional, or needful to insert 'copia' (with Nipp.), or 'alimentis' (with Ritt.), or to read 'diurno quoque victu' (with Brot.).

caritate, causal abl., as often (4. 17, 1; 12. 4, 3, etc.).

8 interiere. nec quisquam defendere audebat, crebris multorum minis restinguere prohibentium, et quia alii palam faces iaciebant atque esse sibi auctorem vociferabantur, sive ut raptus licentius exercerent seu iussu.

1 **39.** Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens non ante in urbem regressus est quam domui eius, qua Palatium et Maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur.
2 sed solacium populo exturbato ac profugo campum Martis ac monumenta Agrippae, hortos quin etiam suos patefecit et subitaria aedificia exstruxit, quae multitudinem inopem acciperent; subvectaque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis, pre-

1. **defendere**, 'to check the fire.'

crebris . . . minis, abl. abs. with causal sense.

3. **esse sibi auctorem**, 'that they acted under authority.' Tacitus leaves it open whether this was an invention or not. Suet. states positively (Ner. 38) that several consulars found Nero's slaves in their grounds spreading the flames, and dared not lay hands on them, and that he allowed no one to go back to the ruins of his house to recover his property. We have no means of sifting these statemants.

5. **Antii**: see 14. 4, 3, etc.

6. **domui eius.** Suet. says (Ner. 31) 'domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, quam primo transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque, auream (see c. 42, 1) nominavit.' The gardens of Maecenas, bequeathed by him to Augustus, and at one time occupied by Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 15), were on the Esquiline, on the site partly afterwards occupied by the Baths of Titus. The 'domus transitoria' must therefore have occupied the valley where the Colosseum now stands, and may not have been originally much more than a long corridor carried over the street traffic, somewhat similar to that which joins the Uffizi and Pitti palaces at Florence.

7. **continuaverat**, 'had connected together': cp. the expressions 'continuare domos' (Sall. C. 20, 11), 'fundos' (Cic. Agr. 3. 4, 14), 'agros' (Liv. 34. 4, 9).

sisti potuit: cp. 3. 52, 3; 14. 14, 3. For the use of 'quin' Dr. compares 'vix . . . quin obruatur Romana res, resisti posse' (Liv. 4. 43, 11).

8. **haurirentur**: cp. 3. 72, 4, and note.

9. **populo exturbato**, etc.: so Suet. (l. l.) speaks of the people as 'ad monumentorum bustorumque diversoria compulsa.'

10. **monumenta Agrippae.** Besides the 'campus Agrippae' already noted (on c. 37, 3), a number of splendid buildings erected by him stood on the other side of the Campus Martius, the 'septa,' in which the tribes voted (Dio 53. 23, 1), the 'diribitorium,' in which the votes were counted (Id. 55. 8, 3; Pl. N. H. 16. 44, 76, 201, etc.), the 'Thermae' (Mart. 3. 20, 15, etc.), the 'porticus Vipsania' (H. 1. 31, 2), probably identical with that called 'porticus Neptuni' or 'Argonautarum' (Dio 53. 27, 1), the Pantheon (Dio l. l.; Pl. N. H. 36. 5, 38), and his family tomb (Dio 54. 28, 5).

hortos, those on the Vatican (14. 14, 3). In the anastrophe of 'quin etiam' (cp. G. 3, 3; Agr. 26, 3, etc.), Tacitus appears to have followed Vergil (Aen. 2, 768). Nipp. notes also that of 'quin immo' (G. 14, 5, etc.), 'quamquam' (5. 9, 1), etc. See Introd. i. v. § 78.

subitaria: cp. 14. 20, 3, and note.

12. **utensilia**, 'food': cp. 1. 70, 6, and note.

pretium frumenti. For such imperial reductions of the market price of corn under pressure of exceptional difficulties see c. 18, 3; 2. 87, 1, and other passages cited in Marquardt ii. 126. The price here quoted, which is evidently to be taken as much below average, was the regular price of the 'modius' (about a peck) in the time of Cic. (Verr. 3. 75, 174). Pliny (N. H. 18. 10, 29, 90) gives 40 asses as the average price of a modius of flour or meal (equivalent to two 'mo-

tiumque frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos. quae 3
quamquam popularia in inritum cadebant, quia pervaserat rumor
ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam
et cecinisse Troianum excidium, praesentia mala vetustis
cladibus adsimulantem.

40. Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio 1
factus, prorutis per inmensum aedificiis, ut continuae violentiae
campus et velut vacuum caelum occurreret. necdum positus 2
metus, et rediit haut levius rursum grassatus ignis patulis magis
urbis locis, eoque strages hominum minor: delubra deum et
porticus amoenitati dicatae latius procidere. plusque infamiae 3
id incendium habuit, quia praediis Tigellini Aemilianis proru-

dii' of corn) not of the finest quality (the best, 'siligo,' being twice that price).

2. **in inritum cadebant** (cp. H. 3. 53, 6), apparently imitated from Liv. 2. 6, 1 ('ad inritum cadentis spei').

3. **ipso tempore.** Possibly Ritt. is right in reading (as suggested by Ern.) 'in ipso tempore,' as indicated by the Med. 'rumori ipso.'

domesticam scaenam: cp. c. 33, 1: Suet. (Ner. 38) and Dio (62. 18, 1), who affirm as a fact what Tacitus here gives as a rumour, describe him as declaiming from the top of his palace, or from the tower of Maecenas on the Esquiline.

5. **adsimulantem**: cp. 11. 11, 6, and note. We must suppose, with Nipp., that he was said to have described what he saw before him, under colour of describing the burning of Troy. The passage may have formed part of his 'Troica.'

6. **Sexto**: so Suet. (Ner. 38) says that it lasted 'per sex dies septemque noctes.' Nipp. points out that this can be reconciled with the words of a votive inscription, not now extant, but stated to have been found near St. Peter's (Or. 736; C. I. L. vi. 1. 826), 'quando urbs per novem dies arsit Neronianis temporibus,' by supposing that the second outbreak, here mentioned by Tacitus, lasted three days.

7. **prorutis,** 'having been demolished': so most edd. after J. F. Gron. for the Med. 'proruptis': cp. 12. 43, 1, etc., and the similar charge generally made in H. 1. 86, 2.

8. **velut vacuum caelum.** The hyperbole of the expression is softened by 'velut.' It is meant that nothing was standing against the horizon.

necdum positus, sc. 'erat.' The Med. text, 'necdum p' ('post') metus aut rediebat lebis rursum,' has given rise to a great variety of emendations (see Walth., Orelli, Halm, Not. Crit.). The text as here given is that read by Orelli, Halm, and Nipp., which is also that of Dr., Pfitzner, and Jacob, except that these read 'redibat,' defending the imperf. by such passages as 1. 21, 1; H. 2. 95, 4. Ritt. reads 'necdum posito metu' (followed by 'haud rediebat levis,' bracketed as a gloss. Madvig (Adv. iii. 236) calls attention to a gap of three letters after 'lebis' in Med., and thinks the whole should be read 'necdum demptus metus aut redierat plebi spes: rursum grassatur,' etc. Nipp. gives several instances in which 'et' has nearly the same force as 'cum.'

9. **ignis,** etc. The coincidence of five homoeoteleuta is remarkable (see note on 1. 24, 1).

11. **latius procidere,** 'were more widely ruined.'

plus infamiae habuit, 'had greater infamy attached to it.'

12. **praediis Tigellini Aemilianis.** In Varro, R. R. 3, 2, the name 'Aemiliana' is given to a district apparently of poor houses ('qui habitant extra portam Flumentanam aut in Aemilianis'). The locality is thought to have been near that of the Forum of Trajan. A fire had taken place there in the time of Claudius (Suet. Cl. 18); and it was now thought that Tigellinus had set fire to his property there to please Nero.

proruperat: cp. 13. 44, 6, and note.

perat; videbaturque Nero condendae urbis novae et cognomento
4 suo appellandae gloriam quaerere. quippe in regiones quattuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quattuor integrae manebant, tres solo tenus deiectae: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semusta.

1 **41.** Domuum et insularum et templorum, quae amissa sunt, numerum inire haud promptum fuerit: sed vetustissima religione, quod Servius Tullius Lunae, et magna ara fanumque, quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat, aedesque Statoris

1. **videbaturque,** etc. Sulp. Severus (2, 29) has again followed Tacitus, though less closely: 'sed opinio omnium invidiam incendii in principem retorquebat, credebaturque imperator gloriam innovandae urbis quaesisse.'

2. **quattuordecim**: cp. 14. 12, 3. Of the four which wholly escaped one must have been the 14th (Transtiberina), and the others are thought to have been the 1st (Porta Capena), the 5th (Esquilina), and 6th (Alta Semita, the Quirinal). Of the three wholly destroyed, two must have been the 11th and 10th (Circus and Palatium), and the other is thought to have been the 3rd (Isis et Serapis, the Subura). The account in Dio (62. 18, 2) states confusedly that the whole Palatine Mount and the theatre (amphitheatre) of Taurus, and two thirds of the rest of the city were burnt. As regards the destruction of private houses, these accounts may probably be true; but it seems evident that many temples and other great buildings must either have altogether escaped or have been capable of speedy restoration. The Circus itself must have been used in the following year, and the 'aedes Cereris' near it is spoken of at the same date (c. 53, 1, 4). On the Palatine, remains thought to be older than the Neronian date, are still preserved; the 'domus Tiberiana' is spoken of in H. 1. 27, 4; the temple of Apollo at the time of Nero's return from Greece (Suet. Ner. 25); the Sibylline books kept there were certainly preserved (c. 44, 1); and the destruction of the library seems doubtful (see note on c. 41, 2). Another story (see c. 39, 3, and note) would imply the preservation of the other extremity of the palace of Nero. The buildings on the Capitol were certainly intact, as were also probably most of the temples and basilicae round the Forum (see 16. 27, 1). In the Campus Martius, the Augustan portico of the Pantheon still remains, and the theatre of Pompeius was used for the Neronia immediately after the conspiracy (see 16. 4, 2, and note).

6. **Domuum et insularum**, so contrasted in 6. 45, 1; the former being the palaces or mansions of the rich, the latter the blocks of building let out in flats or single rooms to the poorer classes. Suet. says (Ner. 38), 'praeter inmensum numerum insularum domus priscorum ducum arserunt hostilibus adhuc spoliis ornatae, deorumque aedes ab regibus ac deinde Punicis et Gallicis bellis votae . . .' Besides the few temples and public buildings here mentioned, Dio (see on c. 40, 4) speaks of the amphitheatre of Taurus, Pliny (N. H. 12. 19, 42, 94) of the temple to Augustus on the Palatine, as destroyed.

7. **fuerit**, potential subj. of modest assertion: see Introd. i. v. § 51, c.

vetustissima religione, sc. 'templa' (implied in the expression).

8. **quod Servius Tullius Lunae.** The temple of Luna was on the Aventine (Liv. 40. 2, 2; Ov. F. 8, 884), at the part nearest to the Circus (see Burn, p. 298), and is mentioned by Vitruvius (5. 5) as containing some of the bronzes brought by Mummius from Corinth. Servius Tullius is not elsewhere spoken of as its founder; but the more famous temple of Diana in the same locality, which it may have adjoined, is ascribed to him (Liv. 1. 45, 2; Dion. Hal. 4. 26). The two may have been confused, but appear to be clearly distinct (see Dyer, D. of Geog. s.v. 'Roma,' p. 811; Burn, pp. 205, 207).

magna ara fanumque. On this altar see 12. 24, 2. The 'fanum' may have been only a consecrated site and may not have had a 'templum' (see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 155).

9. **Evander.** Most authorities agree with this (see note on 12. 24, 2); but

Iovis vota Romulo Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae cum
Penatibus populi Romani exusta; iam opes tot victoriis quaesitae 2
et Graecarum artium decora, exim monumenta ingeniorum
antiqua et incorrupta, *ut* quamvis in tanta resurgentis urbis
pulchritudine multa seniores meminerint, quae reparari nequi-
bant. fuere qui adnotarent XIIII Kal. Sextiles principium in- 3
cendii huius ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverint.

Ovid (F. 1, 581) has followed a tradition making Hercules himself the founder.

Statoris Iovis. This temple to Jove the stayer of flight, represented as vowed when Romulus was being worsted by the Sabines (Liv. 1. 12, 6), stood on the part of the Palatine nearest to the 'summa Sacra via,' i. e. near the spot where the Arch of Titus stands. Its supposed site is shown there, but the identification is questioned (Burn, p. 162; Middleton, p. 93).

1. **Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae.** These two buildings stood close together (Plut. Num. 14. 69), and are associated by writers: cp. 'monumenta regis, Templaque Vestae' (Hor. Od. 1. 2, 15); 'hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem: Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae' (Ov. Tr. 3. 1, 27). On the site of the temple see c. 36, 3, and note. It had been previously burnt in 513, B. C. 241, and suffered the same fate again in the time of Commodus. The existing fragments belong to the rebuilding of Severus (Middleton, p. 183). The 'Regia,' long the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, was given over to the Vestals by Augustus, and some of its foundations are still traceable under the buildings of their 'atrium,' or convent (Id. p. 187).

cum Penatibus, etc. An 'aedes Penatium,' existing in the Velian district (Mon. Anc. 4. 7), in a line leading from the Forum to the Carinae, and thought to be represented by the vestibule of S. Cosma e Damiano (Burn, p. 163), is spoken of by Dion. Hal. (1. 68) as containing figures which all might see, and which he describes. It is supposed however, from the close connexion with the 'delubrum Vestae,' that the Penates here spoken of were certain other figures, never seen, believed to have been brought, with the Palladium of Troy, by Aeneas (Aen. 3, 147, etc.), and preserved somewhere in the 'penetralia Vestae,' with other mysterious sacred things, of which little is known. The connexion of their worship with that of Vesta is attested by passages from several authors (see Marquardt, iii. p. 253, 3).

2. **opes . . . decora.** Nipp. rightly distinguishes these, the first as 'precious objects,' articles of material value, such as were often dedicated in temples by vow or otherwise (cp. c. 45, 2), the latter, as the 'masterpieces of Greek art,' such as the Corinthian bronzes (see note on § 1).

3. **monumenta ingeniorum,** 'records of genius' (works of great authors): cp. 4. 61, 1; Agr. 2, 1: by 'incorrupta' he distinguishes the oldest and most trustworthy copies from others afterwards interpolated or falsified. The words seem to allude to the loss of the Palatine Library, which is not otherwise known to have so suffered previously to its total destruction in A. D. 363 (Lanciani, p. 186). The temple of Apollo is mentioned in H. 1. 27, 1. Tacitus may possibly mean to refer to original copies preserved in the archives of an author's family.

4. **ut . . . meminerint.** Nipp. and Dr. follow Halm in inserting 'ut.' Orelli retains the Med. text, placing a semicolon after 'decora,' and taking 'meminerint' as a potential subjunctive (='meminisse possunt'), supposing that the 'seniores' are those still living when Tacitus wrote, when so much more had been done to beautify and adorn Rome. Others, supposing the rebuilding under Nero to be alone alluded to, read 'meminerant' (Rhen., etc.) or 'meminerunt' (Ritt.). The allusion to the 'pulchritudo,' etc. shows that the buildings and works of art lost are chiefly thought of.

6. **quartum decimum,** sc. 'diem' (cp. 12. 69, 1, etc.), July 19. This would assume the burning of Rome by the Gauls to have begun on the day after the 'dies Alliensis.'

7. **quo et:** so most edd. after Rhen.

4 alii eo usque cura progressi sunt, ut totidem annos mensesque et dies inter utraque incendia numerent.

1 **42.** Ceterum Nero usus est patriae ruinis exstruxitque domum, in qua haud proinde gemmae et aurum miraculo essent, solita pridem et luxu volgata, quam arva et stagna et in modum solitudinum hinc silvae inde aperta spatia et prospectus, magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia erat etiam, quae natura denegavisset, per artem temptare et
2 viribus principis inludere. namque ab lacu Averno navigabilem

for Med. 'et quo,' which Orelli retains, taking it as 'et illius quo,' but the instances quoted by him (c. 25, 6; 2. 28, 1; 6. 44, 4) are hardly parallel. Ritt. reads 'quo . . . et quo,' thinking that an allusion to the 'dies Cremerensis' (see Liv. 6. 1, 11) has been lost. But this would hardly enter into the comparison here.

1. **totidem annos.** This space of time would be 454 years, reckoned inclusively; and Grotefend has shown (Rhein. Mus. 1843, p. 153, foll.) that this would be almost exactly 418 years, 418 months, and 418 days. If the years are reckoned as 453, 417 of each would give a nearly correct result.

2. **numerent.** The present is used, as extant histories are spoken of.

3. **usus est,** 'profited by,' i. e. he appropriated as much as he chose of the vacant space (which would be extremely valuable), apparently without payment (cp. Martial quoted below): hence his palace is called 'spoliis civium exstructa domus' in c. 52, 2. The story in Suet. Ner. 38, that he was supposed to have appropriated valuables from the ruins cleared at his cost, would not appear to be here alluded to, and is nowhere endorsed by Tacitus.

domum, the 'domus aurea' of Suet. (Ner. 31), who describes its 'tanta laxitas ut porticus triplices miliarias haberet; item stagnum maris instar circumsaeptum aedificiis ad urbium speciem; rura insuper arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia.' He also describes some of its arrangements and decorations, and mentions the colossal statue 120 feet high at its vestibule, and adds the remark of Nero, 'se quasi hominem tandem habitare coepisse.' Also Martial, writing when its place was partly filled by the Colosseum, and that of the Esquiline portion of the palace by the Baths of Titus, says (de Sp. 2, 5–8), 'Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant. Hic, ubi miramur velocia munera thermas, Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.' It is added that 'Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras, Ultima pars aulae deficientis erat.' The 'porticus Claudia' stood near the present church of S. Pietro in Vincoli (Dyer in D. of Geog. p. 828). Pliny also tells us of the many works of the painter Fabullus 'imprisoned' in the palace (N. H. 35. 10, 37, 120), and of the temple of Fortune enclosed within its precincts (Id. 36. 22, 46, 163). These and all other extant statements respecting it have been carefully collected in an Excursus by Brotier (see also Lemaire's edition). The building, if it was ever really completed (see Introd. p. 93, 8), must have occupied the greater part of the Palatine and Esquiline, and of the intermediate valley; the rest of this space being filled by the pleasure grounds, which probably also stretched away to the agger of Servius, and to the site of the present railway station on the Viminal. This would make it include a vast space of the best and most central part of the city; but Signor Lanciani's estimate (p. 124) of nearly a square mile seems somewhat excessive, and we can hardly suppose but that some thoroughfare was left through its centre, so as not to cut off the 'Via Sacra.' Remains of it are traced along the Palatine near the Arch of Titus, and considerable portions exist under the foundations of the Baths of Titus. For further description see Burn, Rome and Campagna, pp. 231–233, Middleton, pp. 347–352.

4. **proinde . . . quam**: cp. 13. 21, 3, and note.

7. **Severo et Celere.** These architects and engineers appear to be nowhere else mentioned.

9. **viribus principis inludere,** 'to fool away the resources of an emperor'

fossam usque ad ostia Tiberina depressuros promiserant, squa-
lenti litore aut per montes adversos. neque enim aliud umidum 3
gignendis aquis occurrit quam Pomptinae paludes: cetera abrupta
aut arentia, ac si perrumpi possent, intolerandus labor nec satis
causae. Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor, effodere prox- 4
ima Averno iuga conisus est, manentque vestigia inritae spei.

43. Ceterum urbis quae domui supererant non, ut post Gallica 1
incendia, nulla distinctione nec passim erecta, sed dimensis vi-
corum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis cohibitaque aedificiorum

(C. and B.); i.e. to indulge in the pleasure of inventing extravagances out of his means. Nipp. compares 'tamquam in summa abundantia pecuniae inludere' (H. 2. 94, 4), and 'quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae' (Sall. Cat. 13, 2).

lacu Averno. It appears that some passage through the Lucrine to this lake from the bay of Baiae continued to exist, though the works made by Agrippa (Verg. G. 2, 164) were no longer kept up: see Sir E. Bunbury in D. of Geog. i. 351.

1. **depressuros**, sc. 'se,' i.e. 'that they would dig out': cp. 12. 57, 1, and note. Suet. states (Ner. 31) that the projected canal was to be 160 miles long, and broad enough to allow two quinqueremes to pass, and that all the convicts that could be got together were set to work on it.

squalenti litore, 'along the barren shore,' abl. of direction (Introd. i. v. § 25): cp. 'squalent . . . arva' (Verg. G. 1, 507), etc. The works were probably carried on at various places, as Pliny mentions (N. H. 14. 6, 8, 61) the injury done by them to the Caecuban vineyards near the bay of Amynclae.

2. **neque enim**, assigning a reason for the folly of the attempt.

3. **gignendis aquis**, to give water to feed the canal.

4. **nec satis causae.** The object suggested for it was that of facilitating the corn transport by making a safe passage from the principal Campanian harbours, as well as that of draining the Pomptine marshes into the canal: see Schiller, p. 641; Merivale, ch. 53, p. 172. The dangers of the coast may be illustrated from c. 46, 3.

5. **cupitor**: cp. 12. 7, 4, and note. Tacitus treats the scheme as a freak similar to those ascribed to Gaius, who, according to Suet. (Cal. 37), 'nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur.'

7. **quae domui supererant.** This, the Medicean text, has been retained by most recent edd., and explained as an ironical reference to the 'domus aurea' just described ('such parts of the city as the palace left space for'). The exaggeration is somewhat beneath the usual dignity of the author's style, though in the same vein with the contemporary epigram cited in Suet. Ner. 39 ('Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites, Si non et Veios occupet illa domus'), and with Martial, de Sp. 2, 4 ('Unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus'). The Med. text here was first noticed by Jac. Gron., and the earlier edd. had followed Put. in reading 'quae domus supererant'; which might be taken in the same sense by supplying 'domui Neronis,' but which seemed incongruous with 'erecta,' and suggested the conjecture of Lips. ('quae domus perierant'), which has been followed by Halm in his last ed. Ritt. takes 'domui' to be a gradual corruption of 'domibus,' and takes the meaning to be 'what remained to the houses,' i.e. the walls and foundations (which still gives a sense inconsistent with 'erecta'). It should be noted that throughout this narrative 'domus' is either used, in the singular, of the palace of Nero (c. 39, 1; 42, 1) or, in the plural, of mansions, as distinct from 'insulae' (c. 38, 3; 41, 1; 43, 3), and would thus hardly be used here of dwellings in general, so as to be followed by 'insularum' below. Hence Heraeus, who otherwise follows Lips., proposes the bold reading 'quae domus insulaeque perierant.'

8. **erecta**, altered by Lips. to 'erectae' to suit his reading above.

dimensis vicorum ordinibus, 'with rows of streets regularly measured out': cp. 'dimensis principiis' (1. 61, 3).

9. **cohibita . . . altitudine.** The limit to the height of buildings introduced by Augustus (see Introd. i. vii. p. 88) ap-

altitudine ac patefactis areis additisque porticibus, quae frontem
2 insularum protegerent. eas porticus Nero sua pecunia ex-
structurum purgatasque areas dominis traditurum pollicitus est.
3 addidit praemia pro cuiusque ordine et rei familiaris copiis,
finivitque tempus intra quod effectis domibus aut insulis apis-
4 cerentur. ruderi accipiendo Ostienses paludes destinabat, utique
naves, quae frumentum Tiberi subvectavissent, onustae rudere decurrerent, aedificiaque ipsa certā sui parte sine trabibus saxo Gabino Albanove solidarentur, quod is lapis ignibus impervius est; iam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta quo largior et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes, et subsidia repri-

pears to have been neglected, as we read in the time of Tiberius a strong complaint on the subject (M. Seneca, Controv. 2. 9). The limit fixed by Nero would appear to have exceeded 60 feet, as it was reduced to that by Trajan (Aur. Vict. Epit. 13); and the height of buildings was excessive in the time of Juvenal (3, 269) and much later: cp. 'Aemula vicinis fastigia conserit astris' (Claud. de cons. Stil. iii. 134), and other passages cited in Friedl. i. 6.

1. **patefactis areis**, probably courtyards inside the 'insulae,' which would help to prevent the spread of fire from one portion to another.

additisque porticibus: cp. Suet. Ner. 16 'formam aedificiorum novam excogitavit, et ut ante insulas et domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur.' The idea of such streets of colonnades may have been taken from those constructed by Antiochus Epiphanes at Antioch.

3. **purgatas areas**, 'the building sites clear of rubbish.' With 'exstructurum' and 'purgaturum,' 'se' is supplied.

5. **intra quod**, taken with the abl. abs. 'effectis': 'a time within which they must finish the mansions or blocks of building to claim the gift.' Nipp. compares various other places in which the relative thus applies to a subordinate part of the sentence, as 6. 45, 2; 11. 38, 1, etc. It would appear that the rebuilding was not complete on Vespasian's accession (Suet. Vesp. 8).

6. **ruderi.** This word is so used for 'rubbish' in Suet. Aug. 30; Vesp. 8; more commonly for concrete or coarse plaster.

paludes destinabat utique: cp. the construction in 1. 15, 4, and note.

7. **subvectavissent**: so Halm for Med. 'subvecta essent': others read 'subvectassent.' The word is almost wholly poetical (Plaut., Verg., etc.), and is used here alone by Tacitus; who however is fond of frequentative forms (Introd. i. v. § 69, 4).

8. **saxo Gabino Albanove.** Both these were varieties of the 'peperino' of the Campagna; the Gabine being best of the two, and both better than the 'tufa' of Rome itself. The former is seen in the facing of the Tabularium, the latter in the exit of the Cloaca (Middleton, pp. 5, 6). The quarries of Gabii (half way between Rome and Praeneste), are still to be seen near the fortress of Castiglione, and are noticed by Strabo (5. 3, 10, 238) as in great use at Rome (λατόμιον ὑπουργὸν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων). The Alban stone, quarried near Marino, is among those classed by Vitruvius (2. 7) as 'molles.' All kinds of 'tufa' were inferior in ornamental and weatherproof qualities ('tophus aedificiis inutilis est mortalitate, mollitia' Plin. N. H. 36. 22, 48, 166), but are contrasted by Vitruvius in respect of being fireproof with the harder kinds of stone, as the 'lapis Tiburtinus' (the 'travertine' of the Colosseum, etc.), of which he says (l. l.) 'ab igni non possunt esse tuta . . . dissiliunt et dissipantur.'

9. **solidarentur.** The addition of 'sine trabibus' shows this to mean that the lower stories were to be vaulted in stone. The verb appears to be first found in Verg. G. 1, 179.

10. **aqua**, that flowing into Rome by the aqueducts, cut off ('intercepta') here and there by individuals for themselves.

11. **custodes.** Nipp. rightly argues that to make this depend on 'quisque

mendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet; nec communione
parietum, sed propriis quaeque muris ambirentur. ea ex utilitate 5
accepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere. erant tamen qui
crederent, veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxisse,
quoniam angustiae itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde
solis vapore perrumperentur; at nunc patulam latitudinem et
nulla umbra defensam graviore aestu ardescere.

44. Et haec quidem humanis consiliis providebantur. mox 1
petita dis piacula aditique Sibullae libri, ex quibus supplicatum
Volcano et Cereri Proserpinaeque, ac propitiata Iuno per matro-

haberet' is contrary to sense; and to supply 'essent' or 'constituerentur' (with 'custodes' as subject) from 'haberet' would be a zeugma of extreme harshness. The force of 'destinabat' extends over the whole passage, but its construction with the accus. (as Nipp. here takes it) has been dropped ever since the first sentence. It appears necessary unless we are to take this as an extremely strong instance of the Tacitean omission of the verb 'esse' (Introd. i. v. § 39), to suppose, with Madvig (Adv. iii. p. 236), that 'essent' has dropped out after 'custodes.' Orelli supposes the persons here mentioned to be the same as those known in inscriptions as slaves employed as 'castellarii' (keepers of the watertowers or 'dividicula,' where water was taken off from the main supply) or 'aquarii' (Or. 2899, 3203).

subsidia. Such are mentioned in Plin. ad Trai. 33 [42], 2 'nullus usquam in publico sipho, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda.'

1. **nec communione parietum**, etc., abstr. for concr. ('communibus parietibus'). Some such verb as 'uterentur' must be supplied from 'ambirentur,' and in both clauses 'aedificia' (implied in 'quaeque') is supplied. The resumption of this subject, after the intervening clauses, seems so out of place as to make Nipp. consider that the sentences must be transposed and 'nec . . . ambirentur' made to follow 'impervius est'; by which the following sentence ('ea ex utilitate,' etc.) appears to become less apposite. Common walls had been always forbidden; the name 'insula' implies isolation; and Orelli cites the Twelve Tables as ordering a space of 2½ feet round each 'domus' or 'insula' ('ambitus parietum sestertius pes esto').

3. **accepta**, probably to be taken with Or. as 'ob utilitatem grata': cp. 4. 64, 5; 12. 29, 1; and 'acceptius' (6. 45, 2).

5. **angustiae itinerum.** The 'angustissimae semitae' of ancient Rome (cp. c. 38, 4) are contrasted with the broader streets of Capua in Cic. de Leg. Agr. 2. 35, 96, and in the time of M. Seneca (see note on § 1), and may probably have been even narrower than those of Pompeii. Martial describes (7. 61, 2) a further widening of streets under Domitian ('Iussisti tenues, Germanice, crescere vicos, Et modo quae fuerat semita, facta via est'), which may have dealt with parts of old Rome which had escaped this fire.

6. **vapore**, 'the heat' (cp. 11. 3, 2). This remark may be illustrated by the comparative coolness of the narrow streets (formed by high houses) in the old Italian cities at the present day.

9. **diis**, 'for the gods,' i.e. to win their favour (cp. 'deum placamentis' below). Most edd. (except Walther and Ruperti) have followed this correction of J. F. Gron. for the Med. 'a diis'; which, though standing well in antithesis to 'humanis consiliis,' would require the hardly possible meaning that the gods were asked what expiation they wished to receive. A sufficient antithesis to 'humanis consiliis' is implied in 'aditique Sibullae libri.'

Sibullae libri: see 6. 12, 1: the name is there so read in the first Med., whence Halm corrects the Med. 'Sibyllae' here.

10. **Volcano, etc.** The first of these was, of course, propitiated as the fire-god. The temple of Ceres and Proserpina (Libera) was no doubt near the spot where the fire had broken out (see 2. 49, 1); but the supplication to them may well have rested on some more general reason,

nas, primum in Capitolio, deinde apud proximum mare, unde hausta aqua templum et simulacrum deae perspersum est; et sellisternia ac pervigilia celebravere feminae quibus mariti
2 erant. sed non ope humana, non largitionibus principis aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin iussum incendium
3 crederetur. ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaesitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christi-

as we find special rites to Ceres prescribed at other times by the Sibylline Books to expiate prodigies (Liv. 36. 37, 4). It has been thought (see Jacob) that she was invoked as goddess of the soil on which the new buildings were to rise.

propitiata. This verb is used also in Dial. 9, 5, and appears to have been adopted by Val. Max. and subsequent prose writers, from old poets, as Plaut.

1. **apud proximum mare,** i. e. at Ostia, where invocation was made, and whence lustral water was brought, to wash her 'cella' and statue in the Capitol. Sometimes the statues were taken to the sea and washed there: cp. Ov. F. 4, 129, foll. The custom is Greek (cp. Eur. Iph. T. 1199).

2. **perspersum.** This verb is very rare, but found in Cat. R. R. 130; Cic. de Or. 1. 34, 159. The old edd. read 'prospersum' (which is nowhere found). Bezzenb. suggests 'respersum,' from 16. 10, 4.

3. **sellisternia.** These answer in the case of goddesses to the 'lectisternia' in honour of gods; the distinction being founded on the Roman custom, by which women sat on 'sellae' at dinner, while men reclined on couches. According to Val. Max. (2. 1, 2), the custom of women in this respect was much relaxed when he wrote. The word 'sellisternium' is almost unknown in literature; 'lectisternium' being commonly used as a general term.

pervigilia. Such nightly festivals (παννυχίδες) were an ancient custom in Greece, but apparently a late introduction at Rome, though common under the Empire (Plin. N. H. 18. 12, 32, 124; Suet. Cal. 54; Galb. 4; Vit. 10, etc.). They are frequently noted by Juv. and others as giving licence to immorality; and their use is strictly limited in Cic. Legg. 2. 9.

4. **sed non,** etc. On the general subject of the remainder of this chapter see Appendix to this Book.

ope humana, apparently explained by 'largitionibus principis.' No assistance rendered by other persons has been mentioned, nor, if such there were, could it be expected to avert suspicion from Nero.

5. **placamentis,** used in H. 1. 63, 2, and previously in Plin. N. H. 21. 7, 19, 42. Livy has 'placamen' (7. 2, 3).

quin iussum incendium crederetur. By 'iussum,' 'ordered by Nero' is meant. 'Quin' has here its epexegetical force, and is equivalent to 'ut non,' or almost to 'sed' (cp. Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 186; Roby 1698). Sulpicius Severus (Chron. 2. 29) has here again (see note on c. 37, 8) verbally transcribed much of the narrative of Tacitus. His words are 'neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo iussum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos; actaeque in innoxios crudelissimae quaestiones; quin et novae mortes excogitatae, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirerent. Multi crucibus affixi aut flamma usti: plerique in id reservati ut, cum defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.'

6. **abolendo rumori,** dat. of purpose: cp. Introd. i. v. § 22 b.

subdidit reos, so used of fraudulent substitution in 1. 6, 6 (where see note): cp. 'subdidit testamentum' (14. 40, 2), etc. That Tacitus did not consider the Christians really guilty, is shown by the expression here and by the suggestion in c. 38, 1 of only two alternative causes for the fire ('forte an dolo principis'): see notes on §§ 5, 8.

quaesitissimis = 'exquisitissimis': cp. 5. 3, 3; 12. 26, 1, etc.

7. **per flagitia,** 'by reason of their abominations.' It is evident from this passage and from the mention of 'flagitia cohaerentia nomini' in Pliny's letter (§ 2), that in the time of these writers, and even, if Tacitus is to be believed (see Appendix, p. 575), in the Neronian period, such imputations as those designated by Θυέστεια δεῖπνα and Οἰδιπόδειοι μίξεις (see C. F. Arnold, p. 11, etc.), i.e. those of infanticide,

anos appellabat. auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperi- 4 tante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt

cannibalism, and incest, otherwise known to us through the apologists of the second century (Min. Fel. Oct. 9; Tert. Apol. 7, foll., etc.), were already current against Christians. Tacitus entirely believes the charge, and repeats it under other expressions (§ 4); but Pliny frankly owns that such evidence as he could get, even under torture, went to show a very different rule of life. The epithet 'malefica,' given to this 'superstitio' in Suet. Ner. 16, may either be taken as referring generally to such misdeeds (cp. 4. 21, 5, etc.), or may have a specific reference (cp. 2. 69, 5) to the charges of magic frequently brought against the Christians (Arnold, p. 69. 1, and 71).

vulgus Christianos appellabat. It appears to be implied that they had not yet begun to call themselves such, but were already popularly so called in Rome (see Appendix, p. 574). The origin of the name at Antioch (Acts 11, 26) is connected by Suidas (s. v.) with the appointment of Euodius to the charge of that church by St. Peter, an event dated by Jerome (on Eus. Chron.) in the year 798, A.D. 45. The formation of such a name from 'Christus' is in accordance with late Latin usage (cp. 'Augustiani' 14. 15, 8, 'Tertullianus,' etc.), but it has been shown that it could equally well have originated among Asiatic Greeks (C. F. Arnold, p. 53, foll.).

1. **Christus,** given by Tacitus (as also in Plin. l. l.) as a proper name, probably the only name of our Lord known to him, and in any case the appropriate one to use here, as explaining 'Christianus.' This passage is the earliest record of the event in any non-Christian writer.

imperitante. Hochart (see Appendix, p. 571, 1) strangely notes this as an unusual expression in Tacitus. Besides the five strictly parallel instances which he admits (3. 24, 5; 4. 62, 3; 11. 14, 5; 13. 32, 5; 42, 1), the verb is one of the frequentative forms which Tacitus so often prefers.

2. **Pontium Pilatum,** mentioned here alone by any Roman historian. Josephus gives the duration of his procuratorship as ten years (Ant. 18. 4, 2) from 780–790, A.D. 27-37, and mentions his recall by order of Vitellius, legate of Syria. Some account of his government is given in Philo, Leg. 38, and the story of his suicide in exile is mentioned in Eus. H. E. 2, 7. It has been thought remarkable (see Appendix, p. 572, 1) that he is here described simply as 'procurator,' without specification of his province; but the mention of 'Iudaea' below as the 'origo eius mali' would leave no doubt of it; and it would be in accordance with the manner of Tacitus to avoid, even somewhat artificially, the mention of the country twice within so short a space.

3. **repressa in praesens . . . erumpebat.** The statement that Christianity was temporarily checked, and then began to break out again here and there, seems likely to have been an inference drawn by Tacitus or his authorities from the fact that the Crucifixion of Christ was known to have taken place in the time of Tiberius, and that the outer world had heard nothing of Christianity until some years after that date, and then intermittently.

exitiabilis superstitio. Any foreign religion, not Greek, would probably be called 'superstitio': cp. 2. 85, 5; 3. 60, 5; 13. 32, 3, etc. 'Exitiabilis' is so used of disease in 16. 5, 2, and would probably here mean that it was pernicious to the character (cp. 6. 7, 4), probably in reference to its 'flagitia' (§ 3). It is thus much stronger than the 'superstitio prava inmodica' of Pliny's letter (§ 8), and would more answer to the 'malefica' of Suet. (see on § 3).

4. **non modo, etc.;** i.e. it was so far from being confined to Judaea, that it had extended itself to Rome. The spread of Christianity elsewhere is not noticed, as being foreign to what Tacitus had to say; and the inference of Schiller (p. 437), that he only knew of it as then existing in these two localities, is unwarranted.

5. **cuncta . . . atrocia aut pudenda,** 'all that is horrible and shameful.' The allusion no doubt is to the 'flagitia,' viewed both as hideous cruelties (cp. 6. 24, 2; 40. 1, etc.) and as immoralities. By say-

5 celebranturque. igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii
6 quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi aut flammandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies,

ing 'cuncta,' he would refer also to the Isiac or other foreign mysteries, at which immoralities were known to take place.

1. **celebrantur**, 'are constantly practised': cp. 2. 56, 2, and note.

igitur, used to mark the return to the main subject, as in 1. 62, 1; 14. 3, 1; 60, 1, etc.

primum correpti qui fatebantur. This can only mean, 'those were first brought to trial (cp. 3. 28, 5; 12. 42, 4, etc.) who were admitting the charge' (cp. 11. 1, 2, etc.); but it is not necessary to follow those who assume that the charge admitted was that of incendiarism. Such manifest incendiaries as are mentioned in c. 38, 8, if they could then have been said 'fateri incendium,' would hardly be likely, still less would any others (even religious enthusiasts) be likely to be (as the tense requires) still openly acknowledging the crime when these proceedings were taken some time afterwards. It is no doubt true that those who were 'making open profession of Christianity' would ordinarily be said 'profiteri' (cp. 'Cynicam sectam professo' H. 4. 40, 5), not 'fateri.' But this difficulty would disappear on the supposition that the Christians as a body had been already marked out by some means as the incendiaries (see Append. p. 580), so that the question whether a person was a Christian became the most essential part of the charge against him. The expression could thus be used with the same propriety as in Pliny's letter (§ 3): 'interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani. Confitentes iterum . . . interrogavi . . . neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod faterentur,' etc.

2. **multitudo ingens.** The difficulty raised by these words (see App. p. 575) may be lessened by remembering that the expression is rhetorical, and that the somewhat similar 'inmensa strages' of 6. 19, 3 has been thought to mean no more than twenty executions in one day (see note there).

haud proinde . . . quam. On this expression (here and in c. 42, 1, not altered by Halm to 'perinde,' as usual) see 13. 21, 3, and note. The words would appear to mean that although incendiarism was that of which they were formally convicted, there were few, if any, cases in which any direct evidence of such was attempted to be set up; their notorious 'hatred of the human race' being held to prove their guilt.

in crimine: cp. Cic. de Inv. 2. 10, 32 ('in peccato convictus'), and pro Sull. 30, 83 ('in hoc scelere convictus'), and similar constructions in Plin. ma. and Suet.

3. **odio humani generis**, best taken, with Nipp., by supplying 'in' before 'odio.' Walth. and Ritt. explain it less well; the former taking the abl. as causal, and the latter taking the expression subjectively, referring to 'invisos' above. Tacitus charges the Jews in H. 5. 5, 2 with a similar hatred of mankind ('adversus omnes alios hostile odium'). The probable explanation of such a charge here is to be found in their abstinence from social gatherings and popular amusements, perhaps also in misinterpretations of expressions used respecting 'the world' (in a Christian sense).

convicti: so all other MSS. and all edd. for Med. 'coniuncti'; which it has been less well proposed to retain, with an insertion of 'reperti' before 'sunt.' According to the interpretation here given, 'convicti' answers to 'correpti,' and both apply as well to the 'qui fatebantur' as to the 'multitudo.'

4. **tergis**, 'hides': cp. 4. 72, 2, and note.

5. **aut crucibus adfixi aut flammandi atque.** The Med. text is here given as it stands, though it can hardly be free from corruption. Those who defend it would supply 'interirent' again after 'flammandi' (to which in that case the 'flammati' of MS. Agr. would be preferable), or endeavour to force the whole sentence into dependence on 'urerentur' (see Pfitzner's note). Nipp. (who reads 'flammati') brackets the whole 'aut crucibus . . . flammati' as a very old gloss, older than the time of Sulpicius Severus (see note on § 2), on the ground that the deaths here spoken of involve no 'ludibrium' (which is true, except that they are shown in § 7 to form part of the

in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. hortos suos ei spectaculo 7
Nero obtulerat et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens. unde quamquam adversus 8
sontes et novissimā exemplā meritos miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur.

45. Interea conferendis pecuniis pervastata Italia, provinciae 1

'spectaculum'). Halm thinks that Sulpicius has preserved the trace of the true text, and reads 'multi crucibus adfixi aut flamma usti, aliique, ubi,' etc. By supplying 'interirent' after 'usti' a fair sense is given; but the use of the latter word with 'urerentur' so soon following throws some suspicion on the reading; though Tacitus sometimes thus repeats words (see Nipp. on 1. 81). Arnold suggests 'multi crucibus adfixi sunt flammandi, utque . . . urerentur,' noting the interchange of gerundive and final clause in 2. 36, 1; 4. 9, 1, etc., and explaining by the supposition that these victims were crucified to be afterwards set on fire. This reading departs less than Halm's from the Med. text, but is less in accordance with what Sulpicius would seem to have followed, and gives a description very different from that in the supposed allusion to such a scene in Juv. 1, 159.

flammandi. This verb is so used by Lucr. and other poets, and by Tacitus elsewhere figuratively (H. 2. 74, 3; 4. 24, 4). Those executed by burning were usually dressed in the 'tunica molesta,' noticed by Juvenal (8, 235) as the appropriate punishment for incendiaries, and also mentioned by Martial (10. 25, 5), and described by Seneca (Ep. 14, 5) as 'illam tunicam alimentis ignium et inlitam et textam.' As an additional mockery, this garment was often made externally of gold and purple and other rich materials (see Plut. de sera num. vind., and other references in Friedl. Sitteng. ii. 366).

ubi defecisset, best taken, with Dr., as the subjunct. of action frequently repeated: see Introd. i.v. § 52.

1. **in usum nocturni luminis** (so all edd. for the Med. 'in usu') = 'unde nocturnum lumen pararetur': cp. 'natis in usum laetitiae scyphis' (Hor. Od. 1. 27, 1).

hortos suos: cp. c. 39, 2. On the circus there see 14. 14, 3, and note. On the practice of making a spectacle of the torture and execution of malefactors see Friedl. l. c.

3. **curriculo insistens:** so in 14. 14, 1; here so read by all edd. after Ryck, with MS. Agr., for Med. 'circulo.'

unde, i. e. from the observation of his brutal demeanour.

4. **sontes.** Schiller's remark (p. 437, 1), that Tacitus in these words contradicts himself (see note on § 3), seems unfounded. It is possible that (as C. F. Arnold thinks) reference is again intended to the 'flagitia' (§ 3); perhaps more probable that 'sontes' is used in relation to the charge of incendiarism, but that Tacitus is giving, not his own view, but that of the spectators, who, believing them to be guilty, yet felt pity for them.

novissima exempla meritos: cp. 12. 20, 4, and note.

tamquam, 'on the ground that': cp. 12. 39, 5, etc.

5. **utilitate publica,** abl. of objective cause: see Introd. i.v. § 30.

in saevitiam unius, 'with a view to (i. e. to gratify) the cruelty of one.' Nipp. compares 'in spem . . . corruptum' (14. 63, 1).

6. **conferendis pecuniis** (dative of purpose); i. e. for the new palace, and other buildings. Suet. says (c. 38) 'conlationibus non receptis modo, verum et efflagitatis, provincias privatorumque census prope exhausit.' Dio speaks in similar terms, and says (62. 18, 5) that he even withdrew the corn allowance (τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν τὸ σιτηρέσιον παρεσπάσατο); which, in the light of what Tacitus states in c. 39, 2, is most improbable.

provinciae. Nipp. thinks that by this term here the 'stipendiarii' alone are meant, by 'socii populii' the 'civitates foederatae,' and by 'quae civitatium liberae vocantur' the 'civitates liberae,' and those called 'liberae et immunes'; and that the privileges of both these classes were now, as on many other occasions, set at nought. It is also possible to take 'socii populi' of the states under vassal princes, or to suppose (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 725, 4) that 'socii populi' and 'liberae civitates' are here a specific

2 eversae sociique populi et quae civitatium liberae vocantur. inque
eam praedam etiam di cessere, spoliatis in urbe templis egestoque
auro, quod triumphis, quod votis omnis populi Romani aetas
3 prospere aut in metu sacraverat. enimvero per Asiam atque
Achaiam non dona tantum sed simulacra numinum abripie-
bantur, missis in eas provincias Acrato ac Secundo Carrinate.
4 ille libertus cuicumque flagitio promptus, hic Graeca doctrinā
5 ore tenus exercitus animum bonis artibus non inbuerat. ferebatur
Senĕca, quo invidiam sacrilegii a semet averteret, longinqui ruris
secessum oravisse, et postquam non concedebatur, ficta valetudine,

description of 'provinciae,' and refer respectively to the unprivileged and privileged peoples. This explanation would be supported by 'foedera sociis dilargiri' (H. 3. 55, 2); though Tacitus elsewhere uses 'socii' more generally, as in 'foederi sociae urbis' (2. 53, 3).

1. **eversae**, 'were ruined'; so 'evertisti funditus civitates' (Cic. Pis. 35, 86), etc.

in eam praedam . . , cessere, 'formed part of that plunder.' Dr. notes that the use of these expressions with a personal subject (cp. 6. 43, 1; also 'Noricos in cetera victoriae praemia cessuros' H. 1. 70, 4) is rare, that with things (as 1. 1, 3; 2. 23, 3; H. 3. 83, 1) more common. Here the personal subject is metaphorical only; the treasures in the temples being really spoken of.

3. **auro**: such offerings of gold are often mentioned in Livy, etc.

triumphis . . . votis, 'on occasions of triumphs or vows.' The construction seems analogous to the simple abl. of time and place: cp. 'proconsulatu' (H. 1. 48, 6), and other expressions quoted by Nipp. on 4. 51, 1.

4. **prospere aut in metu**, 'in success or panic.' We should expect 'prospere sacraverat' to have a different meaning; but the sense of 'per prospera' or 'rebus prosperis' is clearly required by the antithesis 'in metu,' which may here denote a state of circumstances, rather than a frame of mind, as in 1. 40, 1 (where see note), etc. Adverbs and nouns are sometimes co-ordinated, as in 2. 11, 3; 16. 5, 3.

5. **dona**, answering to the 'aurum' taken from temples in Rome: 'sed'= 'sed etiam,' as in 1. 60, 1, etc.

simulacra numinum. Pausanias says (10. 7, 1) that Nero took 500 statues from Delphi alone, and elsewhere (6. 25, 9; 26, 3) specifies statues taken from Olympia. Pliny enumerates a long list of statues, the finest of which had been pillaged by Nero for the Golden House, and were afterwards given by Vespasian to various temples built by him (see N. H. 34. 8, 19, 84). Pergamum appears to have offered active resistance to the extortion (16. 23, 1); and Dio Chrys. mentions (Or. 31. p. 644 R) that Rhodes was for some reason specially exempted by Nero, and gave up nothing of its great abundance. Such pillage on a smaller scale was common at all times: see Juv. 8, 102, foll.

6. **Acrato**, only mentioned here and in 16. 23, 1 (where see note as to the difficulty of date), and Dio Chrys. l. l.

Secundo Carrinate, probably a son of the rhetorician exiled by Gaius (Dio 59. 20, 6; Juv. 7, 204). Med. has here 'Caprinatae,' Put. and other old edd. 'Carinate' (which is also the form in Dio, l. l.); the name being restored as above by Nipp. from the form in 13. 10, 3, and Juv. l. l. Or. adds that it is so written in inscriptions.

7. **ille**: sc. 'erat.'

8. **ore tenus**, i.e. 'so as to talk of it'; he could use the language of Greek moral philosophy without believing its tenets: cp. 'nomine tenus' (c. 6, 6), 'titulo tenus' (Suet. Iul. 76), etc., and the same sentiment expressed in other words in 16. 32, 3.

animum . . . non inbuerat: so Halm, after Lips., for the Med. 'induerat,' which most others retain, as a somewhat bold metaphor grounded on the ordinary sense of 'induere se aliqua re.'

9. **invidiam**, 'the odium': the word is used with a similar genit. in c. 64, 1; 12. 67, 2; Agr. 42, 3, etc.

10. **secessum oravisse**. It is to be

quasi aeger nervis, cubiculum non egressus. tradidere quidam 6
venenum ei per libertum ipsius, cui nomen Cleonicus, paratam
iussu Neronis vitatumque a Seneca proditione liberti seu propria
formidine, dum persimplici victu et agrestibus pomis, ac si sitis
admoneret, profluente aqua vitam tolerat.

46. Per idem tempus gladiatores apud oppidum Praeneste 1
temptata eruptione praesidio militis, qui custos adesset, coerciti
sunt, iam Spartacum et vetera mala rumoribus ferente populo,
ut est novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque. nec multo post 2
clades rei navalis accipitur, non bello (quippe haud alias tam
immota pax), sed certum ad diem in Campaniam redire classem
Nero iusserat, non exceptis maris casibus. ergo gubernatores, 3

inferred that his former request for retirement from the court (14. 52–56) had not been granted, and that he was still one of Nero's 'concilium.' On the alleged acceptance at this time of his resignation of his property, see note on c. 64, 6.

1. **aeger nervis**, 'having a muscular complaint' (neuralgia or gout). Nipp. compares Suet. Vesp. 7 ('propter nervorum valitudinem vix ingredi'), and Fronto. ad am. 1. 15, p. 184 Nab. ('nervorum dolor me invasit').

egressus, with accus.: cp. 1. 30, 2, and note.

3. **proditione . . . seu**, etc. Schiller (p. 17) thinks that, if the second version be true, the whole story may probably have been an invention: see c. 60, 3, and note.

4. **persimplici**, ἅπ. εἰρ. For similar words used by Tacitus see Introd. i. v. § 69, 3. Halm and Nipp. needlessly alter the text to 'per simplicem victum.' In his Epistles, written at this time, Seneca describes the simplicity of his life. Thus (83, 6): 'panis deinde siccus et sine mensa prandium, post quod non sunt lavandae manus.' . . . 'brevissimo somno utor.' Again (108, 16) 'inde in omnem vitam unguento abstinemus, . . . inde vino carens stomachus: inde in omnem vitam balneum fugimus.'

et agrestibus pomis, explanatory of 'persimplici victu.' By 'agrestia' the apples growing in fields (as distinct from more highly cultivated garden fruit) are meant: cp. 'cibi simplices, agrestia poma' (G. 23, 1); 'Cereale solum pomis agrestibus augent' (Verg. Aen. 7, 111).

dum . . . tolerat. On such indicatives in oratio obliqua see Introd. i. v. § 49.

6. **Praeneste**, Palaestrina, about 23 miles east of Rome. It is to be gathered from this passage that a training-school of gladiators was kept there by the emperor to furnish a supply for the Roman exhibitions. Similar schools existed at Capua, Alexandria, and at many places in the provinces, and we hear of one at Rome in the time of Cicero (Cat. 2. 5, 9), and others subsequently: see 11. 35, 7, and note.

7. **adesset.** Halm, Orelli, and Ritt. follow Walth. in restoring the Med. text, which it is possible to explain by supposing one of the harsh ellipses not unusual in Tacitus, such as 'existente' or 'ibi locata' ('a military force being posted there to be a guard on the spot'). Others read 'aderat' (with MS. Agr.). Nipp., by a far less violent alteration, reads 'adest,' explaining the present as used to denote a standing institution.

8. **Spartacum.** The celebrated servile war led by him (681–683, B.C. 73–71) had begun with the outbreak of only 74 gladiators from the school at Capua (see Mommsen, Hist. B. v. ch. 2). On the panic in Rome at any rising of servile character see 4. 27, 3; also 14. 42–45.

rumoribus ferente: so 'sermonibus ferre' (Dial. 10, 7; Liv. 4. 5, 6), 'fama ferre' (Liv. 23. 31, 13): cp. 5. 4, 4; 16. 2, 2.

11. **immota pax.** The war in the East was virtually over. Coins are found representing the temple of Janus shut (Cohen i. p. 287).

classem, the 'classis praetoria,' stationed at Misenum (see 4. 5, 1).

quamvis saeviente pelago, a Formiis movere: et gravi Africo, dum promunturium Miseni superare contendunt, Cumanis litoribus inpacti triremium plerasque et minora navigia passim amiserunt.

1 **47.** Fine anni vulgantur prodigia, inminentium malorum nuntia.
vis fulgurum non alias crebrior, et sidus cometes, sanguine
2 inlustri semper Neroni expiatum. bicipites hominum aliorumve
animalium partus abiecti in publicum aut in sacrificiis, quibus
3 gravidas hostias inmolari mos est, reperti. et in agro Placentino
viam propter natus vitulus, cui caput in crure esset; secutaque
haruspicum interpretatio, parari rerum humanarum aliud caput,
sed non fore validum neque occultum, quia in utero repressum
aut iter iuxta editum sit.

1. **Formiis**, Mola di Gaëta, on the coast of Latium.

movere, intrans.: so 'postquam . . . moverat' (Cic. Att. 9. 1, 1), 'movisse Romanos audivit' (Liv. 37. 28, 4): see Introd. i. v. § 41.

Africo. This well-known stormy wind (Verg. Aen. 1, 86; Hor. Od. 1. 14, 5), the Greek Λίψ, and Italian Libeccio, blows from W. S.W.

2. **promunturium Miseni**: on the expression cp. 6. 50, 2, and note. They would have to round the cape to reach their station.

Cumanis. Cumae lay some six miles north of the cape of Misenum.

3. **plerasque** = 'permultas' (3. 1, 2, etc.).

passim, 'in crowds': cp. c. 57, 4; 14. 15, 1, etc.

5. **prodigia**: see 12. 43, 1, and note.

7. **semper Neroni expiatum.** Tacitus has only recorded one previous comet (14. 22, 1), and that as followed only by the exile of Rubellius Plautus, whose death, as well as that of Cornelius Sulla, did not take place till two years afterwards (14. 57–59). It is possible that there may have been other occasions which Tacitus has omitted to notice, as Pliny speaks of a comet as constantly appearing ('adsiduum prope ac saevum') in the time of Nero (N. H. 2. 25, 23, 92). More probably 'semper' is a rhetorical exaggeration, like 'saepe' in 13. 6, 1. Suet. (Ner. 36) speaks obviously of the comet here mentioned; its expiation being found (as Tacitus also no doubt here implies) in the execution of the conspirators. Dio, alluding apparently to the earlier comet (61. 18, 2), mentions Nero as dissuaded from bloodshed by the advice of Seneca, and expiating the portent by a costly festival.

8. **quibus**, 'to the deities to which.' That one of these was Tellus is to be seen from Ov. F. 4, 629–634 ('Telluri plenae victima plena datur'). The same passage records the tradition of a like sacrifice by Numa to Faunus. Festus (s. v. 'horda') gives the name of such festivals as 'hordicidia' ('horda' = 'praegnans vacca').

9. **Placentino**, of Placentia (Piacenza), an old and famous colony.

10. **esset.** The subjunctive seems best explained (with Orelli and Ritt.) as throwing the statement into the form of a report (= 'esse ferebatur'). Nipp., Dr. and Jacob take it as expressing a peculiarity, with some such ellipse as 'qui ita natus erat ut . . . esset.' The references given to 1. 11, 4; 13. 1, 2, seem hardly apposite.

11. **haruspicum.** On this college see 11. 15, 1, foll.

12. **validum . . . occultum.** These appear to refer in sense not so much to 'caput' as to the conspiracy implied in 'parari . . . caput.'

in utero repressum, explained by Ern. to mean that the head had been distorted in the womb and attached to the hind quarters, so as not to come to its proper strength and development. Thus the conspiracy would be frustrated by internal discord.

13. **aut** = 'et rursus' (cp. 'tolerans aut declinans' 6. 51, 3, and many other instances in Gerber and Greef, Lex. pp. 124–126). As 'utero repressum' answers

48. Ineunt deinde consulatum Silius Nerva et Atticus Vesti- 1
nus, coepta simul et aucta coniuratione, in quam certatim nomina
dederant senatores eques miles, feminae etiam, cum odio Neronis,
tum favore in C. Pisonem. is Calpurnio genere ortus ac multas 2
insignesque familias paternā nobilitate complexus, claro apud
vulgum rumore erat per virtutem aut species virtutibus similes.
namque facundiam tuendis civibus exercebat, largitionem ad- 3
versum amicos, et ignotis quoque comi sermone et congressu;

to 'non fore validum,' so this clause answers to 'neque occultum.' Nipp. follows Ern. in reading 'et.'

editum sit. Similar uses of the perf. subjunct. for the pluperf. are found in 1. 10, 1, etc.

1. **Silius Nerva et Atticus Vestinus.** Their full names are given in Phleg. de Mir. 23, as A. Licinius Nerva Silianus and M. Vestinus Atticus. Nipp. shows that the former name might be also written A. Licinius Silius Nerva, and that this person is probably grandson of the consul of the same name in 760, A. D. 7 (Arg. Dio 55), and son of the consul of 781, A. D. 28 (4. 68, 1). The other consul was no doubt one of the sons of the Viennese knight, for whom honours are bespoken in the 'Oratio Claudii' ii. 11. (See Appendix to Book 11).

2. **coepta,** etc.; 'after a conspiracy had been set on foot and had gathered strength at once.' That the participles are to be taken in a past sense is pointed out by Nipp. as shown by the tense of 'dederant.' We should gather from 14. 65, 2, that the first movement had taken place in 815–816, A. D. 62–63, and from c. 50, 6, that it had been intended to kill Nero during the confusion at the time of the fire. That the plot was detected and suppressed in the latter part of April in this year will appear from the notes on c. 53, 1; 70, 1.

nomina dederant: cp. 14. 15, 1, and note.

3. **senatores eques miles.** On the change of number see Introd. I. v. § 2.

4. **C. Pisonem.** The parentage of this C. Calpurnius Piso is unknown. Gaius Caesar took from him his wife Livia Orestilla at the wedding feast, restored her in a few days, but afterwards exiled the pair for having resumed intercourse (Suet. Cal. 25; Dio 59. 8, 7). The old Schol. on Juv. 5, 105 mentions his return under Claudius, his consulship (which Baiter thinks may have been as suff. in 801, A. D. 48), and enrichment by inheritance from his mother, also his fame as a tragic actor and chessplayer, and his munificent gifts to clients and others. His name occurs among the Arvales from 791, A. D. 38; and the record (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2028–2048) would show that his exile cannot have begun till after June 793, A. D. 40 (after which there are no more Tables till 796, A. D. 43). Many particulars are recorded in a panegyric on him of 261 lines (see Bährens, Poet. Lat. Min. i. 220–236), which has been assigned to Saleius Bassus and other authors, and with more probability to Calpurnius, whose name would point to his having been a client of the family. On his second wife and his death see c. 59; on the death of his son, H. 4. 11, 3.

5. **complexus,** 'uniting': cp. 2. 82, 3.

claro rumore erat: cp. 3. 76, 2.

7. **tuendis civibus.** He took the popular side, that of the defence; as Suillius falsely claims to have done (13. 42, 4). This, and his eloquence in doing so, are celebrated by his panegyrist (v. 32, 39, 40): 'cum tua maestos Defensura reos vocem facundia mittet.'

adversum 'towards': cp. 11. 21, 4, etc. In this trait also, as well as that of his courtesy, Tacitus follows the panegyrist (v. 109).

8. **et ignotis quoque.** The dat., according to this stopping, depends on the abl. of quality 'comi . . . congressu,' which is substituted for another accus. (such as 'comitatem') depending upon 'exercebat' (cp. a similar change in 11. 21, 4); 'et . . . quoque' being used as in 4. 7, 4, etc. Orelli and Nipp. place the comma after 'ignotis,' which is thus taken, without precedent, to depend on 'exercebat,' and can hardly be defended by such instances of interchange of the dat. with accus. and prep. as those cited from 12. 55, 1; 13. 21, 9; 14. 38, 5. Nipp. thinks Tacitus

4 aderant etiam fortuita, corpus procerum, decora facies: sed
procul gravitas morum aut voluptatum parsimonia; levitati ac
5 magnificentiae et aliquando luxu indulgebat. idque pluribus
probabatur, qui in tanta vitiorum dulcedine summum imperium
non restrictum nec perseverum volunt.

1 **49.** Initium coniurationi non a cupidine ipsius fuit; nec
tamen facile memoraverim, quis primus auctor, cuius instinctu
2 concitum sit quod tam multi sumpserunt. promptissimos
Subrium Flavum tribunum praetoriae cohortis et Sulpicium
Asprum centurionem extitisse constantia exitus docuit: et
Lucanus Annaeus Plautiusque Lateranus vivida odia intulere.
3 Lucanum propriae causae accendebant, quod famam carminum
eius premebat Nero prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adsimula-

may have written 'ignotos,' but even thus the sentence would have a weak ending.

2. **parsimonia,** 'sparingness.' Jacob cites an approach to this meaning from Plaut. Most. 1. 3, 78 ('dies noctesque estur, bibitur, neque quisquam parcimoniam adhibet'). Dr. illustrates this use of the objective genit. by such expressions as 'vulgi largitio,' 'adpulsu litoris' (H. 1. 46, 7; 2. 59, 2).

levitati: so most edd. after Ern. for the Med. 'lenitati,' which could hardly be used otherwise than in a good sense; and 'levitas' is naturally opposed to 'gravitas,' as 'magnificentia' and 'luxus' to 'parsimonia.'

3. **luxu:** on this form of dat. cp. 3. 30, 4, and note.

pluribus: cp. 'pluribus ipsa licentia placebat' (14. 21, 1).

5. **restrictum,** 'strict'; so used adjectively only here, and in Appul. etc.; but the adv. has this sense in Cic. etc. Tac. so uses 'adstrictus mos' (3. 55, 5), and 'adductius imperitare' (H. 3. 7, 2): see note on 12. 7, 6.

perseverum, ἅπ. εἰρ.: cp. 'persimplex' (c. 45, 6), and note.

6. **ipsius:** sc. 'Pisonis.'

9. **Subrium Flavum.** The Med. text 'flauium' is thus corrected by Bekk. and subsequent edd. from the other places in which the name occurs (c. 58, 4; 67, 1 etc.; 'flaus' c. 50, 6). In Dio (62. 24, 1) Σούβιος (or Σούβριος) Φλαούιος is read.

Sulpicium Asprum. The second name is Ἄπρος (or Ἄσπρος) in Dio (l. c.).

10. **exitus,** often used of death, as in c. 63, 4, 1. 10, 2, etc.

11. **Lucanus Annaeus,** here first mentioned. According to an old life prefixed to his works, he was only twenty-six at the time of his death (c. 70, 1); but the biography ascribed to Suet. states that he had been already quaestor. On his father, the brother of Seneca, see 16. 17, 4. The enumeration of his works in the anonymous life above mentioned can be partly illustrated from Stat. Sylv. 2. 7, and other writers. On his relations to Nero, and his expressions of opinion in the 'Pharsalia,' see Introd. p. 76, foll.

Plautius Lateranus, nephew of Plautius Silvanus, the first legatus of Britain (see 11. 36, 5, etc.). The words 'consul designatus' here following in Med. appear to be interpolated, as that fact is mentioned just below in an appropriate connexion with 'nulla iniuria.' Ritt. retains the words here and brackets those below.

intulere, brought into the plot. Doed. compares 'misericordiam . . . simul atque intuleris' (Cic. de Or. 2. 53, 214).

13. **ostentare,** 'to display his talent' by publication or recitation. It has been doubted whether the whole of the 'Pharsalia' had not been at least made known in the latter way (see Introd. p. 77, 2); and the statement of Dio (62. 29, 4) and the anonymous biographer, that he was forbidden to write poetry at all, is an apparent exaggeration; as are perhaps other stories told of their literary rivalries; though the general fact of such rivalry (see Heitland, Introd. to Lucan, p. xxviii) may be accepted.

vanus adsimulatione, 'vainglorious in his comparison' (of himself to Lucan). The noun is not elsewhere used by Tacitus,

tione: Lateranum consulem designatum nulla iniuria, sed amor
rei publicae sociavit. at Flavius Scaevinus et Afranius Quin- 4
tianus, uterque senatorii ordinis, contra famam sui principium
tanti facinoris capessivere. nam Scaevino dissoluta luxu mens 5
et proinde vita somno languida: Quintianus mollitia corporis
infamis et a Nerone probroso carmine diffamatus contumelias
ultum ibat.

50. Ergo dum scelera principis, et finem adesse imperio 1
deligendumque qui fessis rebus succurreret, inter se aut inter
amicos iaciunt, adgregavere Claudium Senecionem, Cervarium
Proculum, Vulcatium Araricum, Iulium Augurinum, Munatium
Gratum, Antonium Natalem, Marcium Festum, equites Roma-
nos. ex quibus Senecio, e praecipua familiaritate Neronis, 2
speciem amicitiae etiam tum retinens eo pluribus periculis
conflictabatur; Natalis particeps ad omne secretum Pisoni
erat; ceteris spes ex novis rebus petebatur. adscitae sunt 3
super Subrium et Sulpicium, de quibus rettuli, militares manus,

and is otherwise rare; but the meaning here given may be illustrated from that of 'adsimulantem' in c. 39, 3. Nipp. follows Lips. and Urs. in reading 'aemulatione,' taking it to mean 'made foolish by jealousy,' supposing that he could suppress the fame of Lucan by such paltry devices. A story of some apparent affront is given in the Vit. Suet. 'aegre ferens recitante se subito ac nulla nisi refrigerandi sui causa indicto senatu Neronem recessisse.'

2. **Flavius Scaevinus**: see c. 53, 3, etc.

Afranius Quintianus: see c. 56, 4; 70, 2.

3. **famam sui**, 'their reputation' (cp. 2. 13, 1; Introd. i. v. § 33 a).

principium . . . capessivere, 'took the lead': cp. 'primas sibi partes expostulante Scaevino' (c. 53, 3). The words here point the contrast of 'contra famam sui.' Nipp. thinks that allusion is also implied to their subsequent weakness (c. 56, 3, 4).

5. **somno**, 'indolence': cp. 'somno et luxu pudendus' (H. 2. 90, 1).

mollitia corporis: cp. 11. 2, 1.

6. **probroso carmine**. Another lampoon of Nero on one Clodius Pollio, of praetorian rank, is alluded to in Suet. Dom. 1.

diffamatus: cp. 14. 22, 5, and note.

8. **finem adesse**: probably an allusion to the augury of the comet (c. 47, 1).

9. **fessis rebus succurreret**: from Verg. Aen. 11, 335.

10. **iaciunt**, 'they drop hints': cp. 1. 10, 8, etc.

adgregavere: sc. 'sibi' ('they gathered to themselves'). Dr. notes a parallel ellipse of 'iis' in Caes. B. G. 4. 26, 1 ('alius alia ex navi, quibuscunque signis occurreret, se adgregabat').

Claudium Senecionem: see 13. 12, 1. The other knights here mentioned are previously unknown. Proculus is again mentioned in c. 66, 3; 71, 2; Natalis in c. 54, 1; 55, 6; etc. The name 'Claudium' is here wrongly 'Tullium' in Med.; also 'Vulcatium' is a correction of Rhen. (cp. 4. 43, 8; 16. 8, 3; H. 4. 9, 2) for 'uulgacium.' For 'Augurinum,' old edd. read 'Tugurinum' and 'Aurinum.'

13. **ex quibus**. This, as Jacob points out, extends its force also to 'Natalis' and 'ceteri.' The two first had special reasons for joining, Senecio as exposed to danger from the conspirators themselves, on the ground of friendship to Nero; Natalis, as intimately connected with the head of the conspiracy; the others stood on equal ground as having something to hope for from a revolution.

e praecipua familiaritate = 'e praecipuis familiaribus'; abstr. for concr., as 'amicitia' in 2. 27, 3, etc.

17. **militares manus**, ἅπ. εἰρ. for

Gavius Silvanus et Statius Proximus tribuni cohortium prae-
4 toriarum, Maximus Scaurus et Venetus Paulus centuriones. sed summum robur in Faenio Rufo praefecto videbatur, quem vita famaque laudatum per saevitiam inpudicitiamque Tigellinus in animo principis anteibat, fatigabatque criminationibus ac saepe in metum adduxerat quasi adulterum Agrippinae et
5 desiderio eius ultioni intentum. igitur ubi coniuratis praefectum quoque praetorii in partes descendisse crebro ipsius sermone facta fides, promptius iam de tempore ac loco caedis
6 agitabant. et cepisse impetum Subrius Flavus ferebatur in scaena canentem Neronem adgrediendi, aut cum ardente domo
7 per noctem huc illuc cursaret incustoditus. hic occasio solitudinis, ibi ipsa frequentia tanti decoris testis pulcherrima animum exstimulaverant, nisi impunitatis cupido retinuisset, magnis semper conatibus adversa.

'militares viri' (c. 26, 3, etc.). The expression has, no doubt, special reference to the action on hand.

1. **Gavius Silvanus**: see c. 60, 6; 71, 4. His antecedents are shown by an inscription (Or. 3568; C. I. L. v. 2. 7003) found at Turin (which may have been his birthplace): 'C. Gavio, L. f., Stell.(atina tribu), Silvano, primipilari leg. viii. Aug(ustae), tribuno coh. ii. vigilum, tribuno coh. xiii. urban(ae), tribuno coh. xii. praetor(iae), donis donato a divo Claud(io), bello Britannico, torquibus, armillis, phaleris, corona aurea, patrono coloni(ae), d(ecurionum) d(ecreto).' This inscription gives evidence of the increase of the praetorian cohorts since the time of Tiberius (see 4. 5, 5; Introd. p. 36, 2).

Statius Proximus: see c. 71, 4.

3. **Faenio Rufo**, appointed joint praefect with Tigellinus on the death of Burrus: see 14. 51, 5, and note.

vita famaque; so coupled in 6. 51, 5: for 'fama laudatum,' cp. 'celeberrimae fama' (c. 37, 2, and note).

5. **in animo principis**, 'in the goodwill of the prince': cp. 4. 12, 6; 12. 3, 3, and note.

6. **adulterum Agrippinae**: he had become praef. annonae during her lifetime (13. 22, 1), and evidently through her influence.

10. **cepisse impetum**, 'conceived an impulse,' an analogous phrase to 'cepisse consilium.' Cp. 'infregit impetum' (c. 58, 4).

in scaena canentem. Nipp. thinks the occasion would be the Juvenalia; which may have been kept up until the date of the conspiracy (see note on 14. 15, 1). There may also have been other such occasions as that mentioned in c. 33, 2.

11. **ardente domo**, during the fire of the preceding year (c. 39, 1). The conspiracy, as shown in 14. 65, 2, had originated before that date; and to take advantage of such an occasion, though it could not have entered into the plan of the conspirators, might well have been a sudden impulse ('impetus'). It is remarkable, on the other hand, that no such conduct on the part of Nero is related at the time by Tacitus or any other author; whence Orelli and Madvig may be right in thinking the sentence corrupt; though such emendations as 'abscedens domo,' 'arte dormiente domo,' 'ardens amore,' are infelicitous.

12. **hic . . . ibi**, 'in this case . . . in that.' Nipp. compares Agr. 32, 5, 'hic dux, hic exercitus, ibi tributa,' etc.

13. **pulcherrima**: so most modern edd. after Urlichs: the old edd., with Med., read 'pulcherrimum' (taken with 'animum'), which Baiter retains. Orelli had previously read 'pulcherrimum ad facinus.' Ritt. inserts 'eius' after 'animum.'

14. **exstimulaverant**. This, the correction by an old hand of the original Med. text, 'exstimulauerat,' has been generally followed, and is in accordance

51. Interim cunctantibus prolatantibusque spem ac metum 1
Epicharis quaedam, incertum quonam modo sciscitata (neque
illi ante ulla rerum honestarum cura fuerat), accendere et arguere
coniuratos, ac postremum lentitudinis eorum pertaesa et in
Campania agens primores classiariorum Misenensium labefacere
et conscientia inligare conisa est tali initio. erat navarchus in 2
ea classe Volusius Proculus, occidendae matris Neroni inter
ministros, non ex magnitudine sceleris provectus, ut rebatur.
is mulieri olim cognitus, seu recens orta amicitia, dum merita 3
erga Neronem sua et quam in inritum cecidissent aperit adicitque
questus et destinationem vindictae, si facultas oreretur, spem
dedit posse inpelli et plures conciliare: nec leve auxilium in
classe, crebras occasiones, quia Nero multo apud Puteolos et
Misenum maris usu laetabatur. ergo Epicharis plura et omnia 4

with Tacitean usage: see 3. 62, 1, and note; Halm, Not. Crit. on 16. 20, 2. On the indic. see Introd. i. v. § 50 b. 2.

impunitatis cupido, etc. Nipp. notes the similar sentiment 'spe vitae, quae plerumque magnos animos infringit' (H. 5. 26, 1).

1. **cunctantibus prolatantibusque,** concise abl. abs. (see Introd. i. v. § 31, c.). Here 'coniuratis' can be supplied from the accus. below, as the accus. from the abl. in c. 30, 1.

spem ac metum. Their hesitation prolonged the period of uncertainty, instead of bringing hopes and fears to an end by decision.

2. **sciscitata.** This word implies active inquiry, not chance knowledge; and the context may be taken to imply that such interest in it on her part was unexpected. But we should expect some such words as 'quam ob causam' rather than 'quonam modo,' and there is some reason for the conjecture 'suscitata' (Vertran.), which Madvig (Adv. iii. 237) thinks required by the context.

3. **accendere et arguere,** 'kindles their spirit and censures their feebleness.' The conjecture 'urguere' (Halm and Ritt., after Pluygers) is needless.

4. **pertaesa.** This participle appears to be elsewhere always used impersonally with such a genit., or personally with accus. (Suet.).

et . . . agens; another reason for her conduct is subjoined. She was weary of their dilatoriness, and, being in Campania, had an opportunity of acting on her own impulse.

5. **primores,** 'the officers.' Nipp. compares 'primores castrorum' (H. 3. 31, 3).

labefacere, 'to undermine'; in the sense of 'fidem eorum labefacere' (cp. Suet. Vesp. 4). Tacitus elsewhere uses it in the sense of shaking a person's position (4. 60, 4; 6. 29, 5).

6. **conscientia inligare,** 'to entangle them in complicity': cp. 'conscientia matris innexum' (3. 10, 4). 'Conitor' is so used with inf. in Liv. 9. 31, 12.

navarchus: Med. has 'erant uarchus' (Ritt.). Several older edd. had followed Lips. in reading 'chiliarchus' (with some inferior MSS.); but no such naval officer is known. The term 'nauarchus' appears to be distinct in inscriptions from 'trierarchus' (see Henzen, Ind. p. 142), and denotes, according to Vegetius (5, 2), the captain of a Liburnian ship ('singulae Liburnae singulos nauarchos . . . habebant'), but may sometimes be used of a 'trierarchus,' as perhaps 'liburnica' of a 'triremis' (see note on 16. 14, 5, and cp. H. 2. 16, 2, etc.). Proculus is not mentioned in the narrative of the death of Agrippina (14. 5–8).

9. **recens,** adv., as in 2. 21, 1; 12. 8, 2, etc.

merita . . . et quam, etc. On the coordination of a noun with such a sentence see Introd. i. v. § 91, 8.

10. **in inritum cecidissent:** cp. c. 39, 3.

11. **destinationem vindictae,** 'his purpose of vengeance.'

14. **plura.** Madvig (Adv. ii. 557) thinks the verb of speaking can hardly be

scelera principis orditur; neque senatui *neque populo* quidquam
5 manere. sed provisum quonam modo poenas eversae rei pub-
licae daret: accingeretur modo navare operam et militum
acerrimos ducere in partes, ac digna pretia exspectaret; nomina
6 tamen coniuratorum reticuit. unde Proculi indicium inritum
7 fuit, quamvis ea quae audierat ad Neronem detulisset. accita
quippe Epicharis et cum indice composita nullis testibus in-
8 nisum facile confutavit. sed ipsa in custodia retenta est,
suspectante Nerone haud falsa esse etiam quae vera non pro-
babantur.

1 **52.** Coniuratis tamen metu proditionis permotis placitum
maturare caedem apud Baias in villa Pisonis, cuius amoenitate
captus Caesar crebro ventitabat balneasque et epulas inibat
2 omissis excubiis et fortunae suae mole. sed abnuit Piso, invi-
diam praetendens, si sacra mensae dique hospitales caede
qualiscumque principis cruentarentur: melius apud urbem in
illa invisa et spoliis civium exstructa domo vel in publico patra-

supplied from 'orditur'; and would read 'deplorare,' which does not suit the context well.

1. **neque senatui**, etc. Halm adopts from Madvig (l. l.), with a variation of order, this emendation of the Med. 'neque senatui quid manere,' which has given rise to many conjectures; one of which, that of Thomas ('neque sancti quid manere'), is adopted by Orelli, Nipp., and Jacob. The latter, however, notes that the Med. text as it stands might express the aristocratic language which Epicharis was but repeating, according to which the retrenchment of the prerogative of the senate was tantamount to 'eversio reipublicae.'

3. **accingeretur.** The inf. after this verb appears to be taken from Verg. G. 3, 46 ('accingar dicere pugnas'): see Introd. i. v. § 43.

4. **in partes**, 'to the party' (of conspirators): cp. 2. 43, 3.

6. **quamvis**, here used, like 'quamquam,' to denote a fact ('although he had reported'): cp. 11. 20, 3, etc.; Introd. i. v. § 53.

7. **composita**, 'confronted'; in a sense akin to that borrowed from the arena (cp. 5. 1, 5; 16. 10, 3, and notes).

8. **confutavit**, 'silenced him'; so 'confutare verbis' (Ter. Heaut. 5. 1, 76; Phorm. 3. 1, 13), 'audaciam confutet' (Cic. Part. Or. 38, 134), etc.

9. **suspectante**: cp. 1. 5, 1, and note.

quae vera, etc., 'that what was not proved to be true might yet not be false.'

13. **ventitabat**: 'eo' can be supplied from 'cuius,' which therefore need not be altered (with Pichena) to 'quo, eius.'

balneas. Med. has here 'ualneas,' and in H. 3. 11, 3, 'balnearum,' but elsewhere either the form 'balneum' (c. 64, 5; 69, 3; 14. 64, 3) or 'balineae' (H. 3. 32, 5; 83, 2; probably also 16. 11, 4; H. 2. 16, 5), to which form Ritt. corrects these places.

14. **fortunae suae mole**, 'the cumbrous pride of his state,' i. e. the retinue belonging to his rank: 'moles' is used for the burden of empire in 1. 4, 3, etc. For the sense of 'fortuna' cp. 14. 53, 3, etc.

invidiam, the odium attaching to such an act (2. 65, 6; 13. 15, 4).

15. **sacra mensae**: cp. 13. 17, 3, and note: here 'di hospitales' seems to be explanatory, and to mean the Lares.

16. **qualiscumque principis**, 'of a prince, however wicked.'

in illa . . . domo: cp. c. 42, 1, and note. Dr. notes the emphasis laid on the epithets by the order of words, as in Dial. 12, 4 ('apud illos dis genitos sacrosque reges'). Tacitus appears to forget that the building of the new palace could only just have been commenced. Nero was residing, at the time of the intended

turos quod pro re publica suscepissent. haec in commune, 3
ceterum timore occulto, ne L. Silanus eximia nobilitate disciplinaque C. Cassii, apud quem educatus erat, ad omnem claritudinem sublatus imperium invaderet, prompte daturis qui a coniuratione integri essent quique miserarentur Neronem tamquam per scelus interfectum. plerique Vestini quoque consulis 4
acre ingenium vitavisse Pisonem crediderunt, ne ad libertatem oreretur, vel delecto imperatore alio sui muneris rem publicam faceret. etenim expers coniurationis erat, quamvis super eo 5
crimine Nero vetus adversum insontem odium expleverit.

53. Tandem statuere circensium ludorum die, qui Cereri cele- 1
bratur, exsequi destinata, quia Caesar rarus egressu domoque

attack, in the Servilian Gardens (c. 55, 1).

1. **in commune,** 'before all' (in contrast to 'timore occulto'): cp. c. 63, 1, and note. The phrase has more generally the sense of 'communiter,' as in 3. 27, 5; 13. 27, 6; 15. 12, 6, etc.

2. **ceterum** = 'revera autem': cp. 1. 10, 1, and note.

timore occulto, etc. The fear was lest Silanus and Vestinus should be able to take prompt measures in Rome on Nero's death, without any one to counteract them on the spot.

Silanus, L. Junius Silanus Torquatus, a direct descendant of Augustus (see Introd. i. ix. p. 139). A Greek inscription (C. I. G. 369) shows him to have been 'flamen Iulianus,' one of the 'sodales Augustales' (1. 54, 1), and to have held the youthful offices of 'praefectus urbis' ('ob ferias Latinas': cp. 4. 36, 1) and 'triumvir monetalis,' probably also to have been 'quaestor Neronis' (this part is mutilated). On his death, see 16. 7, 2, foll.

3. **C. Cassii,** the jurist; see 12. 11, 4, and note.

ad omnem claritudinem: sc. 'capessendam.'

4. **prompte daturis,** 'since those would readily give it' ('imperium' is supplied from the context). The old edd. all read 'daturis operam,' with inferior MSS.

a coniuratione integri. This construction is rare, but classical: cp. Sall. H. 1. 52 D, 55 K, 62 G ('a populi suffragiis integer'); Caes. B. G. 3. 26, 2 ('integrae [v. l. 'intritae'] ab labore'); Liv. 9. 41, 8 ('gentis integrae a cladibus').

7. **acre ingenium,** 'the energetic spirit.' On Vestinus see c. 48, 1, and note.

ad libertatem oreretur, 'should lead a movement to a republican constitution.' This seems to be the true correction of the Med. text 'ad libertate moreretur' (cp. the text in 11. 23, 7); but such a sense of 'orior' is wholly unprecedented. Jac. Gron. would read 'moveretur' (a word hardly suitable to an 'acre ingenium'); Lips. 'aut libertatem moliretur.' For the sense of 'libertas' cp. 1. 33, 4, etc.

8. **sui muneris,** 'matter of his bestowal.' The genit. is analogous to 'morum' (1. 80, 2), 'flagitii' (3. 20, 2): see Introd. i. v. § 35. The expression may show a trace of Hor. Od. 4. 3, 21 ('totum muneris hoc tui est').

9. **super eo crimine,** 'in relation to that charge'; i.e. taking it as a pretext: cp. 'biduum super hac imagine cognitionis absumptum' (3. 17, 6); also 6. 49, 3; c. 36, 2, etc.

10. **vetus . . . odium expleverit**: see c. 68 and 69.

11. **circensium . . . die**: cp. 'Circensium Cerealium ludicrum' (c. 74, 1). These games to Ceres are shown by old kalendars (Or. Insc. ii. p. 388, foll.) and by Ov. F. 4, 389, foll., to have begun on the 12th of April and lasted to the 19th, and to have been circensian on the first and last days. The date of the festival fixes that of the discovery of the plot.

12. **rarus egressu.** The form of expression is varied from that of 14. 45, 2 ('rarus in publicum egressus,' sc. 'Poppaeae') and 14. 56, 6 ('rarus per urbem,' sc. 'Seneca'); and the construction is here that of a supine: cp. 3. 1, 2; 4.

aut hortis clausus ad ludicra circi ventitabat promptioresque
2 aditus erant laetitia spectaculi. ordinem insidiis composuerant,
ut Lateranus, quasi subsidium rei familiari oraret, deprecabundus
et genibus principis accidens prosterneret incautum premeretque,
3 animi validus et corpore ingens. tum iacentem et impeditum
tribuni et centuriones et ceterorum, ut quisque audentiae habuisset, adcurrerent trucidarentque, primas sibi partes expostulante
Scaevino, qui pugionem templo Salutis sive, ut alii tradidere,
Fortunae Ferentino in oppido detraxerat gestabatque velut
4 magno operi sacrum. interim Piso apud aedem Cereris opperi-

40, 2, etc., also 'rarius dictu' (Gell. 9. 7, 3).

2. **laetitia spectaculi**, causal abl., 'owing to the gaiety of the show' (all being off their guard). Prof. Holbrooke compares 'convivii laetitia' (13. 16, 7).

composuerant, 'they had arranged': cp. 3. 40, 3, and note.

3. **quasi subsidium . . . oraret**: for such appeals from individuals to the prince see 1. 75, 6; 2. 37, 1, etc.

deprecabundus, ἅπ. εἰρ. It is noted that the plan of attack resembles that adopted in the assassination of Julius Caesar.

5. **animi**: on this genit. see Introd. i. v. 33 e γ.

6. **tribuni et centuriones**, i. e. the military men who had joined the plot (c. 49, 2; 50, 3). The insertion of 'caederent' after the latter word (Ritt.) would give these persons a prominence inconsistent with that claimed here by Scaevinus.

ut quisque audentiae habuisset: 'quisque' is supplied again with 'ceterorum.' The genit. with 'habere' is a Graecism, adopted from a frequent use of a genit. of respect with ἔχειν (also with εἶναι and κεῖσθαι), as ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος (Hdt. 8. 107, 2), ὡς τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι (Thuc. i. 22, 3): see Jelf Gr. Gr. § 528. 'Audentia' is used only in a good sense (G. 31, 1; 34, 3); 'audacia' (the reading here of some inferior MSS. and old edd.) is more frequently taken 'in malam partem.'

7. **adcurrerent**. The simple accus. after this verb, found (according to Dr.) elsewhere only in Apul., is analogous to many other such in Tacitus (see Introd. i. v. § 12 c); and the irregularity is here softened (as Nipp. points out) by the addition of 'trucidarent.'

8. **Salutis sive . . . Fortunae**. It is probable, as Orelli notes, that the same goddess is really meant, both names being synonyms for the Tuscan Nortia (on whom see Juv. 10, 74, and Mayor ad loc.). The words 'in Etruria,' inserted after 'Salutis' in Med., have been bracketed or omitted as a gloss by most edd. after Ern., who rightly notes that so vague a description would not have been used.

9. **Ferentino in oppido**. The place meant is probably not the old Latin or Hernican town (Liv. 4. 51. 7, etc.), but another of the same name in Etruria (now Ferento, near Viterbo), known as the birthplace of the emperor Otho (H. 2. 50, 1; Suet. Oth. 1). Med. here has the corrupt name 'frentano,' but in H. l. l. reads 'ferentio,' which Nipp. takes to give the correct form of the name, as supported by the best MSS. of Suet. (l. l. and Vesp. 3) and 'Ferentienses' in Insc. Henzen, 6634. On the other hand, Strabo (5. 2, 9, 226) and Plin. (N. H. 3. 5, 8, 52) give the name as 'Ferentinum,' as do also some MSS. in Suet.; and Orelli reads 'Ferentinensium' in Insc. 3507. Ptol. gives the name (3. 1, 50) as Φερεντία.

detraxerat. The dagger had probably been dedicated as a votive offering. Orelli notes the presentation to Vitellius of the sword of Julius Caesar, 'detractum delubro Martis,' at the beginning of his career as emperor (Suet. Vit. 8). Scaevinus himself gives a different story (c. 55, 3).

gestabat. The wearing must have been concealed (see 4. 21, 3; 11. 22, 1).

10. **aedem Cereris**, near the Circus Maximus (2. 49, 1). The narrative would imply that this, and the Circus itself, had been already restored since the fire (see note on c. 40. 4).

retur, unde eum praefectus Faenius et ceteri accitum ferrent
in castra, comitante Antonia Claudii Caesaris filia ad eliciendum
vulgi favorem, quod C. Plinius memorat. nobis quoquo modo 5
traditum non occultare in animo fuit, quamvis absurdum videretur aut inanem ad spem Antoniam nomen et periculum commodavisse, aut Pisonem notum amore uxoris alii matrimonio se obstrinxisse, nisi si cupido dominandi cunctis adfectibus flagrantior est.

54. Sed mirum quam inter diversi generis ordinis, aetatis 1
sexus, dites pauperes taciturnitate omnia cohibita sint, donec proditio coepit e domo Scaevini; qui pridie insidiarum multo sermone cum Antonio Natale, dein regressus domum testamentum obsignavit, promptum vagina pugionem, de quo supra

1. **ferrent in castra**: on this custom at the choice of an emperor see 12. 69, 1, and note.

2. **Antonia**: see 12. 2, 1, etc. Some such story as that which Tacitus rejects appears (whether true or not) to have been made a pretext for putting her to death, soon after the time at which the Annals now end: cp. Suet. Ner. 35 ('Antoniam Claudi filiam, recusantem post Poppaeae mortem nuptias suas, quasi molitricem novarum rerum interemit').

3. **C. Plinius**: see 13. 20, 3, Introd. I. iii. p. 12, and note on 13. 31, 1: for such refutations of current stories cp. 4. 10, 1, foll., etc.

quoquo modo, 'truly or falsely': cp. 'quoquo modo audita' (3. 19, 3).

5. **inanem ad spem**, such a hope as that of becoming wife of Piso as emperor; a mere possibility, which the historian thinks could not even have been held out to her.

6. **commodavisse**, used more strictly with 'nomen,' but capable of being taken also with 'periculum' in the sense of undergoing danger in the hope of reward. Jacob compares such expressions as 'commodare sanguinem' (Agr. 32, 2), 'scelera' (Sen. Med. 907).

amore uxoris: see c. 59, 8.

7. **obstrinxisse**. This verb appears to be used elsewhere with the dat. only in Lactant. Inst. 3. 18, 6, in the sense rather of becoming guilty ('eidem sceleri obstrictus est').

nisi si, suggesting a motive which might make such an act possible. In other places where the indic. follows (see 6. 25, 1 and note), the expression is equivalent to 'nisi forte,' and is probably to be so taken here. The meaning 'were it not that' is found in G. 2, 2, with the subjunct. ('nisi si patria sit').

9. **diversi generis**, 'persons of different family.'

10. **taciturnitate**: 'tacere' has a more limited meaning than 'silere,' denoting the refraining from speaking by an effort of will.

11. **proditio coepit**, etc. Plutarch gives (περὶ ἀδολεσχ. 7) an entirely different account, making the discovery take place through the indiscreet remark of the principal assassin (Scaevinus?) to a criminal about to be brought before Nero ('pray that this day may pass over you, and you shall return thanks to me to-morrow'); which led to his arrest and confession under torture. Lips. endeavoured to reconcile the stories by supposing this to refer to the Vinician conspiracy (Suet. Ner. 36); but that took place at Beneventum, and the scene of this anecdote is laid by Plutarch at Rome. Natalis has been mentioned in c. 50, 1.

multo sermone. It has been shown at length by J. H. Müller (Beitr. iv. pp. 39–45) that no verb need be inserted here: the expression may be taken as one of the frequent concise uses in Tacitus of the abl. abs. (Introd. i. v. § 31), or better as a concise abl. of quality (Id. § 29), similar to those in 14. 23, 3, and perhaps in 6. 20, 1. The ellipse of 'fuerat,' or 'egerat,' as here, is also common with Tacitus (Id. §§ 38, 39).

13. **promptum vagina**. This use of the abl. of place whence is poetical: cp. 6. 40, 1, and note; Dr. Synt. und Stil, 56 b.

rettuli, vetustate obtusum increpans, asperari saxo et in mucro-
nem ardescere iussit eamque curam liberto Milicho mandavit.
2 simul adfluentius solito convivium initum, servorum carissimi
3 libertate et alii pecunia donati. atque ipse maestus et magnae
cogitationis manifestus erat, quamvis laetitiam vagis sermonibus
4 simularet. postremo vulneribus ligamenta quibusque sistitur
sanguis parare eundem Milichum monet, sive gnarum coniura-
tionis et illuc usque fidum, seu nescium et tunc primum arreptis
5 suspicionibus, ut plerique tradidere de consequentibus. nam
cum secum servilis animus praemia perfidiae reputavit simulque
inmensa pecunia et potentia obversabantur, cessit fas et salus
6 patroni et acceptae libertatis memoria. etenim uxoris quoque
consilium adsumpserat muliebre ac deterius: quippe ultro metum

supra rettuli, c. 53, 3.

1. **asperari**, used similarly of making points for arrows in G. 46. 3 ('sagittas, inopia ferri, ossibus asperant'). The word is mainly poetical, and is used oftener by Tacitus metaphorically (e. g. 1. 72, 5).

in mucronem ardescere. Nipp. compares 'nisi cotibus asper Exarsit mucro' (Luc. 7, 139) and 'semper ardentes acuens sagittas Cote cruenta' (Hor. Od. 2. 8, 15); in both of which passages, as here, the verb appears to imply the heating by friction. For the use of 'in' to express the result ('so as to get a point') see Introd. i. v. § 60 b.

2. **Milicho**, a slave name, denoting quality (μείλιχος), like 'Pudens,' 'Modestus,' 'Tranquillus,' and many others.

3. **adfluentius**, 'more luxurious': cp. 'adfluentia' (3. 30, 4).

4. **alii.** These are probably part of the 'carissimi'; the expression being equivalent to 'alii . . . alii': see 1. 63, 7 (and note); 12. 41, 5.

5. **manifestus**, with genit. as in 2. 85, 3; 12. 51, 5, etc.

vagis sermonibus, probably to be taken, with Orelli, to mean 'desultory conversations,' rambling from one subject to another, showing forced brilliancy and hilarity. Such a sense is unusual and wholly different from 'vago rumore' (2. 39, 4) or 'completque vagis (sc. "late sparsis") sermonibus aures Gloria fusa Probi' (Claud. Prob. et Olybr. cons. 34); and it is possible that 'variis' should be read: cp. 'vario sermone serebant' (Verg. Aen. 6, 160).

7. **parare**, the reading of nearly all edd. from Put.; though some attempts have been made to approach nearer to the Med. text 'partiebatque,' such as 'partiebat, idque' (Ritt.), 'petebat, quae' (Haase), 'parat, itemque' (Halm, Not. Crit.). The true reading must be considered wholly uncertain.

9. **de consequentibus.** It seems impossible to take these words with 'tradidere,' in any such sense as that of 'ex consequentibus coniectantes,' 'drawing an inference from his subsequent conduct' (inferring from his prompt betrayal that he would have so acted sooner if he had known the plot). Yet the force of 'nam' is lost if we follow Orelli in taking the words with 'suspicionibus' (by placing a comma after 'tradidere'), in the sense of 'having caught up a suspicion as to the consequences' (i. e. as to what might be likely to follow). It would thus seem that the words are corrupt; but no emendation has been proposed, beyond that of Heins. and Nipp., who bracket them. It may be noted that the disclosures of Milichus, as given in c. 55, 1, imply more knowledge than is here mentioned.

13. **muliebre ac deterius.** The first adjective explains the other (='muliebre atque ideo deterius'). Her baser counsel consists in the suggestion that others might be before him in betrayal.

ultro metum intentabat, i. e. she was so far from reasoning against his former motives, those of cupidity (§ 5), that she added another. 'She went on to hold over his head the thought of danger.' 'Intentare metum' is noted by Dr. as a new phrase; but we have 'terror . . . intentabatur' (3. 28, 6); 'necem

intentabat, multosque adstitisse libertos ac servos, qui eadem viderint; nihil profuturum unius silentium; at praemia penes unum fore, qui indicio praevenisset.

55. Igitur coepta luce Milichus in hortos Servilianos pergit; 1
et cum foribus arceretur, magna et atrocia adferre dictitans
deductusque ab ianitoribus ad libertum Neronis Epaphroditum,
mox ab eo ad Neronem, urguens periculum, graves coniuratos
et cetera quae audierat coniectaverat docet. telum quoque 2
in necem eius paratum ostendit accirique reum iussit. is raptus 3
per milites et defensionem orsus, ferrum, cuius argueretur, olim
religione patria cultum et in cubiculo habitum ac fraude liberti
subreptum respondit, tabulas testamenti saepius a se et incusto-
dita dierum observatione signatas. pecunias et libertates servis 4

intentat' (14. 62, 5), etc. 'Metus' is taken in the sense of 'metuendum aliquid,' as in c. 45, 2, etc.

1. **multosque**, etc.; a verb of speaking is supplied. Nipp. well supplies the connexion between the sentences. In the former she had roused his fears by showing that, if the plot were detected through other means, he would have to fear being taken for an accomplice; she then shows that such discovery was highly probable.

2. **viderint.** Nipp. thinks that 'audierint' should be added, as referring to the command to sharpen the sword. Heins. would alter 'viderint' to 'audierint.' The perf. appears to be used to give life to the narrative.

4. **coepta luce**: cp. 1. 65, 3, etc.

hortos Servilianos. These are mentioned by Suet. (Ner. 47) as the refuge of Nero when he meditated flight to Ostia, and by Tacitus (H. 3. 38, 2) as occupied by Vitellius. The passage in Suet. would show them to have been between the Palatine and the Porta Ostiensis. The site is unknown, but is conjectured by Nibby to have been near the bastion San Gallo.

6. **Epaphroditum** (Med. 'et aphroditum'). This freedman seems to have succeeded Doryphorus (14. 65, 1) in the department 'a libellis,' (Suet. Ner. 49). He helped Nero to his death, for which he was himself put to death by Domitian (Suet. Dom. 14). He was an intimate friend of Josephus, who dedicated to him his Antiquities (Vit. 76; Ant. Pr. 2), and addresses him in c. Ap. 1. 1; 2. 42. He is also noted as having had Epictetus as his slave (Suid. s. v. Ἐπίκτητος); and an anecdote of him is preserved in Arr. Epict. 1. 26, 11.

7. **graves**, 'were formidable.' Nipp. compares such expressions as 'gravis hostis,' 'adversarius,' etc. The old edd. generally read 'coniurationes,' with G.

8. **audierat coniectaverat.** The asyndeton appears to emphasise the last word (see Introd. i. v. § 65). The old edd. generally read 'coniectaveratque,' and Halm follows Wurm in inserting 'aut'; but these appear to weaken the language.

9. **iussit.** Ritt. thinks this could not be said of a freedman, and that 'Nero' must be inserted.

10. **cuius argueretur**, 'on which the charge against him was grounded.' By a concise expression, the sword is taken to mean that which he was charged with intending to do with it. On such pregnant meanings of words see Introd. i. v. § 84.

11. **religione patria cultum**, 'had been treated with reverence in his family.' He denies that it had been taken from elsewhere, (c. 53, 3), and asserts that it had been always kept in his bedroom as a family relic.

12. **incustodita dierum observatione**, 'without caring to note the days on which he did so,' so that it was matter of accident that he had done so on that particular day. This sense of 'incustoditus,' noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ., is easily derivable from the ordinary meaning (12. 4, 2; 13. 41, 3). Jacob appositely compares 'hanc observationem custodiri praecepit' (Plin. N. H. 18. 25, 61, 228).

13. **libertates.** The pl. denotes the several manumissions.

et ante dono datas, sed ideo tunc largius, quia tenui iam re
5 familiari et instantibus creditoribus testamento diffideret. enim-
vero liberales semper epulas struxisse, vitam amoenam et duris
iudicibus parum probatam. fomenta volneribus nulla iussu suo,
sed quia cetera palam vana obiecisset, adiungere crimen, cuius
6 se pariter indicem et testem faceret. adicit dictis constantiam;
incusat ultro intestabilem et consceleratum, tanta vocis ac vultus
securitate, ut labaret indicium, nisi Milichum uxor admonuisset
Antonium Natalem multa cum Scaevino ac secreta conlocutum
et esse utrosque C. Pisonis intimos.

1 **56.** Ergo accitur Natalis, et diversi interrogantur, quisnam
is sermo, qua de re fuisset. tum exorta suspicio, quia non
2 congruentia responderant, inditaque vincla. et tormentorum
aspectum ac minas non tulere: prior tamen Natalis, totius
conspirationis magis gnarus, simul arguendi peritior, de Pisone

2. **testamento diffideret**, he feared that his will would be set aside to satisfy his creditors. Manumission by will, like other legacies, was only ratified after debts were paid; nor does it appear that liberation even during the master's life, if done with intent to defraud creditors, was valid.

enimvero, transitional (cp. 2. 64, 6, and note): 'struxisse,' sc. 'se.'

3. **vitam amoenam**, etc., 'his life had been always luxurious, and such as severe (cp. 1. 54, 4, and note) critics would disapprove' (see c. 49, 5). The old reading 'et vitam' would be taken in the same way, with ellipse of 'fuisse' (Introd. i. v. § 39), or, less well, by supplying 'egisse' by zeugma from 'struxisse.' A similar ellipse has to be supplied with 'fomenta.'

5. **quia cetera**, etc., 'since the other charges resting on patent facts had nothing in them.' 'Palam' could hardly have the force of 'plane,' and would appear to be taken adjectively (cp. 11. 22, 1, and note), and to contrast the other charges with this one.

cuius se: so most edd. with Acid.; others read 'ut sese,' with Pich.; the Med. text is corrupt, being an abbreviation of 'iussisse.' He was adding a charge resting wholly on his own evidence, and which could neither be supported nor refuted. 'Index' and 'testis' are similarly distinguished in 3. 10, 2.

6. **adicit dictis constantiam**, explained by the following words: 'he adds spirit to his defence,' by turning the tables and denouncing his accuser, with such self-possession as to make an impression. 'Intestabilem' = 'detestabilem': cp. 6. 40, 4.

8. **securitate**, 'unconcern' or 'self-possession': cp. 11. 3, 2, etc.

labaret indicium, 'the informer's story was tottering' (in credit): cp. 'labare defensio' (13. 43, 5).

9. **secreta conlocutum**. Orelli compares 'matri secreta loquenti' (Ov. M. 4, 224). It may be supposed that Milichus had accompanied Scaevinus on his visit to Natalis (c. 54, 1).

10. **C. Pisonis**: he was already suspected by Nero (14. 65, 2).

11. **diversi**, 'separately' (cp. 16. 30, 4; G. 16, 1), i. e. each in the other's absence.

13. **inditaque vincla**: cp. 11. 1, 3; 32, 3.

tormentorum. The torture of Roman citizens of even the highest rank, in such cases of treason as touched the person or house of the emperor, seems traceable as early as the time of Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 62); and the existence of the practice is implied in the oath taken by Claudius at his accession (and afterwards broken by him) to abstain from it (Dio, 60. 15, 6). It must be taken at this time to have been a mere stretch of tyranny, though recognised by later jurists as legal: see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 754, 1.

15. **arguendi peritior**, 'more skilled in accusation,' more able to make his tale

primum fatetur, deinde adicit Annaeum Senecam, sive inter-
nuntius inter eum Pisonemque fuit, sive ut Neronis gratiam
pararet, qui infensus Senecae omnes ad eum opprimendum artes
conquirebat. tum cognito Natalis indicio Scaevinus quoque pari 3
inbecillitate, an cuncta iam patefacta credens nec ullum silentii
emolumentum, edidit ceteros. ex quibus Lucanus Quintianus- 4
que et Senecio diu abnuere: post promissa inpunitate corrupti,
quo tarditatem excusarent, Lucanus Aciliam matrem suam,
Quintianus Glitium Gallum, Senecio Annium Pollionem, ami-
corum praecipuos, nominavere.

57. Atque interim Nero recordatus Volusii Proculi indicio 1
Epicharim attineri ratusque muliebre corpus impar dolori tor-
mentis dilacerari iubet. at illam non verbera, non ignes, non 2
ira eo acrius torquentium, ne a femina spernerentur, pervicere
quin obiecta denegaret. sic primus quaestionis dies contemptus.
postero cum ad eosdem cruciatus retraheretur gestamine sellae 3

plausible and acceptable, by giving the names not only of Piso, but also of Seneca, whom Nero especially suspected and hated.

3. **infensus Senecae**: see 14. 52, 2; 56, 5; also c. 23, 6; 45, 6.

5. **inbecillitate, an . . . credens**: cp. 'metu . . . an ratus' (2. 22, 2), also Introd. i. v. § 91, 3.

6. **Lucanus**, etc. On his part in the conspiracy see c. 49, 2; on Quintianus, c. 49, 4; on Senecio, c. 50, 1.

8. **excusarent**, i. e. to show that their reluctance to disclose was but natural.

Aciliam. According to the anonymous Life of Lucan, she was a native of Corduba, and daughter of Acilius Lucanus, one of the famous orators of that place. Her life was spared (c. 71, 12). Her name is so written there in Med., as also in the 'Life': here Med. has 'Atillam,' which many edd. have adopted, after Lips.

9. **Glitium Gallum . . . Annium Pollionem.** These were not among the conspirators named in earlier chapters. Both were exiled (c. 71, 6). The latter is thought to have been grandson of the Annius Pollio and son of the Vinicianus mentioned in 6. 9, 5, and brother of the son-in-law of Corbulo (c. 28, 4). On his wife, the daughter of Soranus, see 16. 30, 4.

12. **Epicharim**: see c. 51, 1. The edd. vary between this form and 'Epicharin'; Med. having 'Apichari,' with traces of a final letter effaced.

attineri, 'was in custody': cp. 6. 23, 5; 13. 15, 4, etc.

tormentis. In Med. the final letter is by a later hand. Ritt. thinks 'tormento' should be read, as 'dilacerari' applies only to the rack.

13. **ignes**, perhaps taken for 'lamminae ardentes,' or the fire to heat them, or perhaps as a distinct form of torture: cp. 'ignes ardentesque lamminae ceterique cruciatus' (Cic. Verr. 5. 63, 163); 'Verbera, carnifices, robur, pix, lammina, taedae' (Lucr. 3, 1017); 'flamma et eculeus et lammina' (Sen. Epp. 78, 19).

14. **ne . . . spernerentur**, 'that they should not be braved': cp. 'si sperneretur incestum' (12. 5, 2); also the use of 'contemptus' below, and 'contemnere ventos' (Verg. G. 2, 360). Tigellinus appears, as on a former occasion (14. 60, 4), to have presided over the torture (Dio, 62. 27, 3).

pervicere quin: cp. 11. 34, 2, and note.

15. **obiecta**, sc. 'crimina.'

primus dies, in pregnant sense, for 'tormenta primi diei' (see Introd. i. v. § 84). 'Contemptus' is sufficiently explained by 'spernerentur' above, to make Prammer's conjecture, 'consumptus' (to which Dr. inclines), needless.

16. **gestamine sellae**: cp. 14. 4, 6, and note.

(nam dissolutis membris insistere nequibat), vinclo fasciae, quam pectori detraxerat, in modum laquei ad arcum sellae restricto indidit cervicem et corporis pondere conisa tenuem iam spiritum expressit, clariore exemplo libertina mulier in tanta necessitate alienos ac prope ignotos protegendo, cum ingenui et viri et equites Romani senatoresque intacti tormentis carissima suorum
4 quisque pignorum proderent. non enim omittebant Lucanus quoque et Senecio et Quintianus passim conscios edere, magis magisque pavido Nerone, quamquam multiplicatis excubiis semet saepsisset.

1 **58.** Quin et urbem, per manipulos occupatis moenibus, insesso
2 etiam mari et amne, velut in custodiam dedit. volitabantque per fora, per domos, rura quoque et proxima municipiorum pedites equitesque, permixti Germanis, quibus fidebat princeps
3 quasi externis. continua hinc et vincta agmina trahi ac foribus hortorum adiacere. atque ubi dicendam ad causam introissent,

1. **dissolutis**, 'dislocated,' by the rack. Nipp. takes the construction as an abl. abs., so as to take 'membris' in a general sense; but the dative would be the more usual expression (cp. 'alternis pedibus insistentium' Quint. 11. 3, 128).

fasciae, the belt worn by women over the breast (cp. Ov. A. A. 3, 274, 622; Prop. 5. 9, 49; Mart. 14. 134, 1, etc.), the 'strophium' of Catull. 64, 65.

2. **arcum sellae**, the arched canopy of the litter or chair. Ryck cites from Arnob. 2. 23 'sellula arcuata.'

4. **clariore exemplo**, etc. 'Protegendo' must apparently be taken with 'expressit,' in the sense of 'protegens' (which Madv., in Adv. iii. p. 238, considers should be read for it), and 'clariore exemplo' is an abl. abs., like 'bono exemplo' (1. 38, 3) and other such expressions. The comparative has the force of 'eo clariore,' and is contrasted with the following 'cum'; and 'libertina' and 'mulier' are distinct terms, answering to 'ingenui viri.' 'She died protecting, with an example all the nobler in that she was but a woman and a freedwoman,' etc.

in tanta necessitate, 'under such terrible compulsion,' in contrast to 'intacti tormentis.'

7. **pignorum**: cp. c. 36, 5, and note.

Lucanus quoque, 'even Lucan,' the man of noble sentiment. Nipp. notes that 'non omittebant' is taken as one word.

8. **passim**, 'one upon another': cp. c. 46, 3, etc.

9. **quamquam**, with subjunct., see Introd. i. v. § 51 d.

12. **mari et amne**. This would seem to refer to a strengthening of the regular guard at Ostia and a posting of pickets at the usual landing-places on the Tiber.

14. **pedites equitesque**. Those of the praetorian guard are here meant.

Germanis. On this bodyguard of German horsemen attached to the person of Caesar see 1. 24, 3, and note, and Nipp. here. Some of them had formed the bodyguard of Agrippina (13. 18, 4).

15. **quasi externis**, 'as being foreigners.' On the use of 'quasi,' like ὡς, to express a motive, see c. 33, 2; 6. 11, 4, etc.; Introd. i. v. § 67. Here the words no doubt derive additional bitterness from their close juxtaposition with 'princeps' (sc. 'Romanus').

continua hinc et vincta agmina, 'afterwards there were incessant groups of chained prisoners': the emphasis on 'vincta' is pointed by 'et'; the chains being a remarkable part of the picture. See Suet. Ner. 36 ('coniurati e vinculis triplicium catenarum dixere causam').

16. **hortorum**: sc. 'Servilianorum' (c. 55, 1).

ubi, with subjunct. of frequency: see Introd. i. v. § 52.

laetatum erga coniuratos et fortuitus sermo et subiti occursus,
si convivium, si spectaculum simul inissent, pro crimine accipi,
cum super Neronis ac Tigellini saevas percontationes Faenius
quoque Rufus violenter urgueret, nondum ab indicibus nomi-
natus, et quo fidem inscitiae pararet, atrox adversus socios.
idem Subrio Flavo adsistenti adnuentique, an inter ipsam cogni- 4
tionem destringeret gladium caedemque patraret, renuit infregit-
que impetum iam manum ad capulum referentis.

59. Fuere qui prodita coniuratione, dum auditur Milichus, 1
dum dubitat Scaevinus, hortarentur Pisonem pergere in castra
aut rostra escendere studiaque militum et populi temptare. si 2
conatibus eius conscii adgregarentur, secuturos etiam integros;
magnamque motae rei famam, quae plurimum in novis consiliis
valeret. nihil adversum haec Neroni provisum. etiam fortes 3
viros subitis terreri, nedum ille scaenicus, Tigellino scilicet cum
paelicibus suis comitante, arma contra cieret. multa experiendo 4
confieri, quae segnibus ardua videantur. frustra silentium et

1. **laetatum erga coniuratos** (sc. 'esse aliquem'), 'the fact of having smiled at meeting a conspirator.' The above text is the reading of almost all edd. (with inferior MSS.) for the Med. 'latatum,' and is to be preferred to such violent emendations as those of Haase, who reads 'non celatus tantum' (with 'sed' following), or of Halm, who at one time read 'non secreta tantum' (with 'sed'), and now reads 'clam actum' (with 'et'); which, besides other objections, injures the point of the passage; the holding of secret communications with conspirators being no despicable evidence of complicity. The substantival use of a participle, though here harsh, is in the manner of Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 55 b 2), but would be got rid of by the emendation (less violent than those above noticed) of Ritt., who reads 'laeta tum verba'; the latter word being one which might conceivably have dropped out before 'erga.' On the use of 'erga' to express relation of any kind see Introd. i. v. § 59.

et fortuitus: so most recent edd. after Walther. Med. has an abbreviation of 'sed'; which, or rather 'set,' would be a very probable corruption of 'et' in this position; many of the older edd. read 'si' (with MS. Bud.); Nipp. reads 'fortuitus sermo' as an asyndeton.

3. **Faenius Rufus**; see c. 50, 4.

5. **socios**, sc. 'coniurationis.'

6. **Subrio Flavo**; see c. 49, 2.

adnuenti, an, 'making signs to ask, whether.' For the use of 'adnuere alicui' in this sense cp. 'ne illa ulli homini nutet, nictet, adnuat' (Plaut. As. 4. 1, 39), 'adnuentibus et vocantibus suis' (Liv. 1. 12, 10), etc. Here it is contrasted with 'renuit' ('shook his head').

cognitionem, used of trials before the prince or the senate.

7. **infregit impetum**, 'checked his impulse.' Dr. notes this as a new figure analogous to 'infringere conatum,' 'animos,' 'spem,' etc.

10. **hortarentur**, with inf., as in 6. 37, 1; 11. 16, 3, etc.

castra, c. 53, 4.

11. **studia**, 'the disposition towards him.'

12. **integros**, those who had nothing to do with it.

13. **motae**, 'when once set in motion': cp. 'maius opus moveo' (Verg. Aen. 7, 45), 'cantusque movete' (Id. 6, 41), 'movere ac moliri quidquam' (Liv. 23. 39, 4). Every step would be magnified by report.

16. **arma . . . cieret**, a new expression for the more common 'ciere pugnam' (3. 41, 4), 'bellum' (H. 3. 41, 4), 'praelium,' and other (chiefly poetical) uses of the verb.

17. **frustra . . . sperare**, sc. 'eum'

fidem in tot consciorum animis et corporibus sperare; cruciatui
5 aut praemio cuncta pervia esse. venturos qui ipsum quoque
6 vincirent, postremo indigna nece adficerent. quanto laudabilius
periturum, dum amplectitur rem publicam, dum auxilia libertati
invocat. miles potius deesset et plebes desereret, dum ipse maiori-
bus, dum posteris, si vita praeriperetur, mortem adprobaret.
7 inmotus his et paululum in publico versatus, post domi secretus,
animum adversum suprema firmabat, donec manus militum
adveniret, quos Nero tirones aut stipendiis recentes delegerat:
8 nam vetus miles timebatur tamquam favore inbutus. obiit
abruptis brachiorum venis. testamentum foedis adversus Ne-
ronem adulationibus amori uxoris dedit, quam degenerem et
sola corporis forma commendatam amici matrimonio abs-
9 tulerat. nomen mulieris Atria Galla, priori marito Domitius

(Introd. i. v. § 8), which Ritt. thinks must have dropped out after 'silentium.' The old edd. read 'sperari,' with G. The 'animi' would be acted upon by the 'praemia,' the 'corpora' by the 'cruciatus.'

4. **dum**, with indic., cp. 13. 15, 7, and note.

amplectitur rem publicam, by 'clinging to the state' (C. and B.) is here meant a complete identification of his interest with it, a resolution to stand or fall with it. Cp. 'e complexu reipublicae' (4. 8, 4). The expressions seem taken from those of Cic., who has 'cum rempublicam nimium amplecteretur' (pro Flacc. 18, 43), and 'nimis amplecti plebem' (pro Mil. 27, 72). Cp. also 13. 18, 3, and note.

5. **miles potius**, etc., i. e. better die by the soldiers failing him and people forsaking him than without an effort on his own part.

6. **praeriperetur**, 'were prematurely snatched,' before his work was done: cp. 'praerepta . . . ultione' (14. 33, 6).

adprobaret, 'commend to their approval' (cp. 16. 18, 4, etc.) by the spirit with which he met it.

8. **suprema**, 'the end': cp. 6. 50, 3; 16. 25, 2, etc.

9. **stipendiis recentes**, 'who had recently begun service' (as distinct both from 'tirones' and 'vetus miles'). The expression somewhat resembles 'recens dolore' (1. 41, 5), but differs in that the force of the preposition 'in' rather than 'a' is supplied. The opposite expression 'veterem stipendiis,' occurs in 2. 66, 3. The abl. may be taken as that of respect.

10. **favore**, sc. 'in Pisonem,' through his liberality (see c. 48, 2).

inbutus. The expression is repeated from H. 2. 85, 1 ('inbutae favore Othonis'): cp. 'discordiis inbutus' (11. 16, 4; 13. 4, 1), etc. Most edd. have followed Rhen. in reading 'tamquam' for 'quamquam' (the text of the MSS. and oldest edd.); which could be explained by taking 'favore' to mean 'in Neronem'; but we should then have no reason given for the distrust.

11. **abruptis**: cp. c. 63, 5; 6. 29, 1; 16. 9, 3.

foedis adulationibus, abl. of quality, 'a will filled with disgusting flatteries.'

12. **dedit**, i.e. he made such a will as a concession (cp. 1. 7, 10, and note). It may be assumed that he also adopted the precaution of leaving half to Nero, to save the rest for his wife.

degenerem, best taken, with Nipp., to mean 'of low birth' (cp. 6. 42, 4; 11. 17, 4; 12. 51, 5, etc.). Her name and that of her former husband are given as those of obscure persons. Some refer the term to her immorality; but in this they must have been fairly matched (see c. 48, 4).

14. **Atria Galla**. Orelli notes that the name 'Atrius' is found in inscriptions: Ber. had needlessly altered to 'Arria.'

Silus: hic patientia, illa inpudicitia Pisonis infamiam propagavere.

60. Proximam necem Plautii Laterani consulis designati 1
Nero adiungit, adeo propere, ut non complecti liberos, non illud
breve mortis arbitrium permitteret. raptus in locum servilibus 2
poenis sepositum manu Statii tribuni trucidatur, plenus constantis silentii nec tribuno obiciens eandem conscientiam.

Sequitur caedes Annaei Senecae, laetissima principi, non quia 3
coniurationis manifestum compererat, sed ut ferro grassaretur,
quando venenum non processerat. solus quippe Natalis et 4
hactenus prompsit, missum se ad aegrotum Senecam, uti viseret
conquerereturque cur Pisonem aditu arceret: melius fore, si
amicitiam familiari congressu exercuissent. et respondisse 5
Senecam sermones mutuos et crebra conloquia neutri conducere; ceterum salutem suam incolumitate Pisonis inniti. haec 6

1. **patientia**, 'shameful complaisance.' Jacob seems rightly to suppose that some connivance at adultery between her and Piso before the divorce is alluded to. To have merely tolerated her re-marriage would hardly have disgraced Silus, when so many, among them even Cato of Utica, had done the same. Nipp. thinks that Silus took her back as his wife after Piso's death; but this could hardly be said to 'spread the infamy of Piso,' and rather tended to obliterate it.

3. **Plautii Laterani**: see c. 49, 2. Nipp. notes the repetition of 'consulis designati' here by way of reminder, as are similar repetitions with other names, from c. 49, 2; 50, 1, in c. 66. 3; 67, 1; 68. 1. Lateranus is one of Juvenal's examples of the danger of wealth; cp. 10, 15 'Temporibus diris igitur iussuque Neronis . . . egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes Tota cohors.' We may suppose that the splendid palace on the Caelian now became imperial property; but its history between this time and that of Constantine is somewhat difficult to trace.

4. **illud breve mortis arbitrium**, 'that short interval for a choice of death.' 'Illud' may be explained (with Nipp.) to mean 'the necessary,' or perhaps better (with Dr.) to mean 'the usual interval,' which was all that Nero generally gave to anticipate the executioner (see note on c. 69, 3). Doed. less well places a comma at 'breve,' taking 'illud breve' as a substantive ('that small boon').

5. **locum**. The spot is situated outside the Esquiline gate (see 2. 32, 5) and is called 'Sessorium' by the old Scholiast on Hor. Epod. 5, 100, and Sat. 1. 8, 11; whence also Σεσσώριον is now read for the corrupt Σηστέριον in Plut. Galb. 28.

6. **Statii**, sc. 'Proximi': see c. 50, 3.

plenus constantis silentii. Arrian (Epict. 1. 1, 19) gives an account, both of his bold reply to Epaphroditus, and of his firmness under the hands of his executioner.

7. **eandem conscientiam**, 'complicity in the same design.'

8. **laetissima**: see c. 56, 2.

quia . . . compererat. On the use of the indic. see 13. 1, 1, and note; on the genit. with 'manifestus,' 2. 85, 3, and note.

10. **venenum non processerat**, 'the poisoning (see c. 45, 6) had not succeeded': 'procedere' is used in the same sense as 'provenire' (see 1. 19, 4, and note). Tacitus here assumes as a fact, what he had previously given only as a report.

11. **hactenus**, 'only this much': cp. 12. 42, 5, and note.

prompsit: cp. 12. 65, 2, and note.

14. **sermones mutuos**. Nipp. takes these (in contrast with 'conloquia') to mean communications through the medium of a third person. It is also possible to take the whole expression as a hendiadys.

15. **salutem**, etc. The same terms, 'salus' and 'incolumitas,' are used in the

ferre Gavius Silvanus tribunus praetoriae cohortis, et an dicta
Natalis suaque responsa nosceret percontari Senecam iubetur.
7 is forte an prudens ad eum diem ex Campania remeaverat
8 quartumque apud lapidem suburbano rure substiterat. illo
propinqua vespera tribunus venit et villam globis militum
saepsit; tum ipsi cum Pompeia Paulina uxore et amicis duobus
epulanti mandata imperatoris edidit.
1 **61.** Seneca missum ad se Natalem conquestumque nomine
Pisonis quod a visendo eo prohiberetur, seque rationem valetu-
2 dinis et amorem quietis excusavisse respondit. cur salutem
privati hominis incolumitati suae anteferret, causam non habu-
3 isse; nec sibi promptum in adulationes ingenium. idque nulli
magis gnarum quam Neroni, qui saepius libertatem Senecae
4 quam servitium expertus esset. ubi haec a tribuno relata sunt

reply of Seneca (c. 61, 2). It is hardly possible to suppose (with Prof. Holbrooke) that words taken to mean that his own safety depended on the success of Piso's enterprise were only a distortion of the common formula 'si valeas ego quoque valeo,' but they may not have been more than a warm expression of friendship.

1. **tribunus**, etc. Cp. c. 50, 3, and the repetitions noted above (on § 1).

2. **nosceret**, 'would admit'; so in 2. 28, 1, for 'adgnoscere,' which has oftener this sense, as in 2. 30, 3; 4. 34, 8; 6. 8, 2.

3. **prudens**, aware of the impending conspiracy.

ad eum diem = 'eo die': cp. 'ad tempus' (4. 19, 1), 'ad praesens' (13. 22, 3, etc.).

ex Campania. Seneca had desired to retire into private life after the death of Burrus (14. 56, 6), and again during the exactions after the fire (c. 45, 5). Not allowed fully to do so, he had withdrawn from the court as far as possible, and had occupied himself in meditation and writing. This suburban villa is probably that alluded to in 14. 53, 6. The villa which he is known to have possessed at Nomentum (Ep. 104, 1; Pl. N. H. 14. 4, 5, 51) would be more distant from Rome.

4. **suburbano rure**, abl. of place (Introd. i. v. § 25).

6. **Pompeia Paulina**, daughter or sister of Pompeius Paulinus, who appears to have been a 'novus homo' (see 13. 53, 2, and note); though the expression used by Dio (61. 10, 3) of Seneca (γάμον ἐπιφανέστατον ἔγημε) would imply that she had some noble relations.

9. **rationem**, 'the regard which he had to pay.'

10. **excusavisse**, 'had pleaded in excuse': cp. 3. 11, 2, and note.

11. **privati hominis**, any one but the prince: cp. 11. 31, 3, etc. Seneca meets the charge of having said that his life depended on the preservation of Piso (c. 60, 5) somewhat indirectly, by replying in effect that the only person whose safety he could have had any reason to hold to be more to him than his own was Nero.

12. **nec sibi**, etc.: i.e. nor would he have said so, without meaning it, out of flattery to Piso; for he was never inclined to flatter, as Nero himself had cause to know. It is due to Seneca to admit that this boast, which he had already put forward in de Clem. 2. 2, 2 ('diutius me morari hic patere, non ut blandum auribus tuis. Nec enim hic mihi mos est: maluerim veris offendere quam placere adulando'), is borne out by such sayings as that quoted in c. 23, 6; and that even the speech assigned to him in 14. 53–54 is not without self-respect.

13. **gnarum** = 'notum': cp. 1. 5, 4, and note; 11. 32, 1, etc.

libertatem Senecae, used as a more emphatic expression than 'libertatem suam': cp. the use of 'Germanicum' in 2. 70, 3; 'Mucianum' in H. 2. 77, 1, etc.

Poppaea et Tigellino coram, quod erat saevienti principi intimum consiliorum, interrogat an Seneca voluntariam mortem pararet. tum tribunus nulla pavoris signa, nihil triste in verbis eius aut 5
vultu deprensum confirmavit. ergo regredi et indicere mortem iubetur. tradit Fabius Rusticus non eo quo venerat itinere 6
redisse tribunum, sed flexisse ad Faenium praefectum, et expositis Caesaris iussis an obtemperaret interrogavisse, monitumque ab eo ut exsequeretur, fatali omnium ignavia. nam et Silvanus 7
inter coniuratos erat augebatque scelera, in quorum ultionem consenserat. voci tamen et aspectui pepercit intromisitque ad Senecam unum ex centurionibus, qui necessitatem ultimam denuntiaret.

62. Ille interritus poscit testamenti tabulas; ac denegante 1
centurione conversus ad amicos, quando meritis eorum referre gratiam prohiberetur, quod unum iam et tamen pulcherrimum

1. **intimum consiliorum**, 'his innermost circle of advisers': i.e. they were always at hand to urge him on on such a course. A contrast seems to be implied between them and those who were Nero's regular counsellors on affairs of state generally (see on c. 72, 2).

4. **deprensum.** The verb takes this form in 3. 53, 1; elsewhere in some sixteen places the MSS. of Tacitus have the form 'deprehendere.'

5. **Fabius Rusticus**: see Introd. i. iii. p. 13. On his relation to Seneca see 13. 20, 3.

venerat: on the indic. see Introd. i. v. § 49.

6. **redisse tribunum**: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., Pfitzn. for Med. 'reditum'; which others retain, explaining it as 'reditum esse a tribuno'; the change of construction to 'flexisse,' though harsh, being not contrary to the manner of Tacitus (see Introd. i. v. § 91, 2). Ritt. inserts 'tribunum' after 'flexisse.'

8. **fatali omnium ignavia**, 'such irresistible cowardice pervaded all': cp. 'fatali motu' (5. 4, 2), and the use of 'fatum' of any inexplicable cause (Introd. i. iv. p. 22).

10. **pepercit**, 'he spared his tongue the degradation of the message, and his eyes that of the sight.' Jacob compares 'parce oculis, hospes' (Prop. 5. 9, 53), and the words of Domitian to the senate (Suet. Dom. 11), 'parcetis oculis vestris.' See also 12. 47, 7, and note.

11. **necessitatem ultimam denuntiaret**, 'to announce that he must die': cp. 'accepto... supremae necessitatis nuntio' (H. 1. 72, 5), and the nearly similar expressions in 11. 37, 4; 13. 1, 4. The old Schol. on Juv. 5, 109 follows Tacitus verbally here and in several passages taken from the following chapters.

13. **testamenti tabulas**: these words would most naturally mean the tablets on which his will had previously been written, and the context would imply that he wished to add some legacies to the friends then present. The 'codicilli' mentioned in c. 64, 6, though not apparently part of the will itself, would naturally have been appended to it. Orelli, less well, takes the words as 'tablets for a will.'

denegante, aoristic participle (cp. 11. 35, 3, etc.). The action of Seneca would seem to imply an expectation that his will would be valid, as was formerly usual in the case of those who anticipated formal condemnation (see 6. 29, 2): but it is not to be supposed that any such rule would prevent Nero from confiscating whatever he desired; and it may well be that the centurion felt sufficiently sure that confiscation would in any case ensue, and that he himself might be compromised by permitting Seneca to assert any right of testamentary disposition.

15. **quod unum**, etc., 'the sole and yet the noblest gift.' The general thought of the passage resembles that in Agr. 46, 2.

habeat, imaginem vitae suae relinquere testatur, cuius si memores essent, bonarum artium famam fructum constantis amicitiae
2 laturos. simul lacrimas eorum modo sermone, modo intentior in modum coercentis, ad firmitudinem revocat, rogitans ubi praecepta sapientiae, ubi tot per annos meditata ratio adversum
3 imminentia? cui enim ignaram fuisse saevitiam Neronis? neque aliud superesse post matrem fratremque interfectos quam ut educatoris praeceptorisque necem adiceret.
1 **63.** Ubi haec atque talia velut in commune disseruit, complectitur uxorem, et paululum adversus praesentem fortitudinem

2. **bonarum artium,** 'of liberal accomplishments' (6. 46, 2, etc.), and especially of being students of philosophy.

fructum. Halm reads this for the Med. 'tā' ('tam'), citing the opinion of Weissenborn (Ann. Phil. vol. 52, p. 44), that some substantive is traceable in that word, and comparing 'virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit' (Suet. Cal. 4). By a somewhat more violent change, Nipp. inserts 'pretium,' and Ritt. 'laudem,' before 'laturos'; the former retaining the Med. 'tam,' the latter altering it with Muret. and others to 'tum' (in the sense of 'praeterea'); Pfitzner repeats 'famam' twice. Ern. retains the MSS. text, placing the comma after 'artium' instead of after 'essent'; but Nipp. rightly points out that it could hardly be said that they would win a reputation for stedfast friendship by their memory of his gifts or qualities.

3. **sermone,** 'by conversation' (on various subjects), as contrasted with more energetic (cp. 'intentus' 6. 50, 1) and commanding appeals to their fortitude.

5. **sapientiae,** i.e. of Stoicism.

tot per annos, etc., 'the resolution thought out through so many years in the view of impending evils.' They must have always foreseen what would come to pass, and should long since have made up their minds how to face it.

6. **ignaram** = 'ignotam,' as in 2. 13, 1, etc.

7. **fratremque.** Nipp. thinks that 'fratres,' in the sense of 'brother and sister' (cp. 11. 38, 3, etc.), must be read; but it is more probable that Octavia, if mentioned at all, would have been spoken of as the wife of Nero than his sister (cp. c. 67, 2), notwithstanding her divorce shortly before her death, and the expression used by herself (14. 64, 2). It is however certainly remarkable that the worst of Nero's atrocities, and the only one which Seneca had not himself explained away or defended (see 13. 17, 4, and note; 14. 11, 4), should thus be passed over. The death of Britannicus had not been received with similar horror or consternation (see 13. 17, 2).

8. **educatoris praeceptorisque,** nearly synonyms, 'him who had formed and instructed his boyhood.' The former word is used more properly of a παιδαγωγός (cp. 11. 1, 2; 12. 41, 8; 13. 15, 6; 14. 3, 5); which Seneca could not properly be said to have been.

9. **velut in commune.** Some inferior MSS., which Ern. and others have followed, omit 'velut,' others alter it to 'ultro.' As the text stands, it would mean that he had hitherto spoken 'as if addressing his friends in general,' not merely the limited audience then present: but what was addressed even to these might well be said to be spoken 'in commune' (cp. c. 52, 3, and note), as contrasted with the words to his wife which follow. Doed. understands the words to mean, 'as if addressing the world,' noting that his last words were published (c. 67, 4); which seems chiefly to apply to those referred to below (§ 7).

10. **adversus praesentem fortitudinem.** The Med. text is here retained by Orelli, Halm, Dr., Ritt., and Pfitzn., and would mean 'in a spirit somewhat contrary to the courage then felt by him.' This use of 'adversus' may be compared with 'adversus legem' in 6. 16. 1; though we should certainly have expected 'contra.' Nipp. follows Ern. and others in returning to the reading of the old edd. and inferior MSS. 'formidinem'; which is taken in the sense of 'formidolosum

mollitus rogat oratque temperaret dolori neu aeternum susciperet,
sed in contemplatione vitae per virtutem actae desiderium mariti
solaciis honestis toleraret. illa contra sibi quoque destinatam 2
mortem adseverat manumque percussoris exposcit. tum Seneca 3
gloriae eius non adversus, simul amore, ne sibi unice dilectam
ad iniurias relinqueret, 'vitae' inquit 'delenimenta monstraveram
tibi, tu mortis decus mavis: non invidebo exemplo. sit huius 4
tam fortis exitus constantia penes utrosque par, claritudinis plus
in tuo fine.' post quae eodem ictu brachia ferro exsolvunt.
Seneca, quoniam senile corpus et parco victu tenuatum lenta 5
effugia sanguini praebebat, crurum quoque et poplitum venas
abrumpit; saevisque cruciatibus defessus, ne dolore suo animum 6
uxoris infringeret atque ipse visendo eius tormenta ad inpatien-
tiam delaberetur, suadet in aliud cubiculum abscedere. et no- 7
vissimo quoque momento suppeditante eloquentia advocatis

aliquid,' as in Agr. 22, 1 (cp. the sense of 'metus' in 1. 40, 1, etc.); 'adversus' being taken, as in many other places, in the sense of 'in relation to': 'a little softened in view of the terrors which at the moment threatened her.' The reading of Haase, 'fortunam,' would give a similar meaning, and is somewhat nearer to the Med. text.

1. **temperaret dolori neu**, etc.: so Halm, Ritt., Pfitzn., after Heins., who thus slightly alters the reading ('dolori ne') of the oldest edd. and some inferior MSS.; others follow J. F. Gron., who corrects the Med. text ('temperaret dolorem aeternum susciperet') by reading 'suscipere'; such an inf. with 'tempero' being found in Ennius, Plautus, and Gellius.

2. **vitae.** Nipp. shows, by comparison of c. 62, 1, that his life, not her own, is meant.

3. **toleraret.** The added abl. shows, as Nipp. points out, that this must mean 'should make endurable.'

4. **percussoris**, apparently the physician to open her veins (cp. c. 69, 3).

tum Seneca, etc. Dio, who is always hostile to Seneca, says (62. 25, 1) that he forced his wife to open her veins with his, but that, by dying before her, he made it possible to save her life. He himself speaks warmly of her affection for him (Ep. 104, 2), 'cum sciam spiritum illius in meo verti, incipio, ut illi consulam, mihi consulere.'

6. **vitae . . . delenimenta**, 'means of soothing life,' such 'solacia' as are suggested above.

7. **non invidebo exemplo**, sc. 'tuo': 'I will not grudge you the glory of setting such an example' (explained by 'claritudinis plus' below). It is perhaps best to take 'exemplo' as dat., on the analogy of 13. 53, 4; though the abl. is used in 1. 22, 2 (where see note), and not unfrequently in the silver age. Two other instances (H. 4. 84, 4; G. 33, 1) are similarly doubtful.

8. **claritudinis plus**, because she was under no compulsion.

9. **brachia . . . exsolvunt**, noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ. for 'brachiorum venas exsolvunt.'

10. **senile corpus.** He appears to have been about seventy years old. On the simplicity of his diet see c. 45, 6.

tenuatum; so 'tenuatum corpus' in Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 84. The verb is frequent in poets (esp. Ovid), and is found in prose from Seneca.

11. **effugia**: cp. 12. 31, 7, and note.

crurum . . . poplitum, those at the ankles and under the knees.

12. **cruciatibus**, explained by Orelli as those of the convulsions (σφαδασμῶν) consequent on loss of blood.

13. **inpatientiam**, 'want of self-control': so in 13. 21, 8.

14. **suadet**, with inf.: cp. 13. 37, 6.

et . . . quoque: cp. c. 48, 3.

scriptoribus pleraque tradidit, quae in vulgus edita eius verbis invertere supersedeo.

1 **64.** At Nero nullo in Paulinam proprio odio, ac ne glisceret invidia crudelitatis, *iubet* inhiberi mortem. hortantibus militibus servi libertique obligant brachia, premunt sanguinem, incertum
2 an ignarae. nam, ut est vulgus ad deteriora promptum, non defuere qui crederent, donec inplacabilem Neronem timuerit, famam sociatae cum marito mortis petivisse, deinde oblata mitiore spe blandimentis vitae evictam: cui addidit paucos postea annos, laudabili in maritum memoria et ore ac membris in eum pallorem albentibus, ut ostentui esset multum vitalis
3 spiritus egestum. Seneca interim, durante tractu et lentitudine mortis, Statium Annaeum, diu sibi amicitiae fide et arte medi-

1. **scriptoribus**, 'scribes,' usually slaves. The term is very rarely used in this sense, but so in Cic. de Or. 1. 30, 136; Brut. 22, 88; Hor. A. P. 354. Dio gives (62. 25, 2) a somewhat different version; that he took care, before he opened his veins, to have his last writings completed and corrected and deposited out of Nero's reach.

eius verbis, with 'edita.' Dio (l. l.) also alludes to this treatise, but no such is extant.

2. **invertere supersedeo**, 'I think it needless to adapt.' On the practice of Tacitus in this respect, especially as exemplified in the speech of Claudius (11. 24), see Introd. i. iv. p. 23. This use of 'invertere' is found only in a very doubtful reading in M. Seneca (Suas. 2. 19), 'cuilibet orationes tuto invertere (v. l. dicere) licet pro suis.' Jacob points out a similar use of 'vertere' in Quint. 10. 5, 5 ('ab illis dissentio qui vertere orationes Latinas vetant').

4. **invidia crudelitatis**: cp. c. 45, 5, and note.

iubet inhiberi. Recent edd. have generally followed Heins. in inserting 'iubet,' which might possibly have dropped out before 'inhiberi.' The old edd. follow some inferior MSS. in inserting 'imperat' after 'mortem'; Freinsh. and others read 'inhibere mortem' as a historical inf. It seems impossible to defend the Med. text (with Pfitzn.), by making the sentence exclamatory, with a verb of commanding supplied. It is not unreasonable to suppose, with Schiller (p. 191), that Nero, besides thus arresting her death, allowed her to retain her own property.

5. **premunt** = 'reprimunt': so in 3. 6, 1; 11, 2; 14, 5, 2.

incertum an ignarae, 'when she was perhaps unconscious.' The expression 'incertum an' appears to be usually affirmative, and to suggest a probability rather than a doubt (cp. 6. 50, 5; 11. 18, 5; H. 1. 23, 1; 75, 4, etc.); and although the context here points the other way, Tacitus appears to consider the disbelief to be a vulgar calumny.

6. **ad deteriora promptum**, 'ready to accept the worse version': cp. 'in deterius credita' (3. 10, 4). It is to be observed that Tacitus makes no mention of the more malignant version given by Dio (see note on c. 63, 3).

8. **famam sociatae**: so all edd. after Put. for Med. 'fama societatem.'

9. **blandimentis vitae**, 'the attractions of life': cp. 'abruptis vitae blandimentis' (H. 2. 53, 3), and 'vitae delenimenta' (c. 63, 3).

10. **laudabili . . . memoria**. This and the following are best taken as ablatives of quality.

11. **in eum**, etc., 'blanched to such paleness as would give proof.' On the dat. 'ostentui' see Introd. i. v. § 23. The word has usually the meaning of a spectacle or example, as in c. 29, 7; 1. 29, 4; 14. 14, 6, etc.

12. **tractu et lentitudine**, apparently synonyms: on the former word cp. c. 10, 1; on the latter 16. 35, 3.

13. **Statium Annaeum**, probably, as Nipp. suggests, a client, who bore the 'nomen' of his patron in addition to his own.

cinae probatum, orat provisum pridem venenum, quo damnati
publico Atheniensium iudicio extinguerentur, promeret: ad-
latumque hausit frustra, frigidus iam artus et cluso corpore ad-
versum vim veneni. postremo stagnum calidae aquae introiit, 4
respergens proximos servorum addita voce, libare se liquorem
illum Iovi liberatori. exim balneo inlatus et vapore eius ex- 5
animatus, sine ullo funeris sollemni crematur. ita codicillis 6
praescripserat, cum etiam tum praedives et praepotens supremis
suis consuleret.

65. Fama fuit Subrium Flavum cum centurionibus occulto 1
consilio, neque tamen ignorante Seneca, destinavisse, ut post
occisum opera Pisonis Neronem Piso quoque interficeretur trade-

arte medicinae, 'skill in medicine' (answering to 'amicitiae fide'): cp. 'medicus arte insignis' (6. 50, 3), 'eludere medicorum artes' (6. 46, 9), etc.

1. **venenum**, hemlock, the *κώνειον* of Ar. Ran. 124, etc., the 'cicuta' of Pl. N. H. 25. 13, 95, 151. Seneca himself calls it the 'medicamentum inmortalitatis' of Socrates (de Prov. 3, 12), whose death he would seem to have had a standing intention of imitating.

quo damnati: so all edd. from Put., with inferior MSS., for the Med. 'quod anti.' 'Publico iudicio' is taken with 'damnati.'

3. **frigidus iam artus.** The hemlock took effect by producing a numbness, beginning from the extremities (Plat. Phaed. 117 E), to which it had to be conveyed by the circulation of the blood, which persons were told to keep up by walking as long as they could (Id. 117 A). In this case the body was already so deprived of warmth and blood that the poison could not act.

cluso. This form of the verb is found in H. 1. 33, 3; G. 34, 1; 45, 1; Dial. 30, 5; 35, 1, and in one MS. of Agr. 45, 1; also in Sen. and often in Quint.

4. **stagnum**, a bath or basin. Dr. compares 'calentia stagna' ('warm baths in the sea') in Sen. Ep. 122, 8. The object was to restore circulation, so as either to promote the flow of blood or to stimulate the hemlock.

5. **libare se, etc.** Thrasea uses the same expression (16. 35, 2) as the first blood flowed; and it is possible here that 'liquorem' denotes blood mingled with the water. Lips. notes that the departure from life is here likened to the close of a feast, at which it was the Greek custom to offer a parting libation to Ζεὺς Σωτήρ (Suid. s. v.), for whom 'Iuppiter Liberator' is here appropriately substituted. This attribute of the god is found in Latin only in these passages, on coins of Nero (Eckh. vi. 272; Cohen, i. p. 288, no. 124), and in an old Calendar (see Orelli), but is no doubt taken from the well-known Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος (Pind. Ol. 12, 1; Thuc. 2. 71, 4, etc.). The reference made by Prof. Holbrooke to the custom of pouring libation from the poisoned cup to Mercurius for a safe passage to the other world (Val. Max. 2. 6, 8; cp. Plat. Phaed. 117 C), seems here less apposite.

6. **balneo**, the hot vapour-bath of the 'Laconicum.' The same mode of suffocation was used for Octavia (14. 64, 3), Vestinus (c. 69, 3), and others (16. 11, 4).

7. **codicillis**, 'written instructions.' The term is used of testamentary writing in 16. 17, 6; 19, 5: cp. 14. 50, 1.

8. **cum etiam tum, etc.** The expression implies that his vast wealth, no less than his commanding influence, had already passed away before his death. This gives some support to the statement of Dio (62. 25, 3), that he had resigned all his property to Nero, nominally as a contribution to the cost of restoring Rome after the fire. He had however still some villas (c. 60, 7, 8), and intended to make bequests by will (c. 62, 1); and Juvenal speaks of his splendid gardens as though they were still his at his death (10, 16).

10. **Subrium Flavum**: see c. 49, 2, etc.

returque imperium Senecae, quasi insontibus claritudine virtutum
2 ad summum fastigium delecto. quin et verba Flavi vulga-
bantur, non referre dedecori, si citharoedus demoveretur et
tragoedus succederet, quia ut Nero cithara, ita Piso tragico
ornatu canebat.
1 **66.** Ceterum militaris quoque conspiratio non ultra fefellit,
accensis indicibus ad prodendum Faenium Rufum, quem eundem
2 conscium et inquisitorem non tolerabant. ergo instanti mini-
tantique renidens Scaevinus neminem ait plura scire quam
ipsum, hortaturque ultro redderet tam bono principi vicem.
3 non vox adversum ea Faenio, non silentium, sed verba sua

1. **quasi insontibus**, etc. The Med. text is retained by most edd., and requires no alteration; 'insontibus' being well taken as dat. of the agent (Introd. i. v. § 18). By killing Piso, they would seem to have had no share in the conspiracy of which he was head, and only to have sought afterwards to replace Nero by the best possible successor. Nipp. would take 'insontibus' to mean those of the leading men who were of pure character, as contrasted with the dissolute nobles (c. 49, 5; 67, 1; 70, 2), who would only have replaced a Nero by a Piso (c. 48, 4); but the meaning given above (='insontibus coniurationis') is more in accordance with the sense of the word in other passages (c. 52, 5; 73, 2; 16. 10, 5, etc.). The various corrections proposed, as 'insonti et' (Acid.), 'ex insontibus' (Ritt.), 'sontibus' (Wurm), 'in sontibus' (Jansen), appear to be needless.

claritudine, causal abl.

3. **non referre dedecori**, 'that it made no difference as to the disgrace.' 'Refert' is used with a dat. of the thing in Plaut. Truc. 2. 4, 40 ('cui rei id te adsimulare retulit'), and with that of the person in Hor. Sat. 1. 1, 49 ('quid referat intra Naturae fines viventi'); and such a construction might here be illustrated by the extension of the 'dativus commodi' in Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 17), and by his other uses of that case (Id. §§ 20; 21 c). On the other hand the correction of Heins., 'dedecoris' (adopted by Ritt. and mentioned with approval by Nipp.), is supported by the analogy of Quint. 9. 4, 44 ('plurimum refert compositionis'), and Plin. Ep. 8. 22, 4; Pan. 40, and by the probability that the final 's' may have been lost before 'si.'

citharoedus. Piso also, according to his panegyrist (166, foll.), was skilled in playing the lyre, but probably did not play in public.

tragico ornatu canebat. Nipp. notes that the Schol. on Juv. 5, 109 ('scaenico habitu tragoedias actitavit') appears to mistake this passage, which refers really to lyrical tragedies, or mimes on tragic themes, in which pieces were sung in character by the chief actor, who was supported by other 'hypocritae' in dumb show, and probably by a chorus. See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 553; Friedl. ii. 404, foll. Various such tragedies are mentioned in which Nero himself appeared (Suet. Ner. 21), and even Thrasea did not wholly disdain the practice (16. 21, 1).

6. **quoque . . . non**='ne . . . quidem': cp. 3. 54, 11, and note.

fefellit = 'latuit': cp. 4. 45, 2; 6. 50, 5; 13. 1, 3, etc.

7. **accensis indicibus**, 'those who had turned informers (cp. 5. 8, 1, etc.) being excited with indignation.'

8. **inquisitorem**, not elsewhere in Tacitus. The term refers to him as taking part in the examination (c. 58, 3). Tacitus has 'inquisitio' (Agr. 2, 3) in the sense of 'espionage.'

9. **renidens**, 'smiling scornfully': cp. 4. 60, 3 (and note); H. 4. 43, 2.

10. **ultro**, probably best taken with 'redderet': 'urges him to do a good turn (cp. 13. 20, 1) voluntarily to so kind a prince' (by confessing without waiting to be accused).

11. **Faenio**, a correction of the old edd., after G., for Med. 'fenius,' which Ritt. takes to be a needless gloss.

verba sua praepediens, 'stammering': elsewhere 'praepedire' is used of that which prevents utterance, as

praepediens et pavoris manifestus, ceterisque et maxime Cervario
Proculo equite Romano ad convincendum eum conisis, iussu
imperatoris a Cassio milite, qui ob insigne corporis robur ad-
stabat, corripitur vinciturque.

67. Mox eorundem indicio Subrius Flavus tribunus per- 1
vertitur, primo dissimilitudinem morum ad defensionem trahens,
neque se armatum cum inermibus et effeminatis tantum facinus
consociaturum; dein, postquam urguebatur, confessionis gloriam
amplexus. interrogatusque a Nerone, quibus causis ad ob- 2
livionem sacramenti processisset, 'oderam te' inquit, 'nec quis-
quam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari meruisti. odisse 3
coepi, postquam parricida matris et uxoris, auriga et histrio
et incendiarius extitisti.' ipsa rettuli verba, quia non, ut 4
Senecae, vulgata erant, nec minus nosci decebat militaris viri
sensus incomptos et validos. nihil in illa coniuratione gravius 5
auribus Neronis accidisse constitit, qui ut faciendis sceleribus
promptus, ita audiendi quae faceret insolens erat. poena Flavi
Veianio Nigro tribuno mandatur. is proximo in agro scrobem 6

'fletu praepediente' (H. 3. 68, 3); 'timor praepedit verba' (Plaut. Cas. 3. 5, 85); 'singultu medios praepediente sonos' (Ov. Tr. 1. 3, 42): cp. the passive in 2. 73, 3; 3. 3, 2.

2. **equite Romano.** Med. reads an abbreviation of 'equiter' or 'equite R.' Proculus was so described in c. 50, 1; and Ritt. here brackets the repetition as a gloss; but see note on c. 60, 1.

5. **Subrius Flavus**: see c. 49, 2, etc.

6. **trahens**, 'adducing.'

8. **consociaturum**, sc. 'fuisse' (cp. 2. 31, 4). Orelli notes the same sense of 'sharing' as found in Cic. de Fin. 3. 21, 74 ('cum amicis . . . consociare . . . incuriam.'

9. **amplexus**, 'seizing upon': cp. 'suprema victis solacia amplectebantur' (H. 3. 84, 3).

10. **sacramenti.** This especially relates to him as a soldier; though such oath was now taken by all classes (1. 7, 3). On its terms see Introd. i. vi. p. 70.

11. **fidelior.** Tacitus only uses 'fidelis' twice (here and in Dial. 34, 4), both times in comp., using always 'fidus' and 'fidissimus' for posit. and superl., and occasionally the comp. form 'magis fidus.'

meruisti, with inf.: cp. 14. 48, 5, and note.

12. **parricida matris et uxoris.** Nipp. thinks that 'fratris' may have dropped; but see note on c. 62, 3. Quint. notes (8. 6, 35) the use of 'parricida' of the murderer of any near relative: so also 'parricidam liberum' in Liv. 3. 53, 5. It is remarkable that in Dio's version of this speech (62. 24, 2) these crimes, as well as 'incendiarius,' are omitted: *ἐφίλησα μὲν ἐλπίσας ἀγαθὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἔσεσθαι, ἐμίσησα δὲ ὅτι τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιεῖς· οὔτε γὰρ ἁρματηλάτῃ οὔτε κιθαρῳδῷ δουλεύειν δύναμαι.* Cp. the enumeration of Nero's crimes in Juv. 8, 219.

13. **non . . . vulgata erant.** Nipp. thinks that Tacitus must have derived them from an oral source; but they may have been contained in some private or otherwise little known written narrative. The apparent differences in the version of Dio may easily have arisen out of some negligence in Xiphilinus, not from his having followed some other source than Tacitus.

15. **sensus**, 'the sentiments': cp. 13. 3, 5; Pers. 1, 69, etc.

16. **constitit**: cp. 13. 35, 3, and note.

17. **promptus**, with gerundive dat.: cp. 12. 4, 3, and note.

insolens, with genit.: cp. 6. 34, 1, and note.

18. **tribuno.** The tribune is thus him-

effodi iussit, quam visam Flavus ut humilem et angustam in-
crepans, circumstantibus militibus, 'ne hoc quidem' inquit
7 'ex disciplina.' admonitusque fortiter protendere cervicem,
8 'utinam' ait 'tu tam fortiter ferias!' et ille multum tremens,
cum vix duobus ictibus caput amputavisset, saevitiam apud
Neronem iactavit, sesquiplaga interfectum a se dicendo.
1 **68.** Proximum constantiae exemplum Sulpicius Asper centurio
praebuit, percontanti Neroni, cur in caedem suam conspiravisset,
breviter respondens non aliter tot flagitiis eius subveniri potuisse.
2 tum iussam poenam subiit. nec ceteri centuriones in perpetien-
dis suppliciis degeneravere: at non Faenio Rufo par animus,
sed lamentationes suas etiam in testamentum contulit.
3 Opperiebatur Nero, ut Vestinus quoque consul in crimina
traheretur, violentum et infensum ratus: sed ex coniuratis con-
silia cum Vestino non miscuerant quidam vetustis in eum
simultatibus, plures, quia praecipitem et insociabilem credebant.

self the executioner in c. 60, 2; 11. 38, 1; Sen. Ep. 4, 7.

scrobem, that in which the body was to be buried: see Suet. Ner. 49.

1. **quam visam**: so Halm and Dr., after Walther's suggestion, for 'quamvis' (MSS. and old edd.): others read 'quam' (after Pich.) or 'qua visa' (after Freinsh.).

2. **circumstantibus**, best taken (with Nipp.) as dat. depending on 'inquit': cp. 'inquit mihi' (Cic. Att. 5. 1, 3).

ne hoc, sc. 'factum,' 'even this is not done according to regulation.'

6. **sesquiplaga**, 'a blow and a half,' ἅπ. εἰρ., and probably (as Dr. suggests) a soldier's word. Suet. states (Cal. 30) that Gaius ordered his soldiers to inflict such lingering deaths.

7. **Proximum**, next in merit.

9. **flagitiis eius subveniri**. The natural meaning of the words as they stand would be 'that in no other way could his atrocities be helped (redressed)'; and Nipp. so understands them; but the versions in Suet. Ner. 36 ('cum quidam ultro crimen faterentur, nonnulli imputarent, tamquam aliter illi non possent nisi morte succurrere, dedecorato flagitiis omnibus'), and in Dio, 62. 24, 2 (ὅτι ἄλλως σοι βοηθῆσαι οὐκ ἠδυνάμην), favour the interpretation adopted by most others, that he ironically represented himself to be rendering to Nero the only possible service, in rescuing him by death from the already overwhelming load of guilt, or from fresh additions to it.

11. **degeneravere**, 'disgraced themselves': apparently the full expression would be 'a fama vitaque sua degenerare' (H. 3. 28, 1). Cp. the use of 'degener' in 11. 19, 4; 12. 36, 6, etc.

12. **lamentationes**, etc. On the practice of expressing sentiments in a will cp. c. 59, 8; 14. 29, 1, etc.

13. **Opperiebatur**, 'was expecting': so with 'ut' in Liv. 42. 48, 10 ('opperiens ut terrestres copiae traicerentur'); with accus. in 14. 7, 1; H. 2. 46, 1.

in crimina traheretur. This reading, adopted by Baiter after Ritt., appears to be the best restoration of Med. 'in crimen atraheretur': Halm follows Orelli (Ed. i.) in reading 'in crimen attraheretur;' but 'attraho' is not found elsewhere in Tacitus, and its meaning seems less suitable than that of the simple verb. Nipp. follows the old edd., who read 'in crimen traheretur' (with G.).

16. **praecipitem et insociabilem**, 'reckless and unmanageable' (incapable of acting with others): cp. the sense of the word in 4. 12, 6; Liv. 37, 1, 4 ('insociabili genti'). The character is somewhat like that described in H. 1. 26, 3 ('consilii quamvis egregii, quod non ipse adferret, inimicus'), and agrees with what is said of Vestinus in c. 52, 4.

ceterum Neroni odium adversus Vestinum ex intima sodalitate 4
coeperat, dum hic ignaviam principis penitus cognitam despicit,
ille ferociam amici metuit, saepe asperis facetiis inlusus, quae
ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt.
accesserat repens causa, quod Vestinus Statiliam Messalinam 5
matrimonio sibi iunxerat, haud nescius inter adulteros eius et
Caesarem esse.

69. Igitur non crimine, non accusatore existente, quia speciem 1
iudicis induere non poterat, ad vim dominationis conversus
Gerellanum tribunum cum cohorte militum inmittit iubetque
praevenire conatus consulis, occupare velut arcem eius, opprimere
delectam iuventutem, quia Vestinus inminentes foro aedes
decoraque servitia et pari aetate habebat. cuncta eo die munia 2
consulis impleverat conviviumque celebrabat, nihil metuens an
dissimulando metu, cum ingressi milites vocari eum a tribuno
dixere. ille nihil demoratus exsurgit et omnia simul prope- 3
rantur: clauditur cubiculo, praesto est medicus, abscinduntur

3. **ferociam** = παῤῥησίαν: cp. 1. 12, 6, and note.

asperis facetiis, 'rough jests'; so 'acerbis facetiis' (5. 2, 3).

4. **multum . . . traxere**, 'when they have drawn much material from fact'; i. e. are fully based on truth: cp. 'Veneti multum ex moribus (Sarmatarum) traxerunt' (G. 46, 2).

5. **repens** = 'recens': cp. 6. 7, 4, and note.

Statiliam Messalinam, 'Tauri bis consulis et triumphalis (see on 6. 11, 5) abneptem' (Suet. Ner. 35): for her other relations see notes on 2. 1, 1; 12. 59, 1. On Nero's subsequent marriage to her, after the death of Poppaea (16. 6, 1), see Suet. l. l. According to the Schol. on Juv. 6, 434, she had been previously four times married, and lived on after the death of Nero, and was famed for wealth, beauty, and intellect, and cultivated the art of public speaking. Otho had wished to marry her (Suet. Oth. 10). A solitary medal, struck at Thyatira, is preserved, giving her effigy and name (ΣΤΑΤ. ΜΕΣΣΑΛ.), and is engraved in Coh. i. p. 316. Suet. wrongly represents Nero as having killed Vestinus in order to marry her.

8. **existente**, 'making an appearance': cp. 'ut delator extitit' (3. 49, 3), etc.

speciem iudicis induere. The more usual phrase is 'personam induere,' but Livy has 'mihi . . . insidiatoris . . . latronis . . . percussoris speciem induit' (40. 12, 4), and Tacitus has 'adsimulabat iudicis partes' (4. 59, 5). The reading is that of inferior MSS. for Med. 'ispeciem iudiciis,' which Ritt. takes to indicate 'ipse speciem iudicis.'

9. **vim dominationis**, 'despotic force.'

10. **Gerellanum.** Ritt. notes the names ΓΕΡΕΛΛΑΝΗ ΜΟΝΙΜΗ and ΓΕΡΕΛΛΑΝΗ ΑΠΑΤΗ on an inscription (C. I. G. 2259).

11. **velut arcem**, 'his citadel, as it were,' i. e. his house, formidable from its commanding position and inmates. This, and 'delectam iuventutem,' appear to be Nero's own exaggerated expressions.

12. **inminentes foro**, a similar position to that of the house of Cn. Piso (3. 9, 3).

15. **dissimulando metu**, repeated from 11. 32, 2 (where see note). Such a dat. of purpose is coordinated with a substantive in 12. 32, 5, as here with a participle.

16. **properantur**: for the passive cp. 2. 6, 2; 13. 17, 3, etc.

17. **medicus**: see Suet. Ner. 37 'mori iussis non amplius quam horarum spatium dabat; ac ne quid morae interveniret, medicos admovebat, qui cunctantes curarent (ita enim vocabatur venas mortis gratia incidere').

venae, vigens adhuc balneo infertur, calida aqua mersatur, nulla
4 edita voce qua semet miseraretur. circumdati interim custodia qui simul discubuerant, nec nisi provecta nocte omissi sunt, postquam pavorem eorum, ex mensa exitium opperientium, et imaginatus et inridens Nero satis supplicii luisse ait pro epulis consularibus.

1 **70.** Exim Annaei Lucani caedem imperat. is profluente sanguine ubi frigescere pedes manusque et paulatim ab extremis cedere spiritum fervido adhuc et compote mentis pectore intellegit, recordatus carmen a se compositum, quo vulneratum militem per eius modi mortis imaginem obisse tradiderat, versus
2 ipsos rettulit, eaque illi suprema vox fuit. Senecio posthac et Quintianus et Scaevinus non ex priore vitae mollitia, mox reliqui coniuratorum periere, nullo facto dictove memorando.

abscinduntur venae. This expression is used by Tacitus only here and in 15. 11, 4: cp. 'interscindere' (c. 35, 4).

1. **balneo infertur**: see c. 64, 5, and note.

mersatur, noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ. in Tacitus, chiefly a poetical word (Lucr., Verg., Hor.). After 'aqua' Med. has 'ūsa' ('uersa'), which Weissenb. takes to be a corruption of 'infusa,' Ritt. of 'superfusa.'

3. **omissi sunt,** were left free to depart. The word is used generally of what is left to itself or neglected: cp. 4. 51, 3; 6. 36, 2; H. 2. 65, 1, etc.

4. **ex mensa,** 'after a feast': cp. 'statim e somno' (G. 22, 1); a similar contrast is expressed by 'a' in 6. 50, 8 ('a summa spe novissima expectabat').

5. **imaginatus,** 'picturing to himself'; only here in Tacitus, but several times in Plin. ma. and Quint. Cp. 'imaginationibus' (c. 36, 1, and note).

7. **Exim Annaei**: so most recent edd. after Ritt. for Med. 'ex Immane na et,' from which Rhen. first restored the text as 'exin M. Annaei.' But it is more in accordance with the manner of Tacitus to give two names than three; and the name of Lucan is thus given in c. 49, 2; 71, 12; 16. 17, 4. Others read 'Exin Annaei.' Both the Medicean MSS. give in some places 'exin,' in others 'exim,' but Halm has uniformly adopted the latter.

8. **extremis,** 'the extremities'; so used, according to Dr., by Celsus. Cp. 'imperii extrema' (4. 74, 2), etc.

10. **carmen,** here not used, as commonly, of a whole poem or a single line, but of a portion. The passage is commonly supposed to be part of that in Phars. 3, 635–646, describing in a sea-fight the gradual bleeding to death of one mortally wounded by a grappling-iron and held from falling into the water by friends. The last lines are 'pars ultima trunci Tradidit in letum vacuos vitalibus artus. At tumidus qua pulmo iacet, qua viscera fervent, Haeserunt ibi fata diu, luctataque multum Hac cum parte viri vix omnia membra tulerunt.' The lines given by Merivale, describing one of the forms of death from serpent-bite (9, 808–814), seem to agree less with the description here given by Tacitus. The verses may not have been among those now extant.

11. **per eius modi mortis imaginem,** 'by a form of death similar to it': cp. 'varia pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium' (H. 3. 28, 3); the expression being evidently taken from Verg. Aen. 2, 369 ('plurima mortis imago'), and resembling that of Thucyd. (3. 81, 4), πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου, and the 'strange images of death' of Shakspeare (Macbeth, A. 1. Sc. 3). Some here, less well, take 'imaginem' to mean 'a fictitious representation.'

12. **suprema vox.** His anonymous biographer gives the date of his death (April 30).

Senecio, etc. On these persons see c. 49, 4; 50, 2.

13. **ex,** 'in accordance with': cp. c. 67, 6, etc.

71. Sed compleri interim urbs funeribus, Capitolium victimis; 1
alius filio, fratre alius aut propinquo aut amico interfectis, agere
grates deis, ornare lauru domum, genua ipsius advolvi et dextram
osculis fatigare. atque ille gaudium id credens Antonii Natalis 2
et Cervarii Proculi festinata indicia inpunitate remuneratur.
Milichus praemiis ditatus conservatoris sibi nomen, Graeco eius 3
rei vocabulo, adsumpsit. e tribunis Gavius Silvanus, quamvis 4
absolutus, sua manu cecidit; Statius Proximus veniam, quam
ab imperatore acceperat, vanitate exitus corrupit. exuti dehinc 5
tribunatu * * Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos,
Statius Domitius, quasi principem non quidem odissent, sed
tamen existimarentur. Novio Prisco per amicitiam Senecae, et 6

3. **ornare lauru domum.** This was done at times of private (Juv. 6, 79) or public rejoicing. Cp. Juvenal's description (10, 65) of this and the sacrifices in the Capitol on a similar occasion: 'Pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum Cretatumque bovem: Seianus ducitur unco.' The object here was ostentatiously to disclaim sympathy with the plot.

genua ipsius advolvi. On the expression cp. 1. 13, 7, and note.

et dextram, etc. This would be as if for joy, and Nero by permitting it acknowledged them as friends. Persons saved their lives thus in the massacre of Marius, when it was 'spes una salutis Oscula pollutae fixisse trementia dextrae' (Luc. 2, 113). Nipp. thinks the insertion of the conjunction here due to the position of the verb at the end of these two clauses; its usual position in asyndeta being at the beginning (cp. 1. 47, 5; 2. 31, 1, etc.).

4. **Natalis . . . Proculi:** see c. 56, 2; 66, 3.

6. **Milichus:** see c. 54, 1; 55, 1. The name which he took is evidently that of Σωτήρ; but Tacitus rather avoids Greek words (see Introd. i. v. § 95). The name is usually borne by gods or kings; but one 'Ti. Claudius Soter,' an artist, is named in an inscription (Or. 4262).

7. **e tribunis.** On these see c. 50, 3, etc., the third, Subrius Flavus, had been executed (c. 67, 6).

8. **veniam . . . corrupit,** 'frustrated' (cp. 'officia . . . corrumpebat' 2. 23, 2; also H. 2. 92, 5; 3. 78, 4; 4. 34, 8) the pardon which he had accepted from the emperor by the vaingloriousness of his end' (apparently by a vainglorious suicide). His case was different from that of Silvanus, who was judicially acquitted; and a suicide, after pardon solicited and accepted, was not true spirit, but mere vainglory. It is thought by some that the allusion is to a subsequent death by some act of folly, which may have been mentioned afterwards in the portion now lost.

10. **Pompeius.** A praenomen or cognomen appears to have been lost, as all the others have two names given. Nipp. points out that this Cornelius Martialis would probably not be the 'primipilaris' of H. 3. 70, 1; also that as three tribunes of the praetorian guard had joined the conspirators (see above and c. 67, 1), and four more are here mentioned, supposing the number of cohorts and tribunes to have been still only nine (see 4. 5, 5), only two tribunes were left, Veianius Niger (c. 67, 5) and Gerellanus (c. 69, 1). But the inscription cited on c. 50, 3 shows that there were now not less than twelve praetorian cohorts.

11. **quasi,** 'on the ground that.'

12. **existimarentur:** so all edd. since Ern., after Rhen. for the Med. 'extimarentur.' It is probable that the corruption is deeper; for the omission of 'odisse' is very harsh, and 'quasi' would of itself imply a belief rather than a fact. But such emendations as 'extimerentur' (Pich.), or 'aestimarent' (Madv. Adv. iii. 238), have found no favour.

Novio Prisco. This person is shown by an Arval Table (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2056) to have been cos. ord. in 831, A.D. 78 ('L. Ceionio Commodo, D. Novio Prisco coss.').

per amicitiam Senecae. It is best to take these words (with Nipp.)

Glitio Gallo atque Annio Pollioni infamatis magis quam convictis
7 data exilia. Priscum Artoria Flaccilla coniunx comitata est,
Gallum Egnatia Maximilla, magnis primum et integris opibus,
8 post ademptis, quae utraque gloriam eius auxere. pellitur et
Rufrius Crispinus occasione coniurationis, sed Neroni invisus,
9 quod Poppaeam quondam matrimonio tenuerat. Verginium
Flavum et Musonium Rufum claritudo nominis expulit: nam
Verginius studia iuvenum eloquentia, Musonius praeceptis
10 sapientiae fovebat. Cluvidieno Quieto, Iulio Agrippae, Blitio
Catulino, Petronio Prisco, Iulio Altino, velut in agmen et nu-
11 merum, Aegaei maris insulae permittuntur. at Caedicia uxor

closely with 'data exilia,' so as to stand in contrast with 'infamatis.' The sense of 'per' ('by reason of') is akin to that in 13. 43, 7, and H. 1. 24, 2 ('per socordiam praefecti').

1. **Glitio Gallo atque Annio Pollioni**: see c. 56, 4.

infamatis, 'calumniated': cp. H. 1. 64, 8; 3. 62, 4.

2. **data exilia**, 'the privilege of exile (instead of death) was granted': cp. 'datur mortis arbitrium' (16. 33, 2). The expression is used bitterly, as no real charge was proved against them.

3. **Egnatia Maximilla.** The place of their exile was Andros, where an inscription (C. I. G. Add. 2349, i; vol. ii. p. 1068) records them as patrons and benefactors: *ὁ δῆμος Ἐγνατίαν Μαξίμιλλαν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτιν, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα*; and *ὁ δῆμος Πούπλιον Γλείτιον Γάλλον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα.* An inscription of his freedman, L. Glitius, has been found at Como (C. I. L. v. 2. 5345). Their son Q. Glitius, P. f., Atilius Agricola, was cos. under Nerva (C. I. G. 6763), and again in 857, A. D. 104 (Henzen 5442), and served with distinction as legatus of Pannonia in the Dacian war (Id. 5449). Nipp. also notes inscriptions showing the origin of the family to have been from Turin.

4. **ademptis.** Their influence at Andros, attested by the above inscription, suggests a reason for this.

quae utraque. Nipp. rightly explains that she won fame firstly, by giving up the position in which her wealth would have allowed her to live at Rome, secondly, by losing that wealth for her husband's sake sooner than separate herself from him. Tacitus notes such acts as occurring apparently under the tyranny of Domitian ('secutae maritos in exilia coniuges' H. 1. 3, 1); and various instances of female heroism are collected by Friedländer (i. 459–463).

5. **Rufrius Crispinus**: see 11. 1, 3, and note. His place of exile was Sardinia (16. 17, 2).

6. **Verginium Flavum et Musonium Rufum.** The Med. text 'Verginium Rufum' must have arisen from the copyist being misled by a famous name (see c. 23, 1); it being evident from the context that these two persons are referred to. The restoration is due to Walther, who partly follows Lips. The former is mentioned in the 'vita Persii' as his teacher and is frequently referred to by Quint., who says (7. 4, 40), 'Flavum, cuius apud me merito summa est auctoritas.' On Musonius, whose place of exile is said to have been Gyaros, see 14. 59, 2, and note. Philostratus (l. l. there) places his exile in the following year.

9. **Cluvidieno, etc.** These persons are wholly unknown. Nipp. cites an inscription to a slave 'Petroni Prisci trib. laticlavi.'

10. **velut in agmen et numerum,** 'as it were, to complete the mass and list' (='ut agmen et numerus efficeretur'): for this force of 'in' see Introd. i. v. § 60 b. Nipp. compares 'in numerum pars magna perit' (Luc. 2, 111), and 'princeps alios . . . libens videat, alios in numerum relinquat' (Sen. de Clem. 1. 5, 7).

11. **permittuntur**, 'are allowed as places of exile' (cp. 'data exilia' above). Nipp. notes that Tacitus probably uses the official term.

Caedicia, a correction of Orelli for the Med. 'cadicia,' which does not appear to be a Latin name, whereas 'Caedicius' is found on inscriptions and in

Scaevini et Caesennius Maximus Italia prohibentur, reos fuisse
se tantum poena experti. Acilia mater Annaei Lucani sine 12
absolutione, sine supplicio dissimulata.

72. Quibus perpetratis Nero et contione militum habita bina 1
nummum milia viritim manipularibus divisit addiditque sine pretio
frumentum, quo ante ex modo annonae utebantur. tum, quasi 2
gesta bello expositurus, vocat senatum et triumphale decus
Petronio Turpiliano consulari, Cocceio Nervae praetori designato,
Tigellino praefecto praetorii tribuit, Tigellinum et Nervam ita
extollens, ut super triumphales in foro imagines apud Palatium

Juv. 13, 197; 16, 46; the former of which passages is said by the old Schol. to refer to a tool of Nero's cruelties.

1. **Caesennius Maximus.** Most recent edd. have here gone back to the Med. form as above; Lips. having previously been generally followed in treating it as an opposite error to that in 14. 29, 1, and reading 'Caesonius,' after the MSS. of Mart. 7. 44, 1. In this and the following epigram Martial speaks of his exile and of his friend Q. Ovidius, who had accompanied him in it, and calls him 'facundi Senecae potens amicus.' Seneca himself mentions him (Ep. 87, 2) as 'Maximus meus,' and as sharing his simple life.

Italia prohibentur: cp. 14. 50, 2, etc.

reos fuisse, etc. Their sentence gave them their only knowledge that any charge had been brought against them.

2. **Acilia**: see c. 56, 4, and note.

3. **dissimulata**, 'was ignored' (cp. 4. 19, 4, and note); like 'silentio transmissus' (13. 22, 3).

4. **et contione . . . habita**: cp. 13. 21, 1, and note.

bina nummum milia. For other such donatives see 12. 69, 3, and note. Schiller suggests (p. 109, 2) that a 'congiarium' may also have been given at this time or soon afterwards, possibly after the close of the extant narrative of Tacitus, which may be the 'cong. ii or iii of coins' (see 13. 31, 2, and note).

5. **sine pretio frumentum**: cp. Suet. Ner. 10 ('constituit . . . praetorianis militibus frumentum menstruum gratuitum'). It is probable that the legions had gratuitous corn rations from the time of Augustus (see note on 1. 17, 6); so that some deduction has to be made from the comparison of their pay with that of the praetorians (1. 17, 9).

6. **ex modo annonae**, 'according to the market price.' For the regulations affecting this see c. 18, 3; 39, 2; 2. 87, 1, and notes. It would appear that their rations were fixed at this price and paid by stoppage out of their salary.

8. **Petronio Turpiliano**: see 14. 29, 1. No mention has been made of any service rendered by him or Nerva; but Schiller (p. 197) may probably be right in supposing them to have been prominent members of the 'concilium' of the princeps. On the indiscriminate gifts of triumphal honours at this time see 13. 53, 1, and note.

Cocceius Nerva, the subsequent emperor. From what is known of his age (Dio, 68. 4, 2), he would seem to have been at this time thirty-three years old. A mutilated inscription before the date of his principate, found at Sassoferrato (Henzen 5435), records this among his earlier distinctions: 'M. Cocceius [M. f. . . . Nerva, cos.] augur, sodal[is August. . . . quaest.] urb(anus), vi vir turma[e eq(uitum) R(omanorum) . . ., Salius Palat(inus), triumpalib[us ornamentis] honoratus.' His consulships before his principate were in 824, A.D. 71, and 843, A.D. 90. As he had not yet been praetor, his case and that of Tigellinus may be referred to in Suet. Ner. 15 ('triumphalia ornamenta etiam quaestoriae dignitatis et nonnullis ex equestri ordine tribuit').

10. **apud Palatium effigies.** Nipp. compares what is said of the father of Otho (Suet. Oth. 1), 'senatus honore rarissimo, statua in Palatio posita, prosecutus est.' The effigies of men of letters in the Palatine library (see 2. 37, 3, and note) appear to be distinct from these. Au-

3 quoque effigies eorum sisteret. consularia insignia Nymphidio,
qui quia nunc primum oblatus est, pauca repetam: nam et
4 ipse pars Romanarum cladium erit. igitur matre libertina
ortus, quae corpus decorum inter servos libertosque principum
vulgaverat, ex Gaio Caesare se genitum ferebat, quoniam
forte quadam habitu procerus et torvo vultu erat, sive
Gaius Caesar, scortorum quoque cupiens, etiam mari eius inlusit * * *

1 **73.** Sed Nero vocato senatu, oratione inter patres habita,

gustus permitted the erection of the statues of 'triumphales' in the Forum (Dio, 55. 10, 3); and other public places were similarly decorated (see Momms. Staatsr. i. 450; Friedl. iii. 229).

1. **consularia insignia**: cp. 12. 21, 2.

2. **qui quia nunc.** Med. has here 'nymphidio quannc' (Ritt.) or quannc (Baiter), corrected by the older edd. generally to 'de quo quia nunc.' In the simpler insertion of 'qui,' Halm and Dr. have followed Weissenborn. It is however very probable that, as Dr., Nipp. and Ritt. suppose, a greater gap exists. Possibly a verb is lost, as it is somewhat awkward to supply 'tribuit' from above. Also it is unusual for Tacitus to give only one name to a person who has not been before mentioned. Ritt. has endeavoured to fill the gap by reading 'Nymphidio Sabino. De Nymphidio, quando nunc,' etc., considering such a repetition of the name sufficiently paralleled by such instances as c. 34, 3; 16. 17, 1. This restoration has been adopted by Jacob and Pfitzner. The words used would show that his name was prominent in the lost narrative (see Appendix to Book 16); which no doubt included the account of his being put to death by the soldiers after the accession of Galba, on the charge of having tried to make himself emperor (the 'clades' here alluded to): see H. 1. 5, 1; Plut. Galb. 13.

3. **pars Romanarum cladium erit,** 'will form part of the disasters of Rome,' his fall will be an incident in the great catastrophe (that of 821, 822, A.D. 68, 69). The expression is poetical and resembles that used by Seneca (de Tranq. 14, 10) of Kanus Iulius ('Caianae cladis magna portio'), and the 'Italae pars magna ruinae Appius' of Sil. 5, 329, both of which are perhaps suggested by the 'quorum pars magna fui' of Verg. Aen. 2, 6.

igitur, taking up the subject already indicated, as in c. 37, 3; 1. 31, 4; 4. 3, 3, etc.

4. **principum.** The plural appears to be used of the imperial family, as in 3. 34, 11.

5. **ex Gaio Caesare.** Plutarch (Galb. 9) discredits this story, saying that Nymphidius was born when Gaius was a mere boy, and that his real father was supposed to be a gladiator called Martianus.

6. **habitu**, so used of personal appearance in 1. 10, 7; 4. 57, 3, etc. According to Suet. Cal. 50, Gaius was 'statura eminenti, corpore enormi, . . . oculis et temporibus concavis, fronte lata et torva.' His statues, especially the full length in the Museum at Naples, confirm this description. Cp. 6. 46, 8, and note.

7. **inlusit**: cp. 13. 17, 3. It is evident that there is a considerable lacuna here, as we should certainly expect some account, not only of his birth, but of his early life and rise to power, and of his being at this time associated with Tigellinus as 'praefectus praetorio' in place of Faenius Rufus; in fact some such sketch as that introduced by similar words in the case of Petronius (16. 18, 1).

9. **Sed**, resuming a narrative, as in 3. 60, 1, etc.

vocato senatu. Nipp. is perhaps right in bracketing these words, treating them (with Ern.) as an interpolation from a marginal note; the calling of the senate having been already mentioned (c. 72, 2), and the honours to Petronius and others having been awarded by its decree on the motion of Nero; also the words here added ('oratione . . . habita') being a sufficient return to the subject, even if the retrospective sketch of Nymphidius had gone on longer. Ritt., less well, inserts 'iterum' after 'vocato.'

edictum apud populum et conlata in libros indicia confessiones-
que damnatorum adiunxit. etenim crebro vulgi rumore lacera- 2
batur, tamquam viros *claros* et insontes ob invidiam aut metum
extinxisset. ceterum coeptam adultamque et revictam coniu- 3
rationem neque tunc dubitavere quibus verum noscendi cura
erat, et fatentur, qui post interitum Neronis in urbem regressi
sunt. at in senatu cunctis, ut cuique plurimum maeroris, in 4
adulationem demissis, Iunium Gallionem, Senecae fratris morte
pavidum et pro sua incolumitate supplicem, increpuit Salienus
Clemens, hostem et parricidam vocans, donec consensu patrum
deterritus est, ne publicis malis abuti ad occasionem privati odii

1. **edictum**, etc.: cp. 11. 13, 1, and note.

conlata, etc. The conspirators had not been tried (as was usual in the time of Tiberius) before the senate, but privately before the princeps at his Servilian villa (c. 58, 3). Hence he publishes this record of the proceedings to show that the conspiracy was real.

3. **claros et insontes.** Most recent edd. follow Freinsh. in inserting 'claros' by comparison of 14. 58, 8. Other corrections are 'tamquam invisos sed insontes' (Heins.), 'inlustres viros (cp. 11. 36, 3; 16. 16, 4) et insontes' (Ritt.). Walth. defends the Med. text, taking 'et' as = 'etiam' (as in 1. 4, 2).

4. **adultam**, 'matured': cp. 'incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta seditio' (H. 1. 31, 5).

revictam = 'convictam,' 'brought home to its perpetrators'; so 'quae cuncta . . . revincebatur' (of a person) in 6. 5, 2 (where see note). Others take it here to mean 'repressed' (cp. Hor. Od. 4. 4, 23, etc.); but Nipp. rightly points out that this fact would be too patent to need statement.

5. **noscendi** = 'cognoscendi' ('ascertaining'), as in 12. 24, 1 (where see note).

6. **fatentur.** The present here appears to refer to persons living when he wrote, but may be used of extant writings.

7. **ut cuique**, etc. 'as each had most cause for mourning': those whose relations or friends had perished in the conspiracy were most conspicuous in flattery.

8. **Iunium Gallionem.** This brother, originally called Annaeus Novatus, and to whom, under the latter name, the books 'de Ira' are addressed, was afterwards adopted by the Gallio mentioned in 6. 3, 1, and took the name of Iunius Gallio (Dio, 60. 35, 2); his full name being apparently 'L. Annaeus Iunius Gallio.' He is frequently mentioned by Seneca under the latter name (de vit. beat. 1, 1, etc.). His proconsulship of Achaia, known through the history of St. Paul (Acts 18, 12), is alluded to in Sen. Ep. 104, 1. A mention of him in Plin. N. H. 31. 6, 33, 62 shows him to have been consul, and it is suggested by Nipp. that he is the L. Iunius given as cos. suff. with A. Marcellus at some time under Nero in a wax tablet found at Pompeii (Hermes xii. 130). He was forced to suicide in the year following this, according to Jerome, who says (Chron.), 'Iunius Annaeus Gallio, frater Senecae, egregius declamator, propria se manu interfecit.' Also Dio (62. 25, 3) mentions the death of both the brothers of Seneca (for the other see 16. 17, 3).

9. **incolumitate**: cp. c. 60, 5; 14. 10, 4, etc.

Salienus Clemens, otherwise unknown.

10. **hostem et parricidam.** The same words are used by the Othonians of Vitellius in H. 1. 85, 6, and by the senators of Catiline (Sall. Cat. 31, 8); similarly 'latrones et parricidas' of the conspirators against Caesar (4. 34, 5). We need not therefore suppose (with Nipp.) that the latter term relates to Nero as 'pater patriae.' The charge here would seem to allege some participation in the conspiracy.

11. **deterritus est ne.** The sentences introduced by 'ne' represent not what he was deterred from doing, but the substance of the arguments urged on him by

videretur, neu composita aut oblitterata mansuetudine principis novam ad saevitiam retraheret.

1 **74.** Tum [decreta] dona et grates deis decernuntur propriusque honos Soli, cui est vetus aedes apud circum, in quo facinus parabatur, qui occulta coniurationis numine retexisset; utque circensium Cerealium ludicrum pluribus equorum cursibus celebraretur mensisque Aprilis Neronis cognomentum acciperet; templum Saluti exstrueretur eo loci, ex quo Scaevinus ferrum
2 prompserat. ipse eum pugionem apud Capitolium sacravit in-

the 'consensus patrum': cp. the similar instance in 13. 53, 4.

occasionem odii, sc. 'exercendi': cp. 'occasionem gratiae' (sc. 'captandae') 5. 3, 4.

1. **videretur**, 'should incur suspicion of.'

composita, etc. So all edd. after Lips. for Med. 'compositam oblitteratamque mansuetudinem.' 'Composita,' 'what was set at rest': cp. 'compositis bellis' (3. 56, 8), etc.

2. **retraheret**, 'bring up again': cp. 'oblitterata . . . nomina retrahebat' (13. 23, 4).

3. [**decreta**]. Most edd. have followed Gron. and Ern. in bracketing this word, which may have got in from a marginal note, 'decreta dona.' Some follow Lips. and Freinsh. in treating 'decernuntur' as the superfluous word. It is possible that 'decreta' is the corruption of some word contrasted with 'proprius'; but the conjecture 'indiscreta' (Bezzenb.), which Halm inclines to approve, is hardly supported by the sense of that word elsewhere or its use in connexion with 'proprius' in 1. 35, 1.

4. **apud circum** = 'in circo' (1. 5, 5, etc.). According to Tertullian (de spect. 8) 'circus soli principaliter consecratur, cuius aedes medio spatio et effigies de fastigio aedis emicat.' As Jacob suggests, the Sun was no doubt worshipped in this place as the great charioteer. The worship appears to be of Sabine origin; Sol being represented in legend as one of the gods of Tatius: see Varr. L. L. 5. 68; Dion. Hal. 2. 50.

in quo facinus parabatur: see c. 53, 3.

5. **occulta coniurationis** = 'occultam coniurationem': see Introd. i. v. § 32 b.

numine, as the god of light.

utque: on the change of construction see 1. 15, 4, and note.

6. **Cerealium**: see c. 53, 1, and note; H. 2. 55, 1.

7. **Aprilis**, the month in which the plot was detected: see notes on c. 53, 1; 70, 1. It is called 'Neroneus' in 16. 12, 3; where other such new names are mentioned. Suet. (55) makes the decree originate from Nero himself ('mensem quoque Aprilem Neroneum appellavit; destinaverat et Romam Neropolim nuncupare'); which would be in accordance with precedents set by Augustus and Gaius (Suet. Aug. 31; Cal. 15). The name cannot be supposed to have survived his lifetime.

8. **eo loci**: cp. 14. 61, 3, and note. The place from which Scaevinus had taken the dagger was already a temple, and, according to one account, a temple of Salus, though probably under the name of Nortia (see c. 53, 3, and note); and if it was proposed to replace it by a more splendid one (Burnouf), or to rebuild it as if profaned by Scaevinus (Jacob), we should expect this to be more clearly stated. We cannot suppose (with Urlichs) that the place in which Scaevinus had kept the dagger in his own house is meant; but it is possible that Nipp. is right in considering that some words are lost which would have shown that it was proposed to build a temple to Salus at Rome, as well as to erect some monument on the spot at Ferentinum. Schiller notes (195, 3) the sacrifices offered at an earlier time by Nero under this title (Dio, 61. 18, 3; 21, 1), and the prominence of 'Salus,' or 'Salus Neronis,' or 'Salus publica' in the Arval vows, and on coins (Eckhel vi. 277; Cohen i. p. 300).

9. **ipse**, Nero. Similar dedications were made by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 24); also Vitellius dedicated the sword by which Otho had committed suicide (Id. Vit. 10), and Caracalla that with which he had slain his own brother (Dio 77. 23, 3).

scripsitque Iovi Vindici: in praesens haud animadversum post
arma Iulii Vindicis ad auspicium et praesagium futurae ultionis
trahebatur. reperio in commentariis senatus Cerialem Anicium 3
consulem designatum pro sententia dixisse, ut templum divo
Neroni quam maturrime publica pecunia poneretur. quod 4
quidem ille decernebat tamquam mortale fastigium egresso et
venerationem hominum merito, *sed ipse prohibuit, ne intepretatione* quorundam ad omen malum sui exitus verteretur: nam

1. **in praesens.** Acid. and Freinsh. suppose 'id' to have dropped out before 'in.'

2. **arma,** 'the civil war,' the time when arms were taken up: cp. 3. 55, 1, and note. On the rising of Vindex see Appendix to Book 16.

3. **trahebatur,** 'was being interpreted' (cp. 1. 62, 3, and note; 16. 1, 1, etc.); the coincidence of names was thought to have been ominous. 'Auspicium et praesagium' are synonyms (cp. 12. 57, 3, and note).

in commentariis senatus. On these see Introd. i. iii. p. 14. Mommsen notices (Staatsr. iii. 1021, 1) this passage and Suet. Aug. 5 as the only express citations from them in literature; though we cannot doubt that they were extensively used by historians.

Cerialem Anicium. For the record of his death in the following year see 16. 17, 8, where it is stated that he had incurred infamy many years before by betraying a conspiracy to Gaius.

4. **consulem designatum.** He was not 'consul ordinarius' in the following year (16. 14, 1); so that he must either have been designated as 'suffectus' or subsequently set aside.

pro sententia; for the common expression 'loco sententiae' (2. 37, 3; 14. 42, 2, etc.). On the position of the cos. design. in debate see 3. 22, 6; 11. 5, 3, and notes.

divo Neroni. What was unusual was not the erection of a temple to a living emperor, but its erection at Rome, and the use of this title (see below). The early emperors allowed such temples only in the provinces, and with such inscriptions as 'Romae et Augusto'; 'Ti. Caesari Augusto et Augustae et senatui,' etc. See notes on 1. 10, 5; 78, 1; 4. 15, 4; 37, 4; 38, 4.

6. **et venerationem, etc.** The whole passage in Med. is hopelessly corrupt, being thus read, 'et veneratio itē merito quorundā ad omīa dolum sui exitus uerteretur.' For the first part the correction of Rhen., as above, is generally accepted, unless 'et venerationem iam hominum merito' (Ritt.) be preferred: for the latter part, it may be assumed that a lacuna exists, containing a sentence of which Nero (as shown by the use of 'sui') was the subject, and in which his refusal of this honour must have been stated and explained; but none of the attempts to fill the gap and to adapt the remaining words to the insertion have met with any general acceptance. Orelli simply marks the lacuna after 'merito,' and leaves the Med. text obelized; others (also marking the lacuna) correct 'omina dolum' to 'omen ac dolum' (with Rhen.). The conjectural restoration of Halm (whom Dr. follows) is given in the text. Ritt. marks the lacuna after 'quorundam,' and suggests 'quorundam admonitu Nero prohibebat, ne donum ad omen ac dolum,' etc. Nipp. (Ed. 4) limits the force of 'tamquam' to 'egresso,' and reads 'at venerationem hominum merito, quorum admonitu ad votum sui exitus verteretur,' taking these words as an ironical remark of Tacitus, that Nero had certainly deserved reverence at the hands of those who suggested to him a desire for his own death. Jacob reads 'sed ipse prohibuit, ne malignitate quorundam ad omen sui exitus ac dolum verteretur.' Many other conjectures will be found in the critical notes of Walther, Orelli, and Halm.

8. **nam deum, etc.** Lips. compares the saying of Tertullian (Apol. 34), 'maledictum est, ante apotheosin deum Caesarem nuncupare.' Such statements must however be understood in reference to formal deification, with title of 'divus,' by decree of the senate, and of public worship at Rome (see 1. 10, 8, and note; 13. 2, 6, and note), as distinct not only from the temples in the provinces (see note above), but also from local or private worship in Italy and even in Rome itself

deum honor principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines desierit.

(see 1. 73, 2, and note), and from the frequent ascription of divine attributes to the Caesar in the language of poets and other courtiers, as well as from the honours paid to the effigy of the princeps in camp (12. 17, 3, and note) and elsewhere (3. 36, 1, and note). The more extravagant honours allowed or claimed in lifetime by Iulius Caesar (Suet. Iul. 76), Caligula (Id. Cal. 22), or Domitian (Id. Dom. 13), were not taken as a precedent. On the whole subject see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. pp. 463, foll.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

NOTE.—The authorities consulted are generally specified in their places; but a further general obligation has here to be acknowledged to Dr. C. F. Arnold, 'die Neronische Christenverfolgung,' Leipzig, 1888.

THE deep interest attaching to the subject of this chapter, and the fact that no other circumstantial account of the event is preserved to us, have caused it to receive an attention beyond the deserts of its real historical value. In this respect it cannot be ranked with the letter of Pliny [1], in which a governor of a province is officially reporting to his emperor contemporary facts brought before him in his judicial capacity, and which he was under every obligation to ascertain and state correctly [2]; whereas we have here a narrative necessarily at second hand [3], written under no more stringent obligation than that of historical fidelity [4], or with any pains to disguise the writer's animosity towards a detested and despised religion [5].

By one recent writer [6], the whole passage has been impugned as a

[1] Ad Trai. 96.

[2] The comparative gentleness of Pliny's expressions, as compared with those of Tacitus, is generally referred, and with good reason, to the different temperament of the writer: but the circumstances under which he was writing must be also taken into account.

[3] The date of completion of the Annals (see Introd. i. p. 4) would be fully fifty years after that of the persecution. As a boy of about ten years old, Tacitus might possibly have witnessed some of the horrors described; but there is nothing in the narrative to indicate it; and in any case his account, as a whole, must be taken from his usual authorities.

[4] In comparing this, as a weaker obligation, with that of Pliny, it is not meant to imply that Tacitus did not himself consider it a very strong one (see Introd. i. p. 22), however often he has allowed himself unconsciously to be biassed.

[5] A Roman with the ideas of Tacitus would generally feel towards any foreign 'superstitio' a contempt which would make any careful investigation of it repugnant to him: but his extreme bitterness towards Christianity results no doubt from his full belief in the 'flagitia' imputed to it (see note on § 3). It is however remarkable that the judgment of Pliny, whose letter was written some ten years previously, and whose opinion could not have been unknown to him, should not have led him to look upon these charges as at least open to question.

[6] P. Hochart, 'Études au sujet de la persécution des Chrétiens sous Néro,' Paris, 1885.

Christian forgery, but on grounds slender in themselves[1], and involving, as the objector himself sees, a similar attack on the other passages in classical authors of this period[2]. It may be sufficient to point out that Sulpicius Severus, who has transcribed words of Tacitus in an unquestioned passage (c. 37, 8), has also transcribed a portion of this (see on § 3); also that the style is thoroughly Tacitean throughout, containing a number of words and expressions elsewhere used by the author, and more or less characteristic of him, yet without any such elaborate over-imitation as we should expect to detect in even a skilful forgery[3]. Nor is the subject-matter less characteristic, if we note the struggle between the extreme bitterness and animosity of the general view, and the sense of candour and historical fidelity in dealing with the actual charge against the sufferers, the grudging and hardly acknowledged sympathy, the many unexplained difficulties to which his evident unwillingness to dwell longer on the subject than he can help gives rise. It must seem strange that any one who has studied the interpolated passage in Josephus[4], or the correspondence of St. Paul and Seneca[5], should suppose that it is only a similar, but somewhat more skilful performance of the same kind that lies here before us.

The genuineness of the passage being assumed, we may add that only in one or two places does the Medicean text appear to be corrupt[6]. It would seem also that we are here in possession of all that Tacitus has thought fit (at least in the Annals) to tell us concerning the Christians as such; the mode of reference to the subject here being such as strongly to make against the supposition that the lost Fifth Book would have given us in its proper place any fuller account of the

[1] Hardly any account is taken of the language and style, except to notice (p. 76) the use of 'Tiberio imperitante' (on which see note) and the absence of clear construction in § 6 ('aut crucibus adfixi,' etc.). To take this as evidence of forgery is to suppose the interpolator, who must otherwise be assumed throughout to have been an excellent classical scholar, to be capable also of lapsing into ungrammatical blunders; a far more improbable supposition than that of a corruption in the MS. The objections drawn from the subject-matter, such as the alleged anticipation in the use of 'Christiani,' the omission of any specification of Pilate's province, etc., and the argument founded on the absence of apparent knowledge of the passage in early Christian writers, are noticed below or in the notes.

[2] M. Hochart treats the two letters of Pliny and Trajan as a similar pious fraud, and indeed rejects the whole correspondence of Pliny and Trajan and the fact of a governorship of Bithynia by the former: he also treats as interpolations the passage on the Christians in Suet. Ner. 16 (see p. 575), and the words 'inpulsore Chresto' in Suet. Cl. 25. It is difficult to see what object a Christian could have proposed to gain by these two insertions.

[3] The principal references to similar words and expressions are given in the notes, and could be further extended if needful. Professor J. E. B. Mayor has forcibly supported the genuineness of Pliny's letter by similar arguments (Class. Rev. iv. p. 121, foll.).

[4] Jos. Ant. 18. 3, 3.

[5] These letters are printed as an Appendix in Haase's edition of Seneca's works.

[6] See notes on §§ 5, 6.

origin of Christianity or of the life of Christ to supplement the bare record here vouchsafed[1].

Leaving the various difficulties of detail to be dealt with in the notes on the passage, it is proposed here to discuss some of the general grounds on which the credibility of the narrative as given by Tacitus has been called in question.

The narrative brings in no other originating agency than that of Nero, who, to divert the imputation from himself, 'sets up culprits' to sustain the charge; and the great difficulty of explaining how the Christians came to be selected for the purpose is either ignored or supposed to find its solution in the fact that they were 'detested for their abominations,' and notorious for 'hatred of the human race,' and were therefore presumably persons against whom any charge could be believed, as well as being sufficiently numerous to glut the public appetite for vengeance. But such an explanation seems only to increase the difficulty by its contrast with the impression suggested from other sources; according to which the Christian body in Rome at that date has been believed to have been neither considerable in numbers, nor so well known to the outer world as to have aroused its hatred, or to have then incurred the imputations current no doubt in the age of Tacitus, but which he has been here thought to have antedated. If suspicion had arisen or was sought to be propagated, tracing the origin of the fire to an act of religious fanaticism, its more natural objects would have been the Jews, who were then living at Rome in very great numbers, and who as a body had twice at least before this time drawn down upon themselves the interference of the government[2], and whose religion is noticed with more or less asperity by all the chief extant writers of the Neronian period[3],

[1] If such earlier notice had existed, we should expect the addition here of some such words as 'ut rettuli,' or some other different wording of the sentence. The addition of the words 'per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum,' without specification of his province, has indeed been thought to imply that he was already known to the reader, or to be an interpolation, or to show the whole passage to be such. The difficulty is not serious (see note); and if the Crucifixion and his share in it had been already mentioned, even less than is here said would have sufficed. That other acts of his government had been recorded among the circumstances preceding the Jewish rising under Gaius is not impossible; but is somewhat unlikely from the fact that they had certainly not attracted the notice of Tacitus at an earlier date, when he dismisses the whole period with the words 'sub Tiberio quies' (H. 5. 9, 4). The strange conjecture of M. Joel (see C. F. Arnold, p. 117), that an account given in the Fifth Book caused the destruction of that part of the Annals through the indignation of Christians at the representation contained in it, involves the extravagant supposition that the whole history of some three years was annihilated, to secure the excision of what could have been at the utmost so extremely small a portion of it.

[2] For the deportation of Jews by Tiberius see 2. 85, 5, and note; and for the measure taken with them by Claudius see Introd. p. 30.

[3] Lucan speaks of 'dedita sacris Incerti Iudaea dei' (2, 592); Pliny describes the nation as 'contumelia numinum insignis'

while that of the Christians is as universally ignored[1], and is generally supposed to have hardly got beyond the stage at which it was reckoned by Romans merely as a Jewish sect, parted from the main body by what seemed to be obscure and even unintelligible differences[2].

The theories which seek an explanation of these difficulties in some confusion between Jews and Christians may be briefly given as follows:—

1. It has been conjectured[3] that the real victims were zealot Jews, who had taken a local name from Judas of Galilee, and whose existence had been so forgotten when Tacitus wrote as to cause them to be confounded with the Γαλιλαῖοι[4] proper or Christians, to whom Tacitus has appropriated 'the sufferings which he might with far greater truth and justice have attributed to a sect whose odious memory was almost extinguished.' This opinion, in its original form, has found few if any supporters[5]; but has suggested others to which the same objections are not applicable.

2. It has been thought[6] that the blow fell on both bodies, but that the memory of the Christian sufferers has been alone preserved; that the name of 'Christus' as that of the expected Messiah was no less upon the lips of Jews than Christians, and that the turbulent followers of some false Christ[7] drew down an attack upon themselves, which extended itself by their malicious information[8], or by want of discrimination in the judges, to all Christ-worshippers as such.

(N. H. 13. 4, 9, 46), and Moses as founder of a 'magices factio' (30. 1, 2, 11); Seneca (Fr. 41–43 Haase, cited from Aug. de civ. Dei vii. 11) speaks severely of some of their institutions, and adds 'usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit.' To these is to be added the passage in Persius (5, 179–184).

[1] St. Augustine thinks it necessary to explain the silence of Seneca (l. l.) by suggesting that he could neither safely praise nor perhaps conscientiously find fault with Christianity. The absence of satirical allusion in still later writers, as Martial and Juvenal, may be explained with Bp. Lightfoot (Philippians, Introd. i.) by the small material furnished by Christians to caricature.

[2] The pleader Tertullus speaks of the faith as the *Ναζωραίων αἵρεσις* (Acts 24, 5); to Gallio it is a question *περὶ λόγου καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς* (Id. 18, 15), to Festus *ζητήματα περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας, καὶ περί τινος Ἰησοῦ τεθνηκότος, ὃν ἔφασκεν ὁ Παῦλος ζῆν* (Id. 25, 19).

[3] Gibbon, c. 16.

[4] This name is stated to have been anciently given by Jews to Christians (Suidas) and was reimposed by Julian.

[5] Besides other objections, it has been noticed that we have no evidence whatever that the Zealots or followers of Judas were ever called as a body 'Galilaeans.'

[6] See Merivale, Hist. Ch. 54. With his general view that of H. Schiller (Geschichte des Römischen Kaiserreichs, pp. 433–439) is substantially in agreement; but the reasoning of the latter is less forcible. Some of Schiller's principal criticisms on the statements of Tacitus are noticed in the notes.

[7] A supposition of some previous outbreak of this nature appears to be the most probable interpretation of the statement of Suet. (Cl. 25) 'Iudaeos inpulsore Chresto adsidue tumultuantes'; which has been also taken to be a confused account of some attack by the Jews upon the Christians.

[8] It is thought by supporters of this view that those first accused ('qui fate-

3. It has been thought[1] that suspicion may indeed have first rested on the Jews, but that the leading members of that body at Rome may have been enabled by the powerful assistance of Poppaea to shift the charge entirely from themselves upon the Christians, whom they detested and were eagerly seeking opportunities to destroy.

In criticising these views attention must be called to what Tacitus distinctly states, and to such corroboration of his statements as can be found elsewhere.

It is no doubt hardly relevant to say that Tacitus was himself well aware of the distinction between Jews and Christians, and that his account of the origin and spread of Christianity is accurate as far as it goes. But his explicit assertion that the 'Christians' were already, at the time of which he is writing, so known and designated by the Roman people[2], is one which no careful historian would have made if he had not found them so named in his authorities, who in this case were thoroughly contemporary with the events, and describing circumstances of the utmost public notoriety. There is no improbability in the supposition that the 'influx of the Orontes into the Tiber[3]' might have already carried to Rome a name already used, probably for some twenty years, at Antioch[4], already traceable as a term of reproach in the East[5], and apparently familiar not many years after this date at Pompeii[6]. The sect may well have been, as Tacitus seems to imply, better known to the common people than to the government, though it may have forced itself on the notice of the latter as early as 810, A.D. 57[7]; and there is some reason to suppose that at the date of the siege of Jerusalem, officers of the highest rank were aware that Christianity, though of

bantur') were Jewish fanatics, who, if not actually owning the charge of incendiarism (see note on § 5), were exulting at the catastrophe.

[1] The possible agency of Poppaea had been noticed by Gibbon and others. In recent times this view has been powerfully stated by Renan (Origines du Christianisme, iv. ch. vii.) and by Bp. Lightfoot (Apost. Fathers, pt. ii. i. 10).

[2] 'Quos ... vulgus Christianos appellabat' (15. 44, 3).

[3] This current is described by Juvenal (3, 62) as having long set in ('Iampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes').

[4] See note on § 3.

[5] The first Epistle of St. Peter, addressed to Christians in the Asiatic provinces, has the words εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός (πάσχει), μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω (4, 16). Compare the somewhat contemptuous use of the name by Agrippa to St. Paul (Acts 26, 28). In implying that the name was not, at that date, adopted by the brotherhood themselves, Tacitus is fully in accordance with the evidence afforded by the New Testament.

[6] In some words scribbled with charcoal on a wall, the letters 'HRISTIAN' seem to have been at one time traceable, but the writing has since perished, and the attempts at a restoration of the other words rest on no real evidence. See C. I. L. iv. 679, and Zangemeister there.

[7] This would have been the case if the 'superstitio externa' charged against Pomponia Graecina (13. 32, 3) was (as has been generally thought) Christianity. See note there, and Bp. Lightfoot, Apost. Fathers, pt. i (St. Clement), i. 30–33.

Jewish origin, and (as they believed) bound up with Jewish nationality, was not only distinct from, but fundamentally opposed to Judaism[1].

It seems also implied, though not so plainly, that Tacitus found the Christians described in his authorities as 'per flagitia invisi'; and although our only explicit knowledge of such imputations is of considerably later date[2], there is some independent reason to think that such were already current[3]; and they may well have been raked together and made the most of by their adversaries on this occasion.

There is reason to suppose that the apparently small number of the brethren at the date of St. Paul's arrival at Rome[4] may have been materially increased by the effect of his two years of preaching and instruction[5]; but the description of the sufferers as 'a vast multitude' must be taken as a rhetorical expression which we have no means of reducing to a numerical estimate[6]. Archaeology has unfortunately been able to throw hardly any light on the numbers or importance of the Christians in Rome at so early a date[7].

Among other classical authors, the only express reference to the subject[8] is that of Suetonius, which, as far as it goes, shows evidence of being drawn from an independent source[9], and no less clearly marks

[1] It may be permitted here to assume the correctness of the supposition that Sulpicius Severus, who transcribes the words of Tacitus here and in c. 37, 8, 9, has also (Chron. 2. 30, 6–8) transcribed from the lost part of the Fifth Book of the Histories, where Tacitus had given the opinions of the Roman council of war as to the advisability of destroying the Jewish temple: 'alii, et Titus ipse, evertendum templum inprimis censebant, quo plenius Iudaeorum et Christianorum [superstitio] tolleretur. Quippe has [superstitiones] licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas. Christianos ex Iudaeis exstitisse, radice sublata, stirpem facile perituram.' For 'superstitio' and 'superstitiones' (which Tacitus would no doubt have used), Sulpicius has 'religio' and 'religiones.'

[2] See note on 15. 44, 3.

[3] That Christians were looked upon as in some way malefactors would appear from 1 Pet. 2, 12 (καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν).

[4] See Acts 28, 15. [5] Acts 28, 30, 31.

[6] See note on § 5.

[7] De Rossi ('Insc. Christ. urbis Romae') is only able to cite three Christian sepulchral inscriptions bearing definite dates (A.D. 71, 107, and 111) prior to the beginning of the third century. It is however maintained that the oldest Christian cemeteries were set apart and used as such from a very early time. See Northcote and Brownlow, 'Roma Sotteranea,' p. 75, etc.; Bp. Lightfoot, Apost. Fathers, Pt. i. i. pp. 31, 35, foll.

[8] It has been thought that Seneca's description of the 'tunica molesta' (see note on 15. 44, 6) may have been suggested by the recent spectacle, and that the description in Juv. 1. 155, of the punishment of those who drew down on themselves the vengeance of Tigellinus, alludes to it. There can hardly be a doubt that Dio had omitted all reference to it; for his Christian epitomist, Xiphilinus, would hardly have left out any notice which he had found in his author; and Zonaras, who has generally followed Dio, does indeed speak of Nero as a persecutor (11. 13, 570), but on this point cites Eusebius as his authority, and closely follows him.

[9] The meagre statement, 'adflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae et maleficae' (Suet. Ner. 16), seems to follow a different authority from Tacitus, in giving this among various police regulations for which Nero is on the whole commended. The omission of any connexion of it with the fire may be merely due to brevity.

the victims as not Jews but Christians. The earliest express reference to any Neronian persecution in a Christian writer is that in the fragment preserved by Eusebius[1] of the Apology addressed to M. Aurelius by Melito, Bishop of Sardis, about A.D. 170, which, without showing any knowledge of the circumstances as described by Tacitus, sets forth the two most wicked emperors, Nero and Domitian, as having become, at the suggestion of evil counsellors, the only persecutors of the Christians[2]. The same note is dwelt upon at greater length by Tertullian, who, though he refers his adversaries to the statements of their own writers, and has elsewhere[3] distinctly cited Tacitus, shows no knowledge of this passage of the Annals[4]. By others, as Lactantius[5], Eusebius[6], and Jerome[7], Nero is spoken of in general terms as a persecutor, with no allusion to these many and nameless victims, but as having caused the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul; and it is in Sulpicius Severus alone that any unmistakeable following of the narrative of Tacitus is shown[8].

There remain also to be noticed allusions in two Christian books of earlier date than that of Tacitus and Suetonius, which, without containing the name of Nero, or referring indisputably to this massacre, seem difficult to be explained or understood without supposing some distinct reference to it.

The least open to question is that in the first Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, which is with probability taken to have been written in or about the last year of Domitian[9], and which appears distinctly to allude

[1] H. E. 4. 26; also given in Routh, Rell. i. 116.

[2] *Μόνοι πάντων, ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπό τινων βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων, τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστῆσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός.*

[3] 'Is enim (Cornelius Tacitus) in quinta Historiarum suarum bellum Iudaicum exorsus' (Apol. 16).

[4] 'Consulite commentarios vestros: illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. . . . Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate: sed qua et homo, facile coeptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat' (Apol. 5). It will be observed that no details of the Neronian persecution are given, nor is it brought into connexion with the fire. He goes on to speak as if these two emperors had enforced with exceptional rigour the penal laws (assumed as already existing) against Christians 'quas Traianus ex parte frustratus est, vetando inquiri Christianos.' Trajan has been more commonly ranked as a third persecutor: see the discussion of the bearing of his injunction to Pliny in Mr. Hardy's edition of the letters and Bp. Lightfoot (Apost. Fathers, pt. ii. i. pp. 11, foll.).

[5] De mort. persec. 2.

[6] H. E. 2. 25.

[7] 'De viris illustribus' (c. 5), and Chron.

[8] The only earlier Christian writing that even so far follows Tacitus as to connect the persecution with the fire is the apocryphal correspondence of Paul and Seneca, which must have been written at some date before the time of Jerome, who refers to it as if genuine. See below, p. 579, 3.

[9] See Bp. Lightfoot, who argues (Introd. p. 346, foll.) against those who would refer it to an earlier, or to a considerably later date.

both to troubles just before the date of its despatch[1], and also to great sufferings seemingly associated in time with the deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul; the latter passage reminding us in some of its expressions of the words here used by Tacitus[2].

The supposed references in the Apocalypse have been altogether denied[3], and are certainly in great part to be otherwise explained; but the prominence apparently assigned (according to most recent interpreters) to the individual figure of Nero[4], and the personification of the city of Rome as 'the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus[5],' are points in which such allusion can hardly be excluded[6].

[1] The words in § 1 [*διὰ τὰς*] *αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους* [*γενομ*]*ένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ* [*περι*]*πτώσεις* ('owing to the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which have befallen us') are noted by Bp. Lightfoot as suitable to the character of the so-called persecution (or rather the series of judicial attacks on individuals) at Rome under Domitian.

[2] After speaking of the deaths of these apostles, he adds (§ 6), *τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσίως πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλαῖς αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις, διὰ ζῆλος παθόντες, ὑποδεῖγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. Διὰ ζῆλος διωχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες, νεάνιδες, παιδίσκαι, αἰκίσματα δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια παθοῦσαι, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον κατήντη*[*σαν*] *καὶ ἔλαβον γέρας γενναῖον αἱ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι.* The words *νεάνιδες παιδίσκαι* are a suggestion of Bp. Wordsworth, favoured, and formerly adopted in the text, by Bp. Lightfoot, for the much vexed *Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίρκαι*, which have been taken to refer to a scenic representation by martyrs of the legendary punishment of these persons. It would be pressing the passage too far to restrict its reference to the Neronian massacre; for the association with the apostles might be understood of kindred sufferings as well as of even approximate contemporaneity, and other martyrdoms since were doubtless also present to the writer's mind; but the allusion to outrage and torture agrees closely with the description of Tacitus; *ἐν ἡμῖν* may probably mean 'in Rome'; and *πολὺ πλῆθος* seems to be the sober prose of which 'multitudo ingens' is the rhetorical amplification.

[3] Mommsen (Hist. v. 520, 1; E. T. ii. 197, 1), with whom Neumann ('die Römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diocletian,' i. p. 12) agrees, has argued that the Apocalypse is directed against the Roman provincial government generally, and in particular against the worship of the emperors. It is clearly true that the martyrs prominently instanced are those who 'would not worship the image of the beast' (see 13, 15; 20, 4, etc.), in other words, the victims of such standing 'quaestiones de Christianis' as we have in Pliny's letter. This would go to show the Book to have been written when such 'quaestiones' were established and frequent, and therefore not before the time of Domitian, instead of (as many modern critics have argued) as early as A.D. 69 or 70: and it is natural to suppose that a catastrophe of some thirty years ago was less prominent in the writer's mind than the constant ordeal to which Christians were everywhere at that moment subjected. But to suppose the Neronian victims excluded from view because they were not put to death on this charge, or formally on any religious question at all, but on an allegation of incendiarism, would be to attach too much weight to a pretext, practically discarded, as we are told (see 15. 44, 5, and note), at the time itself, and naturally dropped out of sight in subsequent record.

[4] In Mommsen's view, Nero stands as the representative of the Roman imperial rule and the Antichrist, chiefly because the legend of his healing and his return was in every one's mouth. But to look on his return as in any sense a manifestation of Antichrist implies that he had been a persecutor of the faith beyond other emperors.

[5] Rev. 17, 5; cp. 18, 24. Mommsen (l. l.), with whom Neumann (p. 15) again agrees, would refer the stress laid on the guilt of the city of Rome in this respect

It must be admitted that this corroborative evidence is on the whole slender; but if, as has been already shown[1], the genuineness of the passage in Tacitus is not open to reasonable doubt, we have before us here an additional illustration of the otherwise apparent fact, that his works as a whole, especially the Annals, were but little studied[2]. The occurrence of a persecution of some kind under Nero is also independently confirmed; but we should certainly have expected it to have dwelt more in the memory of the Church if the number of sufferers had

solely to its being the more frequent or almost the exclusive place of execution of all Christians condemned to the arena; an obligation to send such criminals to the princeps being recorded (in A.D. 200) as imposed on governors (Modestinus, Dig. 48. 19, 31). But there may be some reason for questioning whether many Christians had been condemned 'ad bestias' in the time of Domitian. The 'quaestiones de Christianis' seem not yet very common in Pliny's time; and it is probable that the penalties were at first less severe than afterwards. Penal laws become more stringent in the face of defiance; and we have evidence (Paul. Sent. v. 29, 1) that the penalties of 'maiestas,' under which law (or that of 'sacrilegium') those refusing to worship the emperor were arraigned (Tert. Apol. 10; cp. Neumann, p. 14), had been at some time thus sharpened: 'antea in perpetuum aqua et igni interdicebatur; nunc vero humiliores bestiis obiciuntur aut vivi exuruntur, honestiores capite puniuntur.' Respecting the date of this increased severity of penalty, we have but little evidence. Such vast shows as those of Trajan, probably also those of the Flavian emperors, must have demanded a crowd of human victims (see Bp. Lightfoot, Apost. Fathers, pt. ii. vol. i. pp. 354–356); and the instance of St. Ignatius, in the later part of the former prince's rule, presupposes others; yet that his case was somewhat exceptional, would appear from the narrative itself, and still more so from Pliny's description, at the very same date, of his own, which seems the usual mode of procedure, that of ordering the humbler culprits to execution there and then, and sending to Rome only those who could plead their 'civitas.' Respecting earlier times, we are still more in the dark, except that exile had not ceased to be the strict legal penalty (as regards Roman citizens) for 'maiestas' in the time of Tiberius (3. 53, 6), nor apparently in that of Nero (14. 48, 7), though death was often arbitrarily inflicted. In favour of the early prevalence of 'damnatio ad bestias,' it may be argued (1) that the 'spectaculum' given by Nero was likely to have been in some way imitated: (2) that (putting aside such figurative expressions as 1 Cor. 4, 9; 2 Tim. 4, 17) the ἐθηριομάχησα of 1 Cor. 15, 32, if a metaphor as regards St. Paul, points to a common fact: (3) that the allusion to Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίρκαι (see above, p. 577, 2) points to some such spectacle. To these it may be replied (1) that those so put to death by Nero were not convicted of 'maiestas' but of alleged incendiarism, and that the punishment was regarded as excessive even for them: (2) that the metaphorical use of θηριομαχεῖν may well have been sufficiently general to have no special significance when used by a Christian (cp. οἵοις θηρίοις μαχόμεθα, Pompeius in App. B. C. 2. 61): (3) that any explanation of Δαναΐδες seems impossible, and the whole reading most questionable (see note l. l.). There is also some stronger counter evidence, (1) in the complete silence of the Apocalypse itself as to any such form of martyrdom; (2) still more in the general designation of the martyrs as οἱ πεπελεκισμένοι (20, 4), pointing to simple execution as at least the usual penalty.

[6] Another supposition, perhaps more probable than that discussed above, is that Rome, as the seat of government, is associated with all the righteous blood shed throughout the empire. This may be admitted; but the words seem also to contain a more particular reference, of which this massacre would be the most natural explanation.

[1] See above, p. 571.

[2] The few references in subsequent literature to Tacitus at all are to the Histories; and it would appear that in the time of the emperor Claudius Tacitus, some action on his part was required to rescue the works of his namesake from oblivion (Vit. Tac. 10, 3).

been as great as Tacitus would lead us to suppose[1]. It is however to be borne in mind that the interest of posterity gathered chiefly round eminent individual martyrs; whence the conception of Nero as a persecutor would naturally be rather associated with the deaths of the great Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul than with those of obscure, though even numerous victims, who left no name and appear in no martyrology[2].

It will be seen that we do not find evidence in classical or Christian record for the supposition that this massacre fell chiefly or even jointly on the Jewish body[3]. Nor has any Jewish tradition to that effect come down to us; and the complete silence of Josephus, who could not well either have been ignorant of any such terrible sufferings undergone by his co-religionists, or have failed to record them if known to him, must have considerable weight in such a case[4].

On the other hand, the theory that the Jews may have considered themselves in danger, and may have been enabled to secure their own safety, and to shift the suspicion to the Christians by means of their influence at court, though equally unattested, is certainly so far a 'vera causa,' that we have clear evidence of Poppaea's leaning toward the Jews[5], and of her interposition on two occasions on their behalf[6]; to which has to be added our abundant evidence of their bitter hatred of the Christians, and previous attempts to arraign St. Paul and others before provincial tribunals. We appear thus to see that they had opportunity, and that probably they alone had motives, for endeavouring to fasten upon the Christians a charge likely in such a state of excitement to win ready belief, and that they must have had power, such as probably no others would have had, to give such information as to their

[1] It may be argued that he was unlikely to exaggerate the sufferings of an odious sect: but it is easy to suppose that to him, or perhaps to the authorities whom he followed, the memory of Nero was still more odious.

[2] That the name of none of these victims is preserved in any martyrology, is noted by Dean Merivale (ch. 54). The deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul are generally placed two or three years later.

[3] The only trace of any such tradition is found in the apocryphal correspondence of Paul and Seneca (Ep. 12), 'Christiani et Iudaei quasi machinatores incendii affecti supplicio uri solent.' This may be taken for what it is worth, as showing the existence of such a belief as early as the fourth century; but can hardly be set against the silence of Josephus.

[4] Josephus, who takes a somewhat balanced view of the general character of Nero (Ant. 20. 8, 3), expresses an intention of recording accurately all that happened to the Jews under his rule.

[5] The description of her as θεοσεβὴς in Jos. Ant. 20. 8, 11, has been perhaps too strictly interpreted as implying that she was a proselyte.

[6] Her intercession on behalf of the high priest and other authorities of the temple in a dispute between them and Festus is given by Josephus (l. l.); as also his own mission apparently in the year before the fire, on behalf of some Jewish prisoners who had been sent to Rome by Felix and were detained there. He had approached Poppaea through Alityrus, a Jewish actor of high repute, and obtained the release of the prisoners and received many gifts from her (Vit. 3).

tenets as would make the charge seem plausible[1]. It may be added that the reference (if such it may be taken to be) to this event in the Epistle of St. Clement[2] represents the martyrs as victims to party spirit or jealousy (ζῆλος)[3]. The argument from silence[4], resting on the absence of any mention of this among all the acts of hostility imputed to the Jews by Christian controversialists, loses much of its weight by the generality of the language used in most of the places referred to.

We should infer from Tacitus that the general guilt of the Christian body was assumed in some way before any individuals were dealt with; and that the openly known and professed Christians were but a small section of the whole body[5]; and that it was through some, perhaps very few of the former, probably under terrible constraint of torture, that the latter were got at[6]. Those who know the flimsy evidence that has generally been held to suffice in such mockeries of justice as times of intense public excitement sanction, will readily understand that membership in a body of pronounced 'haters of mankind,' seemed proof enough of incendiarism[7] at the tribunal, perhaps of the city praefect, or at that where Nero, with probably Tigellinus at his side[8], presided. Nor do even the bitter words used by the historian forbid us to suppose that he sympathised with the general feeling expressed at Nero's brutal

[1] It has been noted by Dean Milman (Hist. of Christ. B. ii. ch. 3) that any expressions of belief possibly then used (cp. 2 Thess. 1, 8; 2 Pet. 3, 10; Rev. 18, 8) respecting an impending destruction of the world by fire, would have great weight at such a time: nor would any stop to inquire whether such belief might also be found in Jewish prophecy (e.g. Mal. 4, 1) and in Stoic or other philosophic teaching (Min. Fel. Oct. c. 34). The charge of holding nocturnal assemblies, and that of 'odium generis humani,' and general immorality as implied in the alleged 'flagitia,' would complete the indictment. Tacitus may perhaps have been so far wrong in describing as already known and existing the charges which may have been then and there first formulated.

[2] See above, p. 577, 2.

[3] This could equally refer to betrayal by brother-Christians, if voluntary, and not extorted by fear. It should also be mentioned that Melito (see above, p. 576, 2) speaks of Nero and Domitian more as if prompted by ordinary individual informers than by a hostile religious body. This may be intended especially to refer to the latter emperor.

[4] This argument appears to be pressed by M. Joel, who is cited by Dr. C. F. Arnold (p. 58, etc.) as having replied with great vigour to this charge on behalf of his co-religionists. The reference is especially to such early treatises as the dialogue of Justin with Trypho.

[5] See note on 'qui fatebantur' (§ 5).

[6] The allusion to προδόται in 2 Tim. 3, 4, may here be noted. The word is used elsewhere only twice in N. T., of Judas (Lk. 6, 16), and of the Jews in relation to Christ (Acts 7, 52).

[7] See note on 'haud proinde quam,' etc. (§ 5).

[8] Nothing is told us as to the court before which the trials took place; but the allusion which is thought to be made to the subject in Juv. 1, 155, brings in the name of Tigellinus, whose natural position would have been that of assessor to Nero sitting personally, 'saevienti intimum consiliorum' (15. 61, 4), or presiding at torture (14. 60, 4). It is thought that criminals of humble rank may have been tried before the 'praefectus urbis' (see 6. 11, 3), and that in charges of incendiarism, the 'praefectus vigilum' had some summary power. The senatorial court is not likely to have been employed in such a case.

enjoyment of the scene of torment, that however guilty the victims might be, and however justly their lives were forfeited, the horrors added to their execution served no public interest, and went merely to glut one man's ferocity[1].

The supposition that this attack on the Christians extended beyond Rome rests on late evidence[2], and is inconsistent with the charge on which they were formally condemned; but it can hardly be doubted that the action taken had far-reaching consequences. Whatever tended to dissociate the new religion from Judaism tended to dissociate it also from Jewish privileges[3], and to show to all provincial governors that a new 'religio inlicita,' formidably aggressive and proselytising, had arisen among them. In such a case it hardly needed the issue of a special edict to set up such 'quaestiones' as we find in force forty years afterwards[4], in which the worship of the image of deified or living emperors is enforced with all rigour of penal consequences upon the scattered bodies protected by no ordinance and representing no nationality.

[1] See § 8 and notes.

[2] It does not appear to be distinctly affirmed by any earlier writer than Orosius (see Arnold, p. 86); and the Lusitanian inscription cited in support has been long since treated as an invention (C. I. L. ii. fals. 231). It is an open question whether some definite and special persecution is not alluded to in 1 Pet. 4, 12–19; also whether the words of Tertullian (ad nat. 1. 7), 'permansit, erasis omnibus, hoc solum institutum Neronianum,' go to show any permanent custom of 'quaestiones' from this date.

[3] The Jews were allowed to keep their sabbaths: no emperor but Gaius had insisted on their worshipping his image: military service was not required of them. Even after the Jewish war, these privileges were still observed (see Neumann, p. 10, foll.).

[4] Such trials may have arisen before the time of Domitian, but probably their severity mainly dates from him; as he appears to have insisted on his own divinity more strongly than any of his predecessors except Gaius (Suet. Dom. 13; Plin. Pan. 33; Dio, 67. 12, 2).

BOOK XVI.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

Ch. 1–13. Remaining events of the year.

1–3. Delusion propagated by Caesellius Bassus respecting a treasure in Africa. 4, 5. Recurrence of the Neronian festival: Nero appears on the stage of the public theatre: constant presence and applause exacted from the audience; peril of Vespasian. 6. Death of Poppaea, and honours paid to her. 7–9. C. Cassius and L. Silanus impeached by Nero before the senate: the former exiled; the latter removed to Barium and killed there. 10, 11. L. Vetus, his daughter Pollitta, and mother-in-law Sextia, forced to suicide. 12. P. Gallus exiled. The months of May and June to be called Claudius and Germanicus. 13. Storms in Campania and pestilence at Rome: levy of troops in provinces, and bounty of Nero to the people of Lugdunum.

A. U. C. 819, A. D. 66. C. Suetonius Paulinus, C. Luccius Telesinus, coss.

Ch. 14–20. Various persons put to death.

14–16. P. Anteius and Ostorius Scapula accused of astrology by Antistius Sosianus: their deaths. Excuse of Tacitus for recording the general want of spirit. 17. Deaths of Rufrius Crispinus, Annaeus Mela (brother of Seneca and father of Lucan), and Cerialis Anicius. 18–20. Death and character of C. Petronius, who taunts Nero in writing with his secret excesses: this leads to the exile of Silia. Minucius Thermus sacrificed to the enmity of Tigellinus.

Ch. 21–35. Crowning iniquity of the deaths of Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus.

21, 22. Speech of Capito Cossutianus against Thrasea, respecting his conduct in the senate and subsequent absence from it. 23. Ostorius Sabinus, a knight, impeaches Soranus for his conduct as proconsul of Asia. 24–26. Thrasea forbidden to meet Nero on his entry into Rome with Tiridates. He demands to know the ground of offence, and consults with his friends whether he should meet the charge or anticipate it by death. 27–29. The senate surrounded by soldiers: letter of Nero read: speech of Eprius Marcellus against Thrasea, Helvidius Priscus, Paconius Agrippinus, Curtius Montanus. Consternation in the senate. 30–32. Charges of Ostorius against Soranus and his daughter Servilia, wife of the exiled Annius Pollio, and their defence: baseness of P. Egnatius the Stoic in bearing witness against him. 33. Constancy of Cassius Asclepiodotus, a friend of Soranus. Sentence passed, that Thrasea, Soranus, and Servilia be permitted to commit suicide; Helvidius and Paconius to be banished from Italy; Montanus to be excluded from public life: the accusers rewarded. 34, 35. Last hours of Thrasea.

APPENDIX III.

Summary of the principal events between the end of Book 16 and the death of Nero.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XVI.

1 **1.** INLUSIT dehinc Neroni fortuna per vanitatem ipsius et promissa Caeselli Bassi, qui origine Poenus, mente turbida, nocturnae quietis imaginem ad spem haud dubiae rei traxit, vectusque Romam, principis aditum emercatus, expromit repertum in agro suo specum altitudine inmensa, quo magna vis auri contineretur,
2 non in formam pecuniae, sed rudi et antiquo pondere. lateres quippe praegraves iacere, adstantibus parte alia columnis; quae

1. **dehinc**, implying that fortune had hitherto favoured him.

Neroni: so all edd. after G. The Med. 'Neronis fortuna' (both in uncials) shows the scribe to have been misled by a common formula.

vanitatem, 'credulity' (Burnouf, etc.); so in 14. 22, 3.

2. **Caeselli Bassi.** Suet. (31) omits the name, but styles the person 'eques Romanus.'

turbida, 'disordered'; so 'turbidus animi' (of Gaius), in H. 4. 48, 2.

nocturnae quietis imaginem. On this use of 'quies' see 1. 65, 2, and note.

3. **haud dubiae rei traxit**: so all recent edd., after Doed., for Med. 'haud dubie ('e' being written in an erasure) retraxit,' corrected by other MSS. and edd. to 'dubiam retraxit.' On 'ad spem trahere' cp. 15. 74, 2.

4. **emercatus**: cp. 12. 14, 1, and note. On the bribes which had to be given to the 'ianitores' of great men, to procure an interview, see 4. 74, 5; Juv. 3, 184, and passages there quoted by Mayor.

repertum, etc. Schiller notes a story told by Philost. (Vit. Ap. 6. 39), of a man sacrificing to Earth in the hope of treasure, as showing a belief prevalent in that age.

6. **in formam pecuniae**, 'coined into money.' The prep. here, as often (cp. 13. 38, 2; 15. 71, 10, etc.), expresses result, but is somewhat harsher from the absence of any verb or participle.

rudi atque antiquo pondere, 'in rude and antique masses': the abl. is that of quality. 'Pondus' is thus often used of weighty material.

lateres . . . columnis. The latter seems to be, as Jacob notes, a grandiloquent term for upright bars. 'Lateres' is used for 'ingots' in Plin. N. H. 33, 3, 17, 56; as also πλίνθοι in Polyb., etc.; ἡμιπλίνθια in Hdt. 1. 50, 2.

per tantum aevi occulta augendis praesentibus bonis. ceterum, 3
ut coniectura demonstrabat, Dido Phoenissam Tyro profugam
condita Carthagine illas opes abdidisse, ne novus populus nimia
pecunia lasciviret, aut reges Numidarum, et alias infensi, cupi-
dine auri ad bellum accenderentur.

2. Igitur Nero, non auctoris, non ipsius negotii fide satis 1
spectata nec missis, per quos nosceret an vera adferrentur, auget
ultro rumorem mittitque qui velut paratam praedam adveherent.
dantur triremes et delectum remigium iuvandae festinationi. 2
nec aliud per illos dies populus credulitate, prudentes diversa

1. **occulta**, better taken as a participle (with 'fuisse' supplied) than as an adj. Nipp., on the ground that Tacitus never elsewhere uses the perf. of 'occulo' (see note on 14. 44, 2), thinks that a syllable has here been dropped, and reads 'occultata.'

augendis . . . bonis, dat. of purpose, 'to increase the wealth of the present age.'

2. **ut coniectura demonstrabat.** The Med. 'demonstrat' answers to 'expromit'; but we should expect the imperf. in a parenthetical sentence; and it is thus that these words must necessarily be taken, so as to make the force of 'expromit' extend to 'abdidisse.' Orelli and Jacob, however, retain the present. Madvig (Adv. ii. 557) considers 'ut' to be an interpolation (arising from taking 'coniectura' as a nominative), and would thus make 'abdidisse' depend on 'demonstrabat.'

Dido. This accus. is found in Vell. 1. 6, 4; also (with v. l. 'Didon') in Ov. Her. 7, 7; 133; possibly also in Verg. Aen. 4, 383. Quint. says (1. 5, 63) that the general preference for Greek forms of inflexion was new in his day; that he, though generally preferring Latin forms, feels unable to tolerate such an accusative as 'Calypsonem,' though Caesar had followed the ancients in using even those forms.

4. **reges Numidarum**, such as the Iarbas of Vergil (Aen. 4, 36, etc.).

alias, 'otherwise.' This sense, though borne out by such passages as 'alias salubri potu eius aquae' (Pl. N. H. 2, 103, 106, 226), is not in accordance with the general use in Tacitus, where it always means 'at other times' (e.g. 1. 55, 3; 11. 31, 4, etc.), with the doubtful exception of 3. 73, 2. Ritt. reads 'alia' ('in other respects').

6. **fide**, used strictly with 'auctoris' and more loosely with 'negotii' ('the credibility of the informant, and intrinsic likelihood of the matter').

7. **missis.** Med. and other MSS. and old edd. add 'uisoribus,' which has generally been omitted, after Ern., as a gloss; the word being known only in mediaeval Latin.

nosceret = 'cognosceret': cp. 15. 73, 3, etc.

8. **velut paratam**, 'lying, as it were, (in his imagination) ready to hand.' The Med. text 'partam' is retained by Walth. and Ritt.; but most edd. after Ern. have followed Acid. in correcting it as above, on the ground that 'partam' would be more naturally used of something acquired by exertion (cp. the opposite correction of 'partae' for 'paratae,' in 4. 44, 1). 'Praeda parata' is used similarly in Ov. Her. 8, 82; so also 'materia . . . audenti parata' in H. 1. 6, 5; and the same idea is here expressed below by 'obvias opes.'

adveherent, sc. 'Romam': Ern. needlessly alters to 'aveherent.'

9. **delectum remigium** = 'delecti remiges' (cp. 14. 4, 5; 39, 4, etc.), taken closely with 'iuvandae festinationi.' Boxhorn has been followed by almost all edd. in reading 'remigium' for the Med. 'nauigium'; which, if used for 'ships,' would naturally be in the plural (cp. 4. 68, 2), and the sense given to the words by Walther ('triremes et quidem delectae naves') is weak.

10. **nec aliud**, etc.; during all those days this subject was alone discussed, 'by the people with credulity, by the thoughtful with very different remarks.' For the use of 'diversus' cp. 14. 10, 4; H. 4. 40, 5 (where 'diversa fama' is opposed to 'iustum iudicium explesse videbatur');

3 fama tulere. ac forte quinquennale ludicrum secundo lustro
celebrabatur, ab oratoribusque praecipua materia in laudem
4 principis adsumpta est. non enim solitas tantum fruges nec
confusum metallis aurum gigni, sed nova ubertate provenire terram et obvias opes deferre deos, quaeque alia summa facundia nec minore adulatione servilia fingebant, securi de facilitate credentis.
1 **3.** Gliscebat interim luxuria spe inani, consumebanturque veteres opes quasi oblatis, quas multos per annos prodigeret. quin et inde iam largiebatur; et divitiarum exspectatio inter

for that of 'fama' cp. 13. 1, 6 ('crebra vulgi fama'), etc.; for that of 'tulere' cp. 15. 46, 1, etc. Boxhorn has been again followed by almost all edd. in reading 'prudentes' (thus opposed to 'vulgum' in 1. 47, 5) for the Med. 'prodentis'; from which Walther endeavours, with little success, to extract a satisfactory meaning.

1. **quinquennale ludicrum**: cp. 14. 20, 1. The proper year, according to Roman computation (see note on 14. 20, 1), had come round; but he is said by Suet. (Ner. 21) to have somewhat anticipated the day ('Neroneum agona ante praestitutam diem revocavit'). The Med. 'celebratur' is thus corrected by Put., etc.

2. **ab oratoribusque.** Med. has 'auaratoribus oratoribusque,' generally corrected by the old edd. to 'a narratoribus oratoribusque.' Among many attempts to better this, the 'ac vatibus' of Lips. appears to have found most favour; but Tacitus (as Nipp. remarks) would hardly have so styled the court poets. Most recent edd. follow Baiter in reading as above, and treating the error as one of repetition. Ritt. reads '[ab oratoribus] oratoribusque,' considering the former words interpolated from a marginal note explaining the less common dative.

materia, sc. 'haec,' supplied from 'nec aliud.'

4. **confusum metallis aurum**, 'mere gold ore in mines.' As the words stand, it seems best so to take them, and to make 'metallis' an abl. of place (see Introd. i. v. § 25), unless it be supposed, with Dr., that 'in' has dropped out between 'm' and 'm.' There is much probability in Nipp.'s conjecture, that 'aliis' has dropped out after 'metallis' (cp. 'aurum et argentum et alia metalla' Agr. 12, 6); but it is more natural to speak of gold as mixed with other substances generally in the earth than with other metals. Pliny mentions (N. H. 33. 4, 21, 67) a great find of gold close to the surface of the ground in Delmatia in Nero's time.

gigni. This term is used by Pl. ma. of gold (N. H. 33. 4, 21, 78) and of precious stones (Id. 37. 5, 20, 76). Dr. notes also the use of 'nasci' of metals in Caes. B. G. 5. 12, 5, etc., and the modern use of similar terms in unscientific language.

provenire, 'was fruitful.' The verb is used properly of the crop (cp. 13. 57, 2, etc.), and in this sense is ἅπ. εἰρ.; but the use with a personal subject in the sense of 'succeeding,' in such phrases as 'bene,' 'recte provenire,' etc. (Plaut. Truc. 2. 4, 34; 6, 35; Stich. 2. 3, 73; etc.), seems sufficiently near to support the text. Ritt. (who partly follows MS. Agr.) reads 'provenire e terra,' a reading which might no doubt easily have been altered into the Med. text; but the subject 'terram' (personified) more naturally answers to 'deos.'

5. **obvias**, 'thrown in our way,' without search.

6. **servilia**, accus., with 'alia.'

securi, etc., 'sure of the acceptance of him who listened to them'; sure that any flattery, however barefaced, was welcome. 'Facilitas' is equivalent to the 'facilis credulitas' of 14. 4, 3.

8. **luxuria**, 'his extravagance.' Suet. (Ner. 31) connects with this expectation the costly buildings, etc. mentioned by Tacitus earlier (15. 42).

10. **inde**, 'out of this treasure,' in anticipation of it.

largiebatur. On the enormous largesses of Nero's later years see H. 1. 20, 2; Introd. p. 91.

causas paupertatis publicae erat. nam Bassus, effosso agro 2
suo latisque circum arvis, dum hunc vel illum locum promissi
specus adseverat, sequunturque non modo milites sed populus
agrestium efficiendo operi adsumptus, tandem posita vaecordia,
non falsa antea somnia sua seque tunc primum elusum admirans,
pudorem et metum morte voluntaria effugit. quidam vinctum
ac mox dimissum tradidere ademptis bonis in locum regiae gazae.

4. Interea senatus, propinquo iam lustrali certamine, ut 1
dedecus averteret, offert imperatori victoriam cantus adicitque
facundiae coronam, qua ludicra deformitas velaretur. sed Nero 2
nihil ambitu nec potestate senatus opus esse dictitans, se aequum
adversum aemulos et religione iudicum meritam laudem ad-

1. **paupertatis publicae**, 'exhaustion of public funds.' Tacitus perhaps alludes to what is mentioned by Suet. (Ner. 32), that by his prodigal expenditure under the influence of this hope, Nero was 'ita iam exhaustus et egens ut stipendia quoque militum et commoda veteranorum protrahi ac differri necesse esset.' He adds an account of various means of extortion devised to make up for the disappointment.

2. **circum**, here taken as an attribute: cp. 'dites circum terras' (4. 55, 8).

hunc vel illum, i.e. (pointing) 'here' or 'there': 'locum,' sc. 'esse.'

5. **tunc**, answering to 'nunc' in oratio recta: cp. 14. 35, 1, and note.

admirans (Med. 'ammirans'), 'protesting with astonishment.' There seems to be no reason to doubt that Bassus was acting in good faith, under a genuine delusion of his 'mens turbida' (c. 1, 1). He had nothing to gain by fraud, and had given money for access to Nero (l. l.). He is now represented as recovering from his delusion ('posita vaecordia') and as genuinely astonished. There is thus no reason for altering 'admirans' to 'adfirmans' (with Nipp.); though the sense of this participle appears to be supplied by zeugma with 'non falsa,' etc.

6. **quidam . . . tradidere.** Nipp. notes that Tacitus implies disbelief in this version, by his way of putting it. Similar instances are found in H. 1. 7, 2; 14, 1; 3. 54, 7, etc. In 15. 53, 5, what is first stated as a fact is afterwards qualified by the context.

7. **in locum**, 'to make up for.'

gazae. This Persian word (Curt. 3. 13, 5) is especially used of royal treasure: cp. 6. 31, 2; 37, 5.

8. **lustrali certamine**: see note on 14. 20, 1. It is to be observed that, as the alleged discovery of Bassus took place before the games, its sequel is related before going back to the narrative.

9. **dedecus**, the scandal of his appearance on the stage, which they hoped to prevent by awarding him the prize beforehand.

10. **facundiae**, 'of eloquence.' This term, like 'eloquentia' (14. 21, 8) would convey the idea of a more liberal accomplishment than that of 'cantus,' and would veil the disgrace of rewarding an emperor for the latter. It would be understood to be given for his poetic gift, of which accordingly he first gives proof ('carmen . . . recitat').

ludicra deformitas, 'the degradation attaching to the stage': cp. 'ludicrum in modum canere' (14. 14, 1); also the similar sense of 'deformitas' in 11. 32, 6, etc.: and of 'deformia' in 14. 15, 3.

11. **ambitu.** It is possible, with Ritt., to supply 'suo,' and thus to distinguish it from 'potestate senatus'; but it seems better to take the latter term as explaining the former, and to suppose that an authoritative injunction from the senate to the judges is called 'ambitus' as an irregular and corrupt mode of gaining the prize.

aequum, sc. 'esse,' 'he met his rivals on an equal footing' (cp. 2. 42, 5; 6. 25, 3), not as emperor: he would owe the prize to the merit of his performance and the conscientiousness of the judges.

secuturum, primo carmen in scaena recitat; mox flagitante vulgo
ut omnia studia sua publicaret (haec enim verba dixere) in-
greditur theatrum, cunctis citharae legibus obtemperans, ne
fessus resideret, ne sudorem nisi ea quam indutui gerebat veste
detergeret, ut nulla oris aut narium excrementa viserentur.
3 postremo flexus genu et coetum illum manu veneratus sententias
4 iudicum opperiebatur ficto pavore. et plebs quidem urbis,
histrionum quoque gestus iuvare solita, personabat certis modis
plausuque composito. crederes laetari, ac fortasse laetabantur
per incuriam publici flagitii.
1 **5.** Sed qui remotis e municipiis severaque adhuc et antiqui

1. **in scaena**, that of the great theatre of Pompeius (see 14. 20, 2, and note): so Pliny speaks (N. H. 37. 2, 7, 19) of the period of his more private performances as 'dum Pompeiano praeludit.'

carmen . . . recitat, 'he declaims a poem,' one of his own compositions (see 14. 16, 1, etc.). Dio states (62. 29, 1) that it was a part of the 'Troica.'

2. **ut omnia**, etc. 'that he would make exhibition of all his accomplishments': cp. Suet. (Ner. 21), 'non cessavit se identidem publicare.'

ingreditur theatrum, i. e. after having appeared as a poet, he now appears as a musician. In Suet. Vit. 4 it is stated that he had left the theatre after his recitation, and, notwithstanding the popular demand, shrank from coming forward again, till Vitellius, who was presiding at the games, went as if in the name of the people, and overcame his apparent reluctance. Suet. adds (Ner. 21) that, after preluding, he announced through Cluvius Rufus that he would sing the part of Niobe.

citharae legibus, 'the etiquette of the harper's profession': for a similar account, see Suet. Ner. 24.

4. **indutui**. This word is used here alone in Tacitus, also in Varr., Apul., Ammian., but always in dat. sing. or pl. Cp. 'vestitui pelles' (G. 46, 3), and other such datives in Introd. i. v. § 23.

6. **genu**, best taken (with Nipp.) as accus. of the part concerned.

coetum illum, contemptuously. The 'iudices' were much influenced by the popular voice.

7. **ficto pavore**. Suet. speaks (Ner. 23) as if he had worked himself into a real fear. Dio (63. 9, 2) speaks of a similar reality or show of fear in Greece. The statement of Suet. (21), that he put off the reception of the crown and the rest of the contest till the following year, is discredited by the silence of Tacitus.

8. **iuvare**, 'to stimulate' by applause. On the pantomimists ('histriones') see 1. 54, 3, and note.

personabat: cp. 14. 15, 9, and note.

certis modis, 'in regular cadence.' Dio speaks (73. 2, 3) of the people in the theatres as trained in the time of Commodus εὐρύθμως ἐκβοᾷν, and Lips. cites an edict of Theodoric in praise of the modulated shouting of his day. It appears to be applause of this kind that is called 'concentus' in Pl. Pan. 2. See further references in Friedl. ii. 261.

9. **composito**, 'regulated': cp. 15. 34, 2, and note.

10. **per incuriam**: so all edd. after Acid. for Med. 'per iniuriam.' The prep. has here the force of 'ex' (= 'quia incuriosi erant'): cp. Introd. i. v. § 62.

11. **municipiis**. This is explained by the words 'severa . . . Italia,' so as to show that the Italian towns, which are often spoken of generally as 'municipia et coloniae' (cp. 1. 79, 1, and note), are here meant, and no reference included to such municipal towns as existed in the provinces. On the contrast of life in these towns with that of Rome see 3. 55, 4, also the expressions of Pliny (Ep. 1. 14, 4) 'patria est ei Brixia ex illa nostra Italia, quae multum adhuc verecundiae, frugalitatis atque etiam rusticitatis antiquae retinet.'

severaque, etc. Most recent edd. follow Freinsh. and others in thus reading (after MS. Agr.) for the Med. 'severam . . . retinentes Italiam,' which Orelli retains,

moris retinente Italia, quique per longinquas provincias lascivia
inexperti officio legationum aut privata utilitate advenerant,
neque aspectum illum tolerare neque labori inhonesto sufficere,
cum manibus nesciis fatiscerent, turbarent gnaros ac saepe a
militibus verberarentur, qui per cuneos stabant, ne quod temporis
momentum inpari clamore aut silentio segni praeteriret. con- 2
stitit plerosque equitum, dum per angustias aditus et ingruentem
multitudinem enituntur, obtritos, et alios, dum diem noctemque
sedilibus continuant, morbo exitiabili correptos. quippe gravior 3
inerat metus, si spectaculo defuissent, multis palam et pluribus
occultis, ut nomina ac vultus, alacritatem tristitiamque coëuntium
scrutarentur. unde tenuioribus statim inrogata supplicia, ad- 4
versum inlustres dissimulatum ad praesens et mox redditum

and which would mean 'still clinging to that part of Italy which had strict and primitive ways.' But the correction, though not necessary, is supported by the use of 'retinens' with genit. elsewhere (cp. 2. 38, 9, and note). It is of course clear that such municipal towns as were close to Rome would not be so spoken of.

1. **longinquas**, evidently the right reading of the Med. 'lonquas,' perverted by other MSS. and old edd. into 'longas,' a word never used by Tacitus to express remoteness.

lascivia inexperti, 'inexperienced in wantonness' (taken closely with 'per . . . provincias'). Med. and other MSS. have here 'lasciviam experti,' corrected by Put. and the old edd. to 'lasciviae inexperti,' but by all recent edd. (after G. Otto, Divinatt. Livian. p. 41) as above; on the analogy of 'exercitum . . . bonis inexpertum atque insuetum' (Liv. 23. 18, 10). Tacitus has 'bellis (or 'bello') inexpertus' ('untried by war') in H. 1. 8, 2; 2. 75, 1.

2. **officio . . . utilitate**, causal ablatives (Introd. i. v. § 30).

3. **aspectum**, the sight of an emperor on the stage.

labori . . . sufficere, 'were equal to the degrading toil': cp. 3. 32, 1, and note.

4. **fatiscerent**: cp. 3. 38, 1 (and note); 14. 24, 1.

gnaros, sc. 'plaudendi,' 'the trained applauders,' the 'Augustiani' of 14. 15, 8.

5. **cuneos**: cp. 2. 83, 5.

6. **inpari**, 'ill-regulated'; in contrast with such as is described in c. 4, 4.

constitit: cp. 13. 35, 3, and note.

7. **plerosque** = 'permultos.'

8. **enituntur**, 'struggle up' (cp. 1. 65, 9; 70, 6, etc.) to the outlets. This passage would show Suet. to be exaggerating when he says (Ner. 23) that all egress during the performance was absolutely prohibited. He adds 'Itaque et enixae quaedam in spectaculis dicuntur, et multi . . . aut furtim desiluisse de muro aut morte simulata funere elati.' The latter statement is repeated by Dio (63. 15, 3).

diem noctemque: see 14. 20, 8.

9. **sedilibus**, abl. of place: see Introd. i. v. § 25.

continuant: cp. 14. 20, 3, and note.

10. **metus si**, only found here and in 1. 11, 5 (where see note).

palam, sc. 'praesentibus,' 'many being there openly': cp. the use of this adv. as predicate in 11. 22, 1, etc. The espionage exercised elsewhere than in the theatre may be illustrated from the story told by Philostratus (Vit. Ap. 4. 39) that Apollonius, during his visit to Rome, incurred danger by insufficiently applauding a musician who sang Nero's songs in the streets.

11. **coëuntium**, sc. 'in theatro.' Nipp. notes that it is implied that these people would also notice the absence of any person of consideration.

13. **redditum**, apparently here taken in the sense of paying off a debt, and analogously to the use of 'reddere cladem' ('retaliating a defeat') in Livy (24. 17, 7; 20, 2; 27. 49, 5). In 14. 33, 6 (where see note), the sense is different.

5 odium. ferebantque Vespasianum, tamquam somno coniveret,
a Phoebo liberto increpitum aegreque meliorum precibus obtectum, mox inminentem perniciem maiore fato effugisse.

1 **6.** Post finem ludicri Poppaea mortem obiit, fortuita mariti iracundia, a quo gravida ictu calcis adflicta est. neque enim venenum crediderim, quamvis quidam scriptores tradant, odio magis quam ex fide: quippe liberorum cupiens et amori uxoris
2 obnoxius erat. corpus non igni abolitum, ut Romanus mos,
sed regum externorum consuetudine differtum odoribus conditur

1. **ferebant**: the tense appears to be used to denote a tradition of the time. The story is told, with variations, by Suet. (Vesp. 4) and Dio (66. 11, 2), both of whom place it in Nero's expedition to Greece. No other mention of Vespasian occurs in the extant portion of the Annals, except the allusion to his frugality (3. 55, 5); but he must have been mentioned in the narrative of the campaigns of Plautius in Britain, and afterwards at his appointment to deal with the Jewish rebellion.

tamquam, 'on the ground that': cp. 12. 39, 5, etc.

2. **Phoebo.** This freedman, otherwise unnoticed in Tacitus, is mentioned by Dio (l. l.), who adds that he then bade Vespasian ἐς κόρακας ἀπελθεῖν, and was afterwards contemptuously dismissed by him with the same words, when he came to apologise to him as emperor. His full name is given in an inscription (Grut. 610, 6, 7), 'Ti. Claudio, Aug. L, Phoebo Claudia Pannychis.'

obtectum. Suet. says (l. l.) that he was 'prohibitus non contubernio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione,' and retired to an obscure place till he was appointed to the command in Judaea. The mention of such an interval supports the date here given to the offence, rather than that given by Suet. himself (see note above).

3. **maiore fato**, 'by a greater destiny,' i. e. because a greater destiny was in store for him. The words of Tacitus imply that Vespasian, though preserved at the moment by the intervention of friends, was again, or in the course of events would have been, afterwards in peril, had he not been selected for an appointment which was destined to elevate him to the imperial dignity. His career is constantly spoken of as marked by predictions, omens, etc.: see H. 1. 10, 7; 2. 78, 1; 4. 81; Suet. Vesp. 5; Dio 66. 1.

5. **ictu calcis.** The same story is given (without any alternative suggestion of poison) in Suet. Ner. 35, and Dio, 62. 27, 4. The former author adds a detail, that his burst of passion was caused by her having reproached him for coming late from the circus.

6. **venenum**, sc. 'fuisse': see Introd. i. v. § 39 c.

7. **amori uxoris obnoxius**, 'dominated by love of his wife' (cp. 3. 34, 5; 58, 4, etc.): so Suet. (l. l.) 'Poppaeam dilexit unice.'

8. **abolitum**, so used by Tacitus of consumption by fire in 2. 49, 1, and often in other senses. The word is not found before Verg. and Liv.

Romanus mos. Pliny states (N. H. 7. 54, 55, 187) that it was not an old Roman custom, but was first instituted for disposing of the dead in distant wars; also that it slowly won its way at Rome; the cremation of Sulla having been the first instance of its use in the Cornelia gens.

9. **differtum**, 'stuffed'; ἅπ. εἰρ. in Tacitus, and elsewhere rare, but found (only in the participle form) in Caes. B. C. 3. 32, 4; Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 4; Ep. 1. 6, 59.

conditur, 'is embalmed': cp. 'condiunt Egyptii mortuos' (Cic. Tusc. 1. 45, 108). It expresses the result, as 'differtum' the process. To derive it (with some edd.) from 'condere' (cp. H. 5. 5, 5), would here involve a tautology. This departure from Roman custom may have been due, as Schiller (p. 200) thinks, to the affection (or remorse) of Nero. Friedlaender (i. 451) connects it with her Jewish predilections, mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 20. 8, 11, etc.); but the Jews did not really embalm their dead (Joh. 19, 40).

tumuloque Iuliorum infertur. ductae tamen publicae exsequiae, 3
laudavitque ipse apud rostra formam eius et quod divinae infantis
parens fuisset aliaque fortunae munera pro virtutibus.

7. Mortem Poppaeae ut palam tristem, ita recordantibus 1
laetam ob inpudicitiam eius saevitiamque, nova insuper invidia
Nero complevit prohibendo C. Cassium officio exsequiarum,
quod primum indicium mali. neque in longum dilatum est, sed 2
Silanus additur, nullo crimine, nisi quod Cassius opibus vetustis
et gravitate morum, Silanus claritudine generis et modesta
iuventa praecellebant. igitur missa ad senatum oratione remo- 3
vendos a re publica utrosque disseruit, obiectavitque Cassio quod
inter imagines maiorum etiam C. Cassi effigiem coluisset, ita

1. **tumulo Iuliorum**, the mausoleum of Augustus: see 1. 8, 6; 3. 4, 1; 9, 2.

tamen; i.e. though she was not burnt.

publicae exsequiae = 'publicum funus' (cp. 3. 5, 1; 48, 1, and note). Pliny states (N. H. 12. 18, 41, 83), with evident exaggeration, that the spices burnt by Nero on this day (cp. 3. 2, 2, and note) were more than the whole annual produce of Arabia. Schiller suggests (p. 201), that probably a waxen effigy was burnt on the pile, so as to complete the usual preliminaries to consecration (see Preller, Rom. Myth. ii. 443, § 787).

2. **apud rostra** = 'pro rostris' (cp. 3. 5, 2, and note). A 'laudatio' of women seems to have been almost unknown before the time of Julius Caesar, but to have become prevalent in the imperial and other distinguished families. See Marquardt, Privatl. 360.

formam eius: see 13. 45, 2, etc.

divinae infantis, 'a child which had been deified': see 15. 23, 4. On her own deification see c. 21, 2, and note.

4. **recordantibus**, 'to those who thought upon.' This silent judgment is contrasted with the outward show of mourning. Her 'saevitia' is mentioned in 15. 61, 4, etc.

6. **complevit** = 'cumulavit' ('completed'). Such an expression as 'mortem alicuius complere nova invidia' is to be explained by taking 'mortem' in a pregnant sense as 'invidiam mortis.' Even if men thought the death of Poppaea a blessing, the brutality by which Nero was alleged to have caused it would raise a feeling against him, to which he now added a new odium.

C. Cassium, the jurist: see 12. 11, 4, and note. A prohibition from attending her funeral would be a kind of 'renuntiatio amicitiae' (cp. 15. 23, 6, and note).

7. **dilatum est**, sc. 'malum.' The conjecture of Acid., 'dilatus est,' is not needed, but derives some support from 4. 19, 1.

8. **Silanus**: see 15. 52, 3, and note. An account, different from that of Tacitus, apparently referring (though with an error of name) to this case, is preserved by the old Schol. on Juv. 1, 33 ('magni delator amici'): 'Heliodorum dicit, Stoicum Philosophum, qui Licinium Silanum, discipulum suum, cum argueretur coniurationis, inficiantem, praeter domesticam delationem, etiam testimonio oppressit.' It would also appear that this was the L. Silanus to whom Titinius Capito, the admirer of the great champions of the close of the Republic, obtained leave from Trajan to erect a statue in the Forum (Plin. Ep. 1. 17).

10. **missa . . . oratione**. On the use of this term of a letter from the princeps introducing a 'relatio' see 3. 57, 1 (and note); and c. 27, 2.

removendos a re publica. Nipp. notes that this need necessarily mean no more than to remove them from the exercise of political functions, but is understood to be an euphemism for exile.

12. **C. Cassi**, the conspirator against Julius Caesar. Suet. makes the offence (Ner. 37), 'quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassii percussoris Caesaris imagines restituisset,' implying that no such effigy was there before. The effigies of Brutus and Cassius, though not carried publicly at funerals (3. 76, 5), had not

inscriptam 'duci partium': quippe semina belli civilis et defecti-
4 onem a domo Caesarum quaesitam. ac *ne* memoria tantum
infensi nominis ad discordias uteretur, adsumpsisse L. Silanum,
iuvenem genere nobilem, animo praeruptum, quem novis rebus
ostentaret.

1 **8.** Ipsum dehinc Silanum increpuit isdem quibus patruum
eius Torquatum, tamquam disponeret iam imperii curas prae-
ficeretque rationibus et libellis et epistulis libertos, inania simul
et falsa: nam Silanus intentior metu et exitio patrui ad prae-
2 cavendum exterritus erat. inducti posthac vocabulo indicum, qui
in Lepidam, Cassii uxorem, Silani amitam, incestum cum fratris

been destroyed by order of Augustus (4. 35, 3, and note), and, as is shown by what Pliny says (l. l.) of Titinius ('mirum est qua religione, quo studio imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonum domi, ubi potest, habeat'), were allowed to be honoured privately under Trajan; and their birthdays were kept as festivals, even at this time, by men of republican sentiments, as Thrasea and Helvidius (Juv. 5, 36). It is possible that the point of the charge here lies in the inscription 'duci partium'; or that the form of such prohibitory decrees (see 3. 32, 3) may have now extended, as in other cases (see 11. 35, 2), to mere possession; perhaps more probable that such possession was in this case made penal by an arbitrary stretch.

1. **duci partium,** 'to the leader of the cause'; so 'partes,' in 2. 43, 3, etc.

2. **quaesitam,** 'was aimed at.' Ritt. reads 'quaesita.'

ne. Faern. has been universally followed in inserting this word, which may well have dropped out before 'memoria.' Besides renewing the memory of an old name he was bringing forward a new man.

4. **genere nobilem,** as a descendant of Augustus (Introd. i. p. 139).

praeruptum, 'reckless': the word does not seem elsewhere to be used of persons, but may be compared with a similar use of 'praeceps' (cp. 'homo in omnibus consiliis praeceps' Cic. Phil. 5. 13, 37). For a somewhat similar metaphorical application to things see 5. 2, 1, and note. The oldest edd. read 'promptum' after an inferior MS.

novis rebus, 'for a revolution.' He would use him, as Nipp. points out, 'ad discordias,' to stimulate a revolutionary movement by showing a person who could be made emperor.

7. **Torquatum:** see 15. 35, 1, where the charge of having freedmen with such titles is mentioned.

8. **inania,** etc., referred only to 'praeficeret . . . libertos.' Such an act would not have been positively illegal, and (in his case) the charge was also false. On such an accus. in apposition see Introd. I. v. § 12 a.

9. **intentior metu.** The fear universally prevalent had made him all the more on his guard (cp. 14. 3, 3) in general, and the fate of his uncle had been a special warning against that particular ground of offence (Nipp.). For the construction 'exterritus ad' cp. 3. 49, 1, and note on 2. 63, 3.

10. **inducti,** 'were brought before the senate'; so in 4. 8, 5; 6. 7, 2: cp. the full expression in 4. 28, 1. This reading is adopted by Halm, Nipp. (ed. 4), and Dr. from Ferretti: others retain the Med. 'inducit,' which would answer to 'increpuit,' but would seem to imply personal presence of Nero, whose letter has been hitherto spoken of. This denunciation of persons by a mere rescript from Caesar, without the intervention of any of the usual forms of accusation, had many precedents under Tiberius (4. 70, 1; 6. 3, 3; 39, 2; 47, 4), notably in the famous case of Seianus (Juv. 10, 71).

vocabulo indicum, 'as nominal informers,' but really suborned to make up the charge ('qui . . . confingerent'). The part alleged to have been played by Heliodorus (see note on c. 7, 2) must have come in, if at all, at this stage.

11. **Lepidam,** Iunia Lepida, sister of Iunia Calvina (12. 3, 8): see Introd. i. ix. p. 139. An inscription is dedicated to

filio et diros sacrorum ritus confingerent. trahebantur ut conscii 3
Volcatius Tullinus ac Marcellus Cornelius senatores et Calpurnius Fabatus eques Romanus; qui appellato principe instantem damnationem frustrati, mox Neronem circa summa scelera distentum quasi minores evasere.

9. Tunc consulto senatus Cassio et Silano exilia decernuntur: 1
de Lepida Caesar statueret. deportatusque in insulam Sardiniam 2
Cassius, et senectus eius exspectabatur. Silanus, tamquam Naxum deveheretur, Ostiam amotus, post municipio Apuliae,
cui nomen Barium est, clauditur. illic indignissimum casum 3
sapienter tolerans a centurione ad caedem misso corripitur; suadentique venas abrumpere, animum quidem morti destinatum ait, sed non remittere percussori gloriam ministerii. at centurio 4

her, as Ἰ]ουνίαν Λεπίδαν, Σειλάνου Τορκυ-[ά]του θυγατέρα, by Iunia Megistê, priestess of Athena Polias, A. D. 41–54 (C. I. Att. iii. i. 872).

1. **diros**, magical rites: see 2. 27, 2, and note.

2. **Volcatius Tullinus.** If, as is not improbable, this is the same person as the trib. pleb. called Volcatius Tertullinus in H. 4. 9, 2, the form of name here may be preferable as approaching more nearly to that of the known family of Volcatii Tulli.

Marcellus Cornelius. Borghesi (Œuvr. i. 486) thinks him the same who is recorded in two inscriptions (Or. 151 : Mur. 693, 7) as 'quaestor pro praetore,' and afterwards as proconsul in Sicily. Lips. thinks him also the same who is alluded to in H. 1. 37, 6, as put to death by Galba in Spain, where (as Nipp. suggests) he might have been a praetorian legatus legionis.

Calpurnius Fabatus, still living as an old man in the time of the younger Pliny, who married his granddaughter Calpurnia Hispulla, and frequently writes to him. An inscription found at Como (C. I. L. v. 2. 5267) gives his name as 'C. Calpurnius L. f. Ouf(entina tribu) Fabatus,' and records him as having filled municipal offices, also as having been 'praefectus fabrum,' 'tribunus legionis xxi Rapacis,' and 'praefectus cohortis vii Lusitanorum.'

3. **appellato principe.** By this they would at least gain time.

4. **circa**, 'in relation to': see Introd. i. v. § 58.

5. **distentum**: cp. 11. 12, 1, and note.

minores, 'beneath notice.' In H. 2. 16, 6 Tacitus notes the escape of similar insignificant culprits 'in multa conluvie rerum maioribus flagitiis permixtos.'

6. **consulto senatus**, apparently a right correction of G. and other MSS. for the Med. 'consulto senatu,' which would hardly be correctly used at this stage of the proceedings. The same order of words is found in 11. 35, 2.

7. **Caesar statueret.** Her fate does not appear to be known.

Sardiniam, probably chosen for its unhealthiness (see 2. 85, 5).

8. **senectus eius**, a brilliant emendation, cited by Gron. from Franc. Medici, and adopted by all after Ern. Med. has 'senatus eius,' corrected in the old edd. to 'senatus ius.' 'They were waiting for old age to carry him off': cp. 'ut senectam principis opperirentur' (11. 26, 2). He had been consul thirty-five years previously (see on 12. 11, 4) and was already blind (Suet. Ner. 37), but lived to return and die a natural death under Vespasian (Pomponius, in Dig. 1. 2, 2, § 52).

10. **Barium**, Bari, on the Adriatic, near Canusium; cp. 'Bari moenia piscosi' (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 96). It is mentioned in a way that would show it to be so obscure as to be almost unknown.

12. **suadenti**, with inf.: cp. 3. 53, 2, and note.

13. **non remittere**, etc. Here 'remittere,' the correction of a later hand in Med. for the first reading 'peremittere,' has been adopted by Halm and others after Nipp. 'He would not excuse the assassin from his noble office,' i.e. he would insist on his doing his own vile

quamvis inermem, praevalidum tamen et irae quam timori pro-
5 piorem cernens premi a militibus iubet. nec omisit Silanus obniti et intendere ictus, quantum manibus nudis valebat, donec a centurione vulneribus adversis tamquam in pugna caderet.

1 **10.** Haud minus prompte L. Vetus socrusque eius Sextia et Pollitta filia necem subiere, invisi principi tamquam vivendo exprobrarent interfectum esse Rubellium Plautum, generum
2 L. Veteris. sed initium detegendae saevitiae praebuit interversis patroni rebus ad accusandum transgrediens Fortunatus libertus, adscito Claudio Demiano, quem ob flagitia vinctum a Vetere
3 Asiae pro consule exsolvit Nero in praemium accusationis. quod ubi cognitum reo, seque et libertum pari sorte componi, Formi-
4 anos in agros digreditur. illic eum milites occulta custodia circumdant. aderat filia, super ingruens periculum longo dolore

work (cp. 'remittere beneficium' 11. 3, 3). Ritt. thinks the Med. text a corruption of 'se remittere,' and that the subject can hardly be supplied from 'animum'; but such omissions of the pronoun are in the manner of Tacitus. The common reading 'permittere' might mean that he would not let him execute his office without resistance, but gives no answer to the suggestion that he should despatch himself, and does not sufficiently bring out the irony of 'gloriam.'

2. premi = 'opprimi': cp. 14. 5, 2, and note. The narrative is similar to that of the death of Agrippa Postumus (1. 6, 1).

3. nudis, 'unarmed.' Jacob compares 'dextrasque nudas ostentantes, ut abiecisse gladios appareret' (Liv. 28. 3, 11).

4. a centurione ... caderet. Here 'caderet' has the sense and construction of 'interficeretur'; cp. Suet. Oth. 5 'nihil referre ab hoste in acie an in foro sub creditoribus caderet.' So *ἀποθανεῖν ὑπό τινος* (Hdt. 1. 137, 2, etc.).

adversis, 'in the front of his body' (cp. 12. 30, 2, etc.).

5. L. Vetus, mentioned as consul (13. 11, 1), and as counselling resistance to his son-in-law Rubellius Plautus (14. 58, 3).

6. Pollitta, adopted by all recent edd. after Nipp., as a known Roman name (see Insc. Wilm. 1205), which 'Pollutia' and 'Pollucia' (usually read for the Med. 'polutia') are not. The name here given is a cognomen; her gentile name being Antistia (14. 22, 5).

tamquam vivendo, etc., 'as if by merely living they silently reproached him with the murder of Rubellius' (on which see 14. 57–59).

8. initium . . . praebuit, sc. 'principi.'

interversis, 'after having embezzled'; so in Plaut. and Cic. In H. 2. 95, 5, it has the sense of squandering.

11. Asiae pro consule. Nipp. shows that Vetus must have held this proconsulate in the year immediately preceding these events, and must have been successor to Otho Titianus (see on 12. 52, 1); as he was evidently immediate predecessor of M'. Acilius (see on 12. 64, 1), whose edict found at Chios (C. I. G. 2222), mentioning *ἐπιστολὴν Ἀντιστίου Οὐέτερος τοῦ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀνθυπάτ[ου], ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανεστάτου*, must from its expression have been written before this trial.

12. seque et: cp. 1. 4, 1, and note.

pari sorte componi, 'were pitted against each other on an equal footing' (C. and B.); apparently a metaphor from the arena: cp. 5. 1, 5, and note; 15. 51, 7. The indignity of this may be gathered from the remarks on the conduct of freedmen in 13. 26, 2, and from the principle laid down by jurists that a freedman was wholly precluded from bringing a criminal accusation against his patron (Dig. 48. 2, 8), and was even liable to be punished as a slave for doing so (Cod. 9. 1, 21).

Formianos in agros, 'to his estates at Formiae' (15. 46, 3).

14. super, 'besides,' irrespectively of.

atrox, ex quo percussores Plauti mariti sui viderat; cruentamque
cervicem eius amplexa servabat sanguinem et vestes respersas,
vidua inpexa luctu continuo nec ullis alimentis nisi quae mortem
arcerent. tum hortante patre Neapolim pergit. et quia aditu 5
Neronis prohibebatur, egressus obsidens, audiret insontem neve
consulatus sui quondam collegam dederet liberto, modo muliebri
eiulatu, aliquando sexum egressa voce infensa clamitabat, donec
princeps inmobilem se precibus et invidiae iuxta ostendit.

11. Ergo nuntiat patri abicere spem et uti necessitate: simul 1
adfertur parari cognitionem senatus et trucem sententiam. nec 2
defuere qui monerent magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nun-
cupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere. quod asperna- 3

1. **atrox,** 'exasperated': cp. 14. 61, 3, etc.

2. **cervicem.** He had been beheaded and his head had been carried off (14. 59, 4).

sanguinem et vestes, hendiadys for 'vestes sanguine respersas.'

3. **inpexa,** 'unkempt'; so Halm, Nipp., Ritt., after Wurm. The reading is somewhat recommended by the fact that apparently the only other use of the word in prose is in Dial. 20, 3 ('tristem et inpexam antiquitatem'), and that Tacitus may well here, as so often elsewhere, have borrowed from Vergil. The Med. text 'In plexa' ('inplexa'), which others retain, may have been corrupted by 'amplexa' above, and could only mean 'wrapped up in grief,' a meaning which would be ἅπ. εἰρ., and one which we should certainly have expected Tacitus to have expressed by 'inplicata' (cp. 4. 53, 1). Other emendations ('impleta,' 'inflexa,' 'inexpleta') have been suggested, and Acid. would strike out the word altogether as a corruption from 'amplexa.'

nec ullis alimentis. It is perhaps best to take both this and 'luctu continuo' as abl. of quality (Introd. i. v. § 39). Dr. prefers to take the abl. as absolute, noting the frequent use of 'nullus' in this case.

4. **hortante,** aoristic.

5. **egressus,** here used of points of exit: cp. 'ad egressus missus septemplicis Istri' (Ov. Tr. 2. 189).

insontem, her father. He was colleague in Nero's first consulship (13. 11, 1).

6. **dederet,** 'surrender to a freedman,' i.e. condemn to please him: cp. c. 20, 2, etc.

modo . . . aliquando: cp. 11. 34, 1, and note.

7. **egressa:** cp. 'terminos aetatis . . . egrederetur' (H. 4. 51, 3), etc.

8. **precibus et invidiae iuxta,** 'alike to entreaty and reproach' (the 'vox infensa'). 'Invidia' has this sense in 11. 34, 5; H. 4. 68, 7, etc., and is so contrasted with 'preces' in 3. 67, 4; 4. 53, 1. For the sense of 'iuxta' cp. 11. 33, 1, and note.

9. **nuntiat . . . abicere.** This construction is noted as ἅπ. εἰρ., but the inf. is used with 'denuntio' in 11. 37, 3, and with many verbs of analogous meaning, as with 'monere' here and in 11. 1, 2, etc. See Introd. i. v. § 43.

uti necessitate, 'to make the best of the inevitable,' i.e. to die with dignity: cp. 'bene morte usum' (6. 48, 5).

10. **cognitionem,** the technical word for a criminal trial before the senate (c. 30, 3; 1. 75, 1; 2. 28, 4, etc.) or before the princeps (3. 10, 3, etc.): see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 121, 964.

trucem, 'stern' (the sentence of death 'more maiorum' mentioned below): 'trux sententia' occurs in Liv. 29. 19, 5; so 'trux eloquentia' (6. 48, 6), 'oratio' (H. 4. 42, 3), 'atrox sententia' (5. 3, 4), 'senatus consultum' (12. 53, 3).

11. **heredem Caesarem nuncupare:** see note on 2. 48, 1. Suet. goes the length of stating (Ner. 32) that Nero so insisted on this as even to enact 'ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinerent'; and Pliny alludes to Domitian (Pan. 45) as 'unus omnium, nunc quia scriptus, nunc quia non scriptus, heres.'

12. **nepotibus.** The children of Ru-

tus, ne vitam proxime libertatem actam novissimo servitio
foedaret, largitur in servos quantum aderat pecuniae; et si qua
asportari possent, sibi quemque deducere, tris modo lectulos ad
4 suprema retineri iubet. tunc eodem in cubiculo, eodem ferro
abscindunt venas, properique et singulis vestibus ad verecundiam
velati balineis inferuntur, pater filiam, avia neptem, illa utrosque
intuens, et certatim precantes labenti animae celerem exitum,
5 ut relinquerent suos superstites et morituros. servavitque ordinem fortuna, ac seniores prius, tum cui prima aetas extin-
6 guuntur. accusati post sepulturam decretumque ut more maio-
rum punirentur. at Nero intercessit, mortem sine arbitro permittens: ea caedibus peractis ludibria adiciebantur.
1 **12.** P. Gallus eques Romanus, quod Faenio Rufo intimus et

bellius Plautus are mentioned in 14. 59, 1. One of them would be the Rubellius Blandus addressed in Juv. 8, 39.

1. **proxime libertatem**, 'in a way as near as might be to freedom': cp. 'iuxta libertatem' (6. 42, 3). For the accus. with 'proxime' cp. note on 15. 15, 6.

novissimo servitio, 'servility at the last moment': cp. 11. 3, 3, and note.

2. **in servos**, 'among his slaves': on this sense of 'in' cp. 1. 55, 2; 2. 8, 1, and notes.

3. **deducere**, apparently here alone used, in the sense of 'auferre,' of inanimate goods and chattels.

ad suprema, 'for the last act': cp. 'ad improvisa' (H. 5. 16, 1), etc.

5. **abscindunt**: cp. 15. 69, 3, and note.

properi, adverbial: cp. 6. 44, 1; and other such uses noted in Introd. i. v. § 6; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 8.

8. **relinquerent . . . morituros.** Each prayed that he (or she) might die first (be spared the pain of seeing the others die), and yet with the certainty that the others would die a few moments later, and not be spared for a worse fate. Most edd. read 'relinquerent,' with inferior MSS. The Med. 'relinqueret' can however possibly be explained by supplying (with Frost and Pfitzn.) a singular subject from 'certatim,' as it is plain that their several prayers, not a combined precation, are spoken of. Walther (who is followed by Orelli) also retains Med., but less well makes 'anima' the subject. 'Et' has here the force of 'et tamen,' as in 1. 13, 2 (where see note), etc.

ordinem, sc. 'naturae.'

9. **seniores**: so generally read by edd. after Oberl. on the suggestion of Acid. Med. has 'seniore,' the old edd. 'senior.' The text, as here given, may be one in which conciseness has been studied at the expense of accurate expression; and 'seniores prius,' in the light of the preceding sentence, may be understood to mean not only that Sextia and Vetus died before Pollitta, but also that the former died first of all. Still, a more exact expression would be expected; also the words 'cui prima aetas' would more naturally designate a child than one old enough to have been some years previously a wife and a mother. These considerations give much force to the alternative suggestion of Acid., that 'senior' is the right reading, and that 'prima' is corrupted from an abbreviation of 'proxima.' That the youngest died last, would thus be left as an obvious inference.

10. **more maiorum**: cp. 2. 32, 5, and note; 14. 48, 4.

11. **intercessit**: cp. 14. 48, 3, etc.

sine arbitro, 'without interference' (cp. 1. 26, 6; 15. 17, 5), i.e. without sending a centurion to execute the sentence or see it executed. 'Mors sine arbitro' is thus equivalent to 'liberum mortis arbitrium' (c. 33, 2; 11. 33, 3; 15. 60, 1).

12. **ludibria**: cp. 'gravioribus iam ludibriis quam malis' (14. 59, 6), where the 'mockery' consists in a similar decree expelling from the senate persons already executed.

13. **P. Gallus.** Nipp. notes the combination of praenomen and cognomen as very unusual, and suggests that the name

Veteri non alienus fuerat, aqua atque igni prohibitus est. liberto 2
et accusatori praemium operae locus in theatro inter viatores
tribunicios datur. et menses qui Aprilem eundemque Neroneum 3
sequebantur, Maius Claudii, Iunius Germanici vocabulis mutantur, testificante Cornelio Orfito, qui id censuerat, ideo Iunium mensem transmissum, quia duo iam Torquati ob scelera interfecti infaustum nomen Iunium fecissent.

may be 'Rubrius Gallus,' and the person a relative of the one so named in H. 2. 51, 3; 99, 4. The trial of this person appears to have been combined with that of Vetus, as the reward of the accuser of the latter is mentioned after it.

Faenio Rufo: see 15. 50, 4, etc.

1. **aqua atque igni prohibitus est.** Elsewhere, the verb used by Tacitus in this formula is either 'interdicere' ('alicui') or 'arcere': cp. 3. 38, 3, and note. On the sentence itself see 12. 42, 5, and note.

liberto et accusatori. The two words refer to the same person, Fortunatus (c. 10, 2): cp. 'scriptores senatoresque' (2. 88, 1). Nipp. notes that Demianus, who was associated with him, could not be called distinctively the accuser, and had received his reward in being released from chains.

2. **inter viatores tribunicios.** It is shown by this passage that not only magistrates themselves but their attendants had places reserved for them. See Momms. Staatsr. i. 336; Marquardt. Staatsv. iii. 535. Other magistrates as well as tribunes had their 'viatores,' who formed 'decuriae' of themselves (13. 27, 2): cp. 'viatori tribunicio decuriae maioris' (Orelli, Insc. 3254), and other inscriptions (Wilm. Index, p. 572).

3. **menses qui . . . sequebantur.** Halm and Dr. follow Nipp. in thus correcting the Med. 'mensis qui . . . sequebatur,' which others retain; 'Maius' being bracketed as a gloss by Ritt. and omitted by Pfitzner. But it is evidently the intention of the sentence to state that the change inaugurated by that of April to 'Neroneus' (15. 74, 1) was to be carried on through two more months.

4. **Claudii . . . Germanici.** It is unnecessary to suppose that these names were to commemorate the adoptive father and maternal grandfather of Nero, as both names were borne by himself (see Introd. i. ix. p. 147). Gaius had given the name of 'Germanicus' to September (Suet. Cal. 15); Domitian gave those of 'Germanicus' and 'Domitianus' to September and October in his own honour (Suet. Dom. 13); and the courtiers of Commodus gave his various names to five successive months (Vit. 11, 8), 'Commodus' (Aug.), 'Hercules' (Sept.), 'Invictus' (Oct.), 'Exsuperatorius' (Nov.), 'Amazonius' (Dec.).

Iunius. Halm alone follows the recommendation of Madvig (Adv. ii. 558) in adopting from Lips. the emendation 'Iulius,' on the ground that 'transmissum' below can thus be explained without giving it an unprecedented meaning (see note there). But, apart from other considerations, we should hardly suppose that the proposal to rename the month called after 'divus Iulius' would be altogether acceptable even to a Claudian Caesar.

mutantur, used as if 'nomina mensium' had been the subject.

5. **testificante**: cp. 12. 7, 1.

Cornelio Orfito: see 12. 41, 1, and note.

6. **transmissum.** Nipp. follows Pich. in supplying 'in nomen Germanici,' thus giving the word the wholly new meaning of 'was transmuted.' Others explain it to mean 'was allowed to pass into oblivion'; which is in accordance with the usual meaning of the word, though no doubt ambiguous or needlessly euphemistic when used of actual erasure of a name from the calendar. This difficulty would of course be got rid of by reading 'Iulius' above (with Halm), and by supposing the speaker to explain here why the month 'Iunius' was 'passed over' in the renaming. But the reason given is one for altering the name of that month, rather than for leaving it unaltered; and Orfitus, if he saw his way to a stroke of flattery by suggesting that such an 'infaustum nomen' should disappear from the calendar, would not be disturbed by the thought that no similar reason could be given for altering 'Maius.'

Torquati, the two Iunii Silani Torquati (15. 35, 1; c. 8, 1).

1 **13.** Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam di tempestatibus
et morbis insignivere. vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui
villas arbusta fruges passim disiecit pertulitque violentiam ad
vicina urbi; in qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depo-
2 pulabatur, nulla caeli intemperie, quae occurreret oculis. sed
domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur; non
sexus, non aetas periculo vacua; servitia perinde et ingenua
plebes raptim extingui, inter coniugum et liberorum lamenta,
qui dum adsident, dum deflent, saepe eodem rogo cremabantur.
3 equitum senatorumque interitus, quamvis promisci, minus flebiles
erant, tamquam communi mortalitate saevitiam principis prae-
venirent.
4 Eodem anno dilectus per Galliam Narbonensem Africamque
et Asiam habiti sunt supplendis Illyricis legionibus, ex quibus
5 aetate aut valetudine fessi sacramento solvebantur. cladem

1. **Tot facinoribus**, etc. Suet. (Ner. 39), coupling with the mention of the plague that of the disasters in Britain (14. 29 foll.) and Armenia (15. 7, foll.), speaks in a similar strain, but substitutes the idea of chance for that of divine judgment: 'Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis probrisque quaedam et fortuita; pestilentia unius autumni, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinae venerunt.' Autumn was always a sickly time in Italy.

4. **vicina urbi**: so all edd. after Lips. (with ed. Spir. and some inferior MSS.): cp. H. 4. 46, 2; also 'vicina Graecis' (2. 64, 4), 'propinqua urbi' (4. 74, 4). Med has 'uienia urbi,' whence other MSS. and old edd. read 'moenia urbis.'

pestilentiae. Orelli suggests that this may probably have been the cholera morbus, a disease known at the time, and described by the contemporary physician Aretaeus (2. 5). For other notices of epidemics under Augustus, Titus, etc. see Friedl. i. 33.

5. **nulla caeli intemperie**, etc. 'without any visible blight in the air'; so a plague is assigned 'morbo caeli' in Verg. G. 3, 478.

7. **perinde et**, noted by Dr. as so used in 2. 2, 6; H. 4. 43, 1, for the more usual 'perinde ac,' 'atque,' or 'que.'

9. **cremabantur.** Here in the rapidity of the style an essential point of the narrative (such as 'eodem morbo correpti moriebantur et') is omitted. While they sat by the sick, or mourned for the dead, they were themselves seized, and died so soon as to be thrown on the same funeral pile.

10. **promisci**, 'indiscriminate,' occurring everywhere like those of the people.

11. **communi mortalitate**, 'by dying like other people,' by an ordinary or natural death.

praevenirent, so with accus. in Liv. 8. 16; Val. Max. and Suet.: cp. the passive in 14. 7, 3.

13. **dilectus.** The levy was of Roman citizens, who were naturally more abundant in these old provinces than in those for which the legions were required. As a rule, the armies appear to have been kept up by voluntary enlistment (see 4. 4, 4, and note).

14. **Illyricis**, the Med. text, restored in recent edd. for the old reading 'Illyrici.' The adjectival form is generally used in similar expressions (cp. 1. 16, 1; 31, 1, etc.), and this adj. occurs in 1. 52, 3; 2. 53, 1, etc. Those of Pannonia (cp. 1. 52, 3, etc.) as well as those of Delmatia (4. 5, 5), perhaps also those of Moesia are included in the term.

15. **sacramento solvebantur.** On the kinds of 'missio' or 'exauctoratio' see notes on 1. 36, 4; 44, 8: Introd. i. vii. pp. 106, 108.

cladem Lugdunensem. Lugdunum (Lyons) had been burnt down, according to Seneca (Ep. 91, 14), in the hundredth year from its foundation as a colony by Plancus, which took place (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 115) in 711, B. C.

Lugdunensem quadragiens sestertio solatus est princeps, ut amissa urbi reponerent; quam pecuniam Lugdunenses ante obtulerant urbis casibus.

14. C. Suetonio Luccio Telesino consulibus Antistius Sosianus, 1 factitatis in Neronem carminibus probrosis exilio, ut dixi, multatus, postquam id honoris indicibus tamque promptum ad caedes principem accepit, inquies animo et occasionum haud segnis

43. An inscription found there 'Augustae Deae Vestae, Aug[usto] D[eo] Vol[cano]' (see Schiller, 116), appears to stand in some connexion with this fire. As the date would appear from the computation above to be 811, A. D. 58, we should be left to suppose that this 'consolation' is sent some seven years after the disaster. But this passage is not free from suspicions of general corruption (see notes below). Nipp. marks a lacuna here on the ground that Tacitus would surely have indicated the nature of the disaster, and thinks that if we had his words, it might probably be one of more recent occurrence. It is also possible that the computation by which the date of the occurrence is fixed may be inaccurate, and that the fire at Lyons may have happened between that of Rome and the death of Seneca. It can hardly be supposed that in their own utter ruin such a sum as four million sesterces could have been given by, or even extorted (see 15. 45, 1) from them.

2. **amissa urbi**, 'what their city had lost,' in public buildings, etc. The use of 'urbs,' though in itself natural in speaking of so considerable a town, has offended critics from its nearness to the application of the word in its proper sense to Rome below; but Nipp. notes the use of the term twice in the same sentence (Cic. Verr. 4. 54, 120) of Rome and Syracuse. A still more apposite instance may be found in Seneca's remarks (l. l.) on this very disaster: 'Timagenes felicitate urbis inimicus aiebat Romae sibi incendia ob hoc unum dolori esse, quod sciret meliora surrectura quam arsissent. In hac quoque urbe (sc. 'Lugduno') verisimile est,' etc.

reponerent: cp. 'reposita fora templaque' (H. 3. 34, 4).

ante obtulerant urbis casibus; so later edd. after Furia. For 'urbis' Med. has 'turbis,' other MSS. and old edd. 'turbidis,' which has been taken to be an obscure allusion to troubles in the time of Gaius or Claudius. As the text is here read, it would naturally refer to gifts in aid of the great fire of Rome. But the date of the ruin of Lugdunum given above involves not only the difficulty already mentioned, of supposing that the town could have contributed such a sum at such a time, but also that of taking 'ante' in an ambiguous and even unnatural sense, as meaning no more than that they had sent their gift before it was repaid to them, not that they had sent it before their own disaster. Schiller (p. 185) thinks the allusion must be to otherwise unknown contributions sent on one or more occasions of previous disaster (such as those mentioned in 4. 62–64). The difficulty will altogether disappear, if we may suppose that the fire at Lugdunum has been wrongly dated (see note above).

4. **C. Suetonio Luccio Telesino.** The former is the famous general Suetonius Paulinus, who must apparently have been already cos. suff. previously (see note on 14. 29, 2), though this consulship is nowhere noted (see Insc. Henzen 6767) as his second. The other name is read in MSS. and old edd. as 'L. Telesino,' but corrected by Rup., Ern., and others from inscriptions (l. l.) giving his full name as 'C. Luccius Telesinus.' A fine sarcophagus also exists, engraved by Gruter (1148, 5), 'Lucciae, C. f. Telesinae.' Telesinus is chiefly known to us through Philostratus, who speaks of him as a philosopher, as having exerted his consular power on behalf of Apollonius during his visit to Rome (4. 40), and as subsequently exiled with other philosophers by Domitian (7. 11, etc.). If however the epigram of Martial (12. 25) is addressed to the same, as an allusion to his accusation and exile would seem to show, he appears to have been also a professional usurer.

5. **ut dixi**: see 14. 48, 1.

7. **inquies animo**; so 'moribus inquies' (6. 18, 2): cp. 1. 65, 1, and note.

occasionum haud segnis, 'not slow to seize opportunities': for the

Pammenem, eiusdem loci exulem et Chaldaeorum arte famosum
eoque multorum amicitiis innexum, similitudine fortunae sibi
2 conciliat. ventitare ad eum nuntios et consultationes non frustra
ratus, simul annuam pecuniam a P. Anteio ministrari cognoscit.
3 neque nescium habebat Anteium caritate Agrippinae invisum
Neroni opesque eius praecipuas ad eliciendam cupidinem eamque
4 causam multis exitio esse. igitur interceptis Antei litteris,
furatus etiam libellos, quibus dies genitalis eius et eventura
secretis Pammenis occultabantur, simul repertis quae de ortu
vitaque Ostorii Scapulae composita erant, scribit ad principem
magna se et quae incolumitati eius conducerent adlaturum, si
brevem exilii veniam inpetravisset: quippe Anteium et Ostorium
5 inminère rebus et sua Caesarisque fata scrutari. exim missae
liburnicae advehiturque propere Sosianus. ac vulgato eius
indicio inter damnatos magis quam inter reos Anteius Ostorius-
que habebantur, adeo ut testamentum Antei nemo obsignaret,

genit. cp. 14. 33, 4, and note; for 'et . . . haud' cp. 3. 35, 3; H. 2. 6, 2; 22, 6.

1. **eiusdem loci**, some island not specified (14. 48, 7).

Chaldaeorum, astrologers: see 2. 27, 2, and note. For decrees expelling them from Italy see 2. 32, 5; 12. 52, 3.

2. **innexum**: so all edd. after Ern. and Lips. for the MSS. and old edd. 'inmixum': cp. 3. 10, 4, and note.

3. **ventitare . . . ratus**, 'thinking that it was not without a purpose (cp. 1. 30, 3, and note) that messengers were always coming to consult him.' 'Nuntios et consultationes' is a hendiadys for 'nuntios qui eum consultarent.' He saw that these messengers were sent with the design of learning some predictions from Pammenes, and knew that criminal charges could be grounded on such (see 3. 22, 2, etc.), and resolved to profit by it.

4. **P. Anteio**: see 13. 22, 2, where it is said that Nero would not let him go to his province (Syria).

5. **nescium**, 'unknown': cp. 1. 59, 7, and note.

caritate Agrippinae, 'through affection for Agrippina': cp. 4. 19, 1, and note. Such an objective genit. is sometimes changed to an accus. with 'erga' or 'in' (c. 30, 3; 14. 9, 4, etc.).

6. **praecipuas**, were specially adapted: cp. similar expressions in 6. 7, 3; 14. 58, 1.

8. **quibus**, 'in which': such an abl. is proper in speaking of the contents of a book or document (cp. 1. 6, 2, etc.).

dies genitalis, used here like 'genitalis hora' (see 6. 21, 3, and note), of the computation of his horoscope.

9. **secretis**; apparently an abl. of place, 'in the private repositories.' Cp. 'in secretis eius reperti duo libelli' (Suet. Cal. 49). Dr. less well takes it to mean 'in mysterious symbols.'

10. **Ostorii Scapulae**: see 12. 31, 7; 14. 48, 1.

11. **incolumitati**, his life: cp. 15. 60, 5, etc.

12. **exilii veniam**, here used of a temporary respite, as in 12. 8, 3, of a permanent recall.

13. **inminere rebus**, 'were menacing the empire': cp. 'excidio Tarracinae imminebat' (H. 3. 76, 1); 'validissimarum . . . nationum regno imminebat' (H. 4. 18, 1). For the use of 'res' in the sense of 'imperium,' or 'rerum regimen,' cp. 'res sine discordia translatas' (H. 1. 29, 5).

14. **liburnicae**. This term is properly equivalent to 'biremes' (4. 27, 1), but may sometimes be used more generally, as we have a 'trierarchus liburnicarum navium' in H. 2. 16, 2.

16. **obsignaret**, used in 15. 54, 1 of the testator, here of the witnesses, who were required to be seven in number, and all Roman citizens: see note on 14. 40, 4.

nisi Tigellinus auctor extitisset, monito prius Anteio ne supremas
tabulas moraretur. atque ille hausto veneno, tarditatem eius 6
perosus intercisis venis mortem adproperavit.

15. Ostorius longinquis in agris apud finem Ligurum id 1
temporis erat. eo missus centurio, qui caedem eius maturaret.
causa festinandi ex eo oriebatur, quod Ostorius multa militari 2
fama et civicam coronam apud Britanniam meritus, ingenti cor-
poris robore armorumque scientia metum Neroni fecerat, ne in-
vaderet pavidum semper et reperta nuper coniuratione magis
exterritum. igitur centurio, ubi effugia villae clausit, iussa 3
imperatoris Ostorio aperit. is fortitudinem saepe adversum 4
hostes spectatam in se vertit: et quia venae quamquam inter-
ruptae parum sanguinis effundebant, hactenus manu servi usus,
ut inmotum pugionem extolleret, adpressit dextram eius iugulo-
que occurrit.

16. Etiam si bella externa et obitas pro re publica mortes 1

1. **auctor extitisset**, 'had come forward to induce them to do so.'

monito prius Anteio: so all recent edd. after Acid., who follows MS. Agr. Med. has 'monitus prius Anteio,' whence other MSS. and edd. read 'monitus prius Anteius.' Nipp. explains the words so as to make Tigellinus act only through this warning ('in that he first warned Anteius'); and compares 'vocata ... Urgulania' (2. 34, 3), 'interfecto Thrasea' (c. 21, 1), etc. Such a warning would be not only an intimation of approaching death to Anteius, but also an assurance to the witnesses that they might safely sign. Others suppose 'auctor extitisset' to mean that he set them the example by signing himself, which seems to bring out the meaning of 'prius' better.

2. **eius**, after abl. abs.: cp. 14. 10, 1, and note.

3. **intercisis venis**, here alone in Tacitus. Bezzenb. reads 'interscissis' (cp. 13. 35, 4): see also c. 19, 2, and note.

4. **apud finem**, 'at the boundary of'; so in several places in Livy, as 'ad finem Campanum' (9. 6, 10), 'ad finem Lucerinum' (10. 35, 1), etc.

id temporis: cp. 12. 8, 2, and note.

6. **multa militari fama**, abl. of quality.

7. **civicam coronam**: see 12. 31, 7.

ingenti corporis robore. Halm and Nipp. follow Beroald. and the majority of edd. in reading thus, and support it by 'insigne corporis robur' (15. 66, 3). Med. has 'ingenti corporis' at the end of a line, with 'corporis' repeated at the beginning of the next; other MSS. and Put. treat the latter word as a mere error of repetition, and correct by reading 'ingenti corpore.' Orelli and Dr. follow Wurm. in reading 'ingenti vi corporis' (cp. 12. 44, 3); Ritt. reads 'ingens corporis' (cp. 1. 69, 2), which does not go so well with 'armorumque scientia,' and is less Tacitean than 'ingens corpore' (13. 8, 4; 15. 53, 2; H. 1. 53, 1).

8. **invaderet**, 'should make an attack on him'; so used with a personal object in H. 1. 42, 1; 2. 29, 1.

9. **coniuratione**, that of Piso.

10. **effugia**: cp. 12. 31, 7, and note.

12. **venae ... interruptae.** This expression also (cp. c. 14, 6) occurs here alone in Tacitus.

13. **hactenus**, 'so far only': cp. 12. 42, 5, and note.

14. **inmotum ... extolleret**, 'to hold up firmly.'

adpressit, etc. 'pressing the man's hand close to him, he met the point with his throat' (C. and B.). Tacitus has 'scutum pectori adpressum' (2. 21, 1). Others less well take 'iugulo' as dative.

16. **Etiam si**, etc. This chapter may be compared with his complaint of the monotony of his subject in 4. 32–33.

tanta casuum similitudine memorarem, meque ipsum satias
cepisset aliorumque taedium exspectarem, quamvis honestos
2 civium exitus, tristes tamen et continuos aspernantium: at nunc
patientia servilis tantumque sanguinis domi perditum fatigant
animum et maestitia restringunt. neque aliam defensionem ab
iis quibus ista noscentur exegerim, quam ne oderim tam segniter
3 pereuntes. ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit, quam non,
ut in cladibus exercituum aut captivitate urbium, semel edito
4 transire licet. detur hoc inlustrium virorum posteritati, ut quo

1. **meque**, etc. The apodosis begins here, and 'meque' answers to 'aliorumque.' The coupling of two such sentences by 'que . . . que' is noted by Nipp. as a novelty; relative clauses are so coupled by Livy (e.g. 'quique in urbe erant quosque . . . acciverant' 1. 55, 6), and single words, especially a pronoun and noun, by Tacitus, as in 2. 3, 3 ('seque regnumque'), and by Sall. (Cat. 9, 3; Jug. 10, 2).

satias: for this form cp. 3. 30, 7, and note. Some of the old edd. before Lips. here follow the inferior MSS. in reading 'satietas.' For the sentiment cp. 'obvia rerum similitudine et satietate' (4. 33, 3).

2. **quamvis**, taken closely with 'honestos.'

3. **aspernantium**, disliking; so 'studia nimiam severitatem aspernantium' (14. 42, 2): generally used of 'disdaining,' as in 14. 58, 3, etc.

nunc, 'as the case is,' much more must such disgust be expected.

4. **patientia servilis**: cp. 14. 26, 1.

5. **restringunt**, 'oppress,' 'paralyze' (C. and B.). Such a sense can be derived from the ordinary meaning of the word (14. 64, 3, etc.), but appears to be nowhere else found. Madv. suggests (Adv. ii. 558) that perhaps 'restinguunt' should be read (with the sense of quenching the fire of the soul): cp. 'animos . . . morte restingui' (Cic. Sest. 21, 47).

neque aliam, etc. 'nor will I demand of my readers that they shall excuse me otherwise than by the plea that I need not hate (and therefore condemn to total oblivion) those who died so tamely.' He would ask to be permitted not to look on such persons with detestation, but rather with pity (as victims of a fatality). Cp. the use of 'defensorem exigere' in Dial. 24, 2; 25, 6. Some take 'oderim' in the sense of 'odisse videar,' and suppose Tacitus to plead that it might have been set down to personal animosity against these individuals if he had suppressed the account of their deaths; but 'oderim' seems hardly to bear this meaning, and a general, not personal motive for hate seems clearly to be suggested by 'tam segniter pereuntes.' Dr. follows several edd. and two inferior MSS. in reading 'oderint,' but neither his explanation nor Walther's appears to give a satisfactory meaning to 'defensionem.'

6. **noscentur**, 'shall be studied.'

7. **ira illa numinum**: cp. c. 13, 1; 4. 1, 3, etc., and the expression 'fatali omnium ignavia' (15. 61, 6).

8. **captivitate**, 'occupation by an enemy': cp. 13. 25, 2, and note.

semel edito, 'after a single mention of the fact': such uses of the abl. abs. of a neuter participle are common in Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 31 a), though 'edito' is not elsewhere so used; nor does 'edere' appear elsewhere to be used thus absolutely. Many inferior MSS. and old edd. read 'editam': but 'edere iram' is hardly a possible expression. For the use of 'semel' Nipp. compares 'aut vitam semel aut ignominiam finirent' (Liv. 25. 6, 16), 'nihil confestim, nihil semel faciunt' (Sen. Ben. 2. 5, 1). The wrath of the gods had not shown itself in a single catastrophe, but in a series of events requiring separate mention.

9. **transire**, 'to pass on,' without returning to the subject.

posteritati. Nipp. and Dr. appear rightly to understand this of 'the future' of such men (taken brachylogically for their posthumous renown); and such is clearly the meaning of 'sola posteritatis cura' in H. 2. 53, 3. Others less well take the term to refer to the people here alluded to, as being themselves the descendants of distinguished ancestors; which is not the case with those especially instanced in c. 17, 1.

modo exsequiis a promisca sepultura separantur, ita in traditione supremorum accipiant habeantque propriam memoriam.
17. Paucos quippe intra dies eodem agmine Annaeus Mela, 1
Cerialis Anicius, Rufrius Crispinus, C. Petronius cecidere,
Mela et Crispinus equites Romani dignitate senatoria. nam 2
hic quondam praefectus praetorii et consularibus insignibus
donatus ac nuper crimine coniurationis in Sardiniam exactus, accepto iussae mortis nuntio semet interfecit. Mela, 3
quibus Gallio et Seneca parentibus natus, petitione honorum abstinuerat per ambitionem praeposteram, ut eques Romanus

1. **promisca**, such burial as ordinary people might have, without 'imaginum pompa,' 'laudatio,' public attendance invited by proclamation, etc.

2. **supremorum**: cp. 3. 49, 1; 6. 50, 3; 12. 66, 2, etc.

propriam memoriam, 'special record,' such as history would not grant to the deaths of less distinguished people. The repetition in 'accipiant habeantque' is in accordance with the rhetorical character of the passage.

3. **quippe** (so in anastrophe 2. 15, 3; 33, 2; Agr. 3, 2, etc.), used to bring in instances of such deaths.

eodem agmine, 'one upon another.' The narrative shows that their deaths did not take place together.

Mela: so in Med. The old reading, after G., was 'Mella.'

4. **Cerialis Anicius**: see 15. 74, 3.

Rufrius Crispinus: see 11. 1, 3, and note. Med. has here 'rufus.'

C. Petronius. Med. has here 'ac Petronius,' which might possibly stand on the supposition that Tacitus, reversing his usual practice, gives one name here and two in the second and fuller notice (c. 18, 1). Most edd. however have followed Rhen. in supposing that 'C.' (which is there given in Med.) has here dropped out after 'ac'; while Halm and Orelli follow Wesenburg in treating 'ac' as a corruption of 'C.' On the other hand Pliny says (N. H. 37. 2, 7, 20) 'T. Petronius consularis, moriturus invidia Neronis, ut mensam eius exheredaret trullam murrinam trecentis millibus emptam fregit'; and Plutarch (de disc. adul. et am. p. 60 E), illustrates a dangerous form of flattery, ὅταν τοὺς ἀσώτους καὶ πολυτελεῖς εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ῥυπαρίαν ὀνειδίζουσιν, ὥσπερ Νέρωνα Τίτος Πετρώνιος. As the person here mentioned is evidently the same, Haase and Ritt. depart wholly from the Med. reading 'T.' for 'ac,' and Nipp. and Dr. read 'ac T.' Nipp. points out that the names are given in two pairs, each a senator and a knight, and that the addition of a conjunction after asyndeta has several precedents in Tacitus and Livy. It is possible that Tacitus may have confused the praenomen with that of C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus (see on 6. 45, 5). The MSS. of the satire (see on c. 18, 1) appear to give no praenomen to the author; the title being read by Buecheler as 'Petronii Arbitri Satirae' (or 'Satirarum excerpta').

5. **equites . . . dignitate senatoria**, knights with senatorial census, 'equites inlustres' (see 2. 59, 4, and note; 11. 4, 1, etc.).

nam, referred to 'cecidere': cp. 11. 22, 1.

6. **praefectus praetorii.** He had been removed by the influence of Agrippina: see 12. 42, 1.

consularibus insignibus, perhaps an error, as he is mentioned in 11. 4, 5, as receiving 'insignia praeturae.' If he afterwards received consular insignia, he is the first praefectus praetorio who is known to have done so (Momms. Staatsr. i. 463, 4).

7. **in Sardiniam exactus**: see 15. 71, 8. His death is alluded to in the 'Octavia' (744–747).

9. **quibus Gallio et Seneca**: see note on 14. 53, 5. On Gallio see 15. 73, 4.

10. **ambitionem praeposteram**, well explained by Jacob to mean 'an eccentric ambition.' Desiring to have political influence and position equal to that of a consular, instead of endeavouring to become such, he took the opposite course of remaining a knight. On the great 'potentia' of some of these 'equites inlustres' see 3. 30, 4; Friedl. Sitteng. i.

consularibus potentia aequaretur; simul adquirendae pecuniae
brevius iter credebat per procurationes administrandis principis
4 negotiis. idem Annaeum Lucanum genuerat, grande adiumentum
claritudinis. quo interfecto dum rem familiarem eius acriter
requirit, accusatorem concivit Fabium Romanum, ex intimis
5 Lucani amicis. mixta inter patrem filiumque coniurationis
scientia fingitur, adsimilatis Lucani litteris: quas inspectas Nero
6 ferri ad eum iussit, opibus eius inhians. at Mela, quae tum
promptissima mortis via, exsolvit venas, scriptis codicillis quibus
grandem pecuniam in Tigellinum generumque eius Cossutianum
7 Capitonem erogabat, quo cetera manerent. additur codicillis,
tamquam de iniquitate exitii querens ita scripsisset, se quidem
mori nullis supplicii causis, Rufrium autem Crispinum et Anicium
8 Cerialem vita frui infensos principi. quae composita credebantur

252, foll. etc., and on the equestrian 'cursus honorum' see Introd. i. vii. p. 88, n. 4; and a full account of the high posts open to this order in Momms. Staatsr. iii. p. 554, foll.

1. **adquirendae pecuniae**, etc. The case may be compared of Cornelius Fuscus, who had resigned senatorial rank, and afterwards obtained an important procuratorship from Galba (H. 2. 86, 5). On these offices see 12. 60, 1; Introd. i. vii. pp. 99–100, and on their lucrative character, Momms. Staatsr. iii. 559, 2; Hirschf. 258, foll.

2. **administrandis . . . negotiis**, best taken as dative of purpose. Orelli and others take it as an epexegetical abl.

3. **Annaeum Lucanum**: see 15. 49, 3; 70, 1.

4. **rem familiarem eius**: for the use of 'eius' after abl. abs. cp. c. 14, 6, etc. That Lucan was wealthy is shown by the allusion to his 'horti marmorei' in Juv. 7, 79; and it would appear that his property had not been confiscated. Lips. emends an obscure and corrupt passage in Jer. Chron. so as to read 'L. Annaeus Mela, frater Senecae et Gallionis, ob bona Lucani filii sui, a Nerone perimitur,' which would show that Jerome had mistaken what Tacitus here says.

5. **requirit**, 'calls in,' from his debtors. It is suggested that Romanus may have been one of them.

6. **mixta . . . scientia**, 'that father and son had interchanged knowledge of the conspiracy.'

7. **adsimilatis**, 'having been counterfeited'; so in 4. 8, 1; 59, 5; 6. 25, 1; Plaut., Ter., Verg. and Pl. ma. For the form of the word here cp. 11. 11, 6, and note.

quas. Med., according to Ritt., has 'quasi,' whence he reads 'quas sibi.'

8. **ferri ad eum**, 'to be conveyed to Mela,' to show him that his guilt was proved, and to warn him to die.

opibus eius inhians: cp. 11. 1, 1, and note.

10. **Cossutianum Capitonem**: see 14. 48, 2.

11. **additur codicillis**, etc. The Med. text, as here given, can be satisfactorily explained by supposing it to state that words were appended to his testament, and that 'tamquam . . . scripsisset' is a parenthetical explanation of the assignable reason for such an insertion ('as though he had so written in complaint of the injustice of his death'); the actual addition being given in 'se quidem,' etc. The alternative reading 'scripsisse,' given by some inferior MSS. and old edd., and supposed by Walther to be the Med. reading, is retained by Nipp. and Jacob, and is explained by taking 'additur' personally in the sense 'he is made to have written in addition' (see Introd. i. v. § 45), and 'codicillis' as an abl., similar to that in c. 14, 4, etc. Dr., without sufficient reason, brackets 'tamquam . . . scripsisset' as a gloss.

14. **composita**, 'to have been invented' (cp. 11. 27, 2; 15. 16, 3, etc.). It seems best to suppose this to mean that this addition to the will was believed to have

de Crispino, quia interfectus erat, de Ceriale, ut interficeretur. neque enim multo post vim sibi attulit, minore quam ceteri miseratione, quia proditam Gaio Caesari coniurationem ab eo meminerant.

18. De C. Petronio pauca supra repetenda sunt. nam illi 1
dies per somnum, nox officiis et oblectamentis vitae transigebatur; utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat, habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, ut plerique sua haurientium, sed erudito luxu. ac dicta factaque eius quanto 2
solutiora et quandam sui neglegentiam praeferentia, tanto gratius

been a forgery instigated by Nero, to justify the one death and to bring about the other. Nipp. takes them to mean that Mela was believed to have inserted the words to bring about the death of Cerialis, disguising his personal animosity towards him by adding the name of Crispinus, whom he knew, but was not supposed to know, to have been already compelled to die. But Tacitus seems carefully to guard against affirming that the words had been really written by Mela.

3. **proditam Gaio Caesari coniurationem.** This appears not to have been that of Gaetulicus and Lepidus (see Introd. p. 8), but one in 793, A.D. 40. Our only informant, Zonaras (11. 6, p. 557), states that Nicius Cerialius (so read in most texts) and his son Sextus Papinius were arrested and tortured, without disclosing, and that the latter afterwards turned informer. The words of Tacitus here would make against the correctness of this version, which is also invalidated by another account (Sen. de Ira 3. 18, 3) in which Papinius is called 'consularis filius,' and said to have been tortured only for caprice ('animi causa'), not in any judicial process.

5. **De C. Petronio.** Dr. and Jacob follow Nipp. in omitting the praenomen, as in itself wrong (see on c. 17, 1) and as having possibly arisen from repeating the preceding 'e.' The identification of the person mentioned with the author of the famous Satire is generally considered to have been proved by Studer (Rhen. Mus. ii. 50, foll. and 202: cp. an abstract of his arguments given in Merivale, ch. 53), and is fully accepted by Buecheler in his edition of that work (Berl. 1862), and by Teuffel (History of Roman Literature, 300, 4). Professor W. Ramsay, who has fully discussed the subject (Dict. of Biog.), inclines to the opposite view. No allusion to the work can be discovered in what is said in c. 19, 5, and it is remarkable that Tacitus gives him no credit for any literary talent.

pauca supra repetenda sunt, 'a slight retrospect must be taken.' The expression is Sallustian (Cat. 5, 9; Jug. 5, 3): cp. 'alte repetere,' and similar expressions (3. 24, 2, and note; H. 2. 27, 2; Dial. 19, 3, etc.).

nam, apparently inserted to point attention to the unique character of his career as a reason for dwelling on it.

6. **per somnum**: on the interchange of this prep. with the simple abl. cp. Introd. i. v. § 62. Seneca notices the voluptuaries 'qui officia lucis noctisque perverterint' (Ep. 122, 2); and the same practice is recorded of Elagabalus (Vit. 28, 6): 'transegit et dierum actus noctibus, et nocturnos diebus, aestimans hoc inter instrumenta luxuriae.'

7. **protulerat**: cp. 12. 3, 2, and note.

8. **profligator**, 'a spendthrift'; one of the verbal nouns invented by Tacitus (Introd. i. v. 69, 1 a): 'profligare opes' is found in Nep. Pel. 2, 3; and the verb has other similar meanings.

9. **haurientium** = 'exhaurientium': the meaning is nearly similar to that in 13. 42, 7. Jacob compares 'hausisti patrias luxuriosus opes' (Mart. 9. 83, 4).

erudito luxu, abl. of quality (so used after 'haberi' in 6. 48, 7), 'a man who had made an art of luxury.'

10. **solutiora**, 'the more unconventional'; used of absence of moral restraint in 11. 31, 4; 13. 47, 2, etc.

sui neglegentiam, 'carelessness,' 'un certain laisser-aller' (Jacob).

tanto gratius, etc. 'were the more acceptable, being taken to present an appearance of simplicity' ('naiveté'). His words and acts seemed to have a freshness

3 in speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. pro consule tamen
Bithyniae et mox consul vigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit.
4 dein revolutus ad vitia, seu vitiorum imitatione, inter paucos
familiarium Neroni adsumptus est, elegantiae arbiter, dum nihil
amoenum et molle adfluentiā putat, nisi quod ei Petronius ad-
5 probavisset. unde invidia Tigellini quasi adversus aemulum
et scientiā voluptatum potiorem. ergo crudelitatem principis,
cui ceterae libidines cedebant, adgreditur, amicitiam Scaevini
Petronio obiectans, corrupto ad iudicium servo ademptaque
defensione et maiore parte familiae in vincla rapta.
1 **19.** Forte illis diebus Campaniam petiverat Caesar, et Cumas
usque progressus Petronius illic attinebatur; nec tulit ultra
2 timoris aut spei moras. neque tamen praeceps vitam expulit,

about them which commended itself to the worn-out taste of the age. This characteristic seems not unsuited to the broad humour of the 'Satirae.' For the sense of 'simplicitas' cp. 6. 5, 2; for that of 'accipere in,' 1. 14, 3, and note.

1. **pro consule . . . Bithyniae.** He would have held this proconsulate after the praetorship: see 1. 74, 1, and note.

2. **consul,** as suffectus in some unknown year.

3. **revolutus.** The coordination with the causal abl. 'imitatione' shows that the participle also expresses cause. Most of the inferior MSS. and older edd. read 'imitationem.'

inter paucos, 'among his few most intimate friends': cp. 11. 10, 5, and note.

4. **elegantiae arbiter,** 'the authority on taste.' We certainly should not gather from this passage that such a title amounted to a formal cognomen; but it is possible to suppose (with Jacob) that the satirist may have humourously called himself 'Petronius Arbiter,' or (with Prof. Ramsay) that the title may have been inserted by some grammarian who wished to mark the identity of the author with the person described by Tacitus. No other trace of the word as a real name appears to be found than its occurrence among those of a list of freedmen (I. R. N. 4279).

5. **adfluentia,** probably best taken, with Jacob and others, as a concise use of a causal abl. (Introd. i. v. § 30), 'inasmuch as abundance (i.e. his satiety with pleasures) made Nero think nothing charming or luxurious, except whatever Petronius might have commended to him.' The more natural construction as an abl. of respect depending on 'molle' seems to fail to give a satisfactory meaning. 'Adfluentia' is a synonym with 'copia' in 3. 30, 4: cp. the use of the participle in 15. 54, 2; H. 1. 57, 5 ('praesentia ex affluenti').

ei adprobavisset. The subjunct. appears to be that of action frequently repeated (Introd. i. v. § 52). 'Adprobare alicui aliquid' is used in 15. 59, 6; Agr. 5, 1; so 'probare' in Cic.

8. **adgreditur,** 'addresses himself to'; so with 'modestiam' (2. 26, 4), 'animos' (H. 1. 78, 1). A similar metaphor is 'saevitiae principis adrepit' (1. 74, 2). The anecdote of Plutarch (see note on c. 17, 1) suggests that Nero was already offended by Petronius' vein of humour.

Scaevini: see 15. 49, 4.

9. **corrupto ad iudicium**: cp. 2. 62, 3, and note.

adempta, i.e. no opportunity being offered for it.

11. **Cumas usque progressus.** Nero may probably have gone to Baiae or Neapolis, and Petronius may have accompanied him, or, as the words would more naturally mean, gone thus far to join him, and had been there arrested and was being detained in custody ('attinebatur': cp. 15. 57, 1, etc.).

13. **timoris aut spei moras**: cp. 'cunctantibus prolatantibusque spem aut metum' (15. 51, 1).

praeceps; adverbial: cp. 4. 62, 3, and note; Introd. i. v. § 3.

sed incisas venas, ut libitum, obligatas aperire rursum et adloqui
amicos, non per seria aut quibus gloriam constantiae peteret.
audiebatque referentes, nihil de inmortalitate animae et sapien- 3
tium placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles versus. servorum alios 4
largitione, quosdam verberibus adfecit. iniit et epulas, somno
indulsit, ut quamquam coacta mors fortuitae similis esset. ne 5
codicillis quidem, quod plerique pereuntium, Neronem aut Tigel-
linum aut quem alium potentium adulatus est: sed flagitia
principis sub nominibus exoletorum feminarumque et novitatem
cuiusque stupri perscripsit atque obsignata misit Neroni. fregit-
que anulum, ne mox usui esset ad facienda pericula.

20. Ambigenti Neroni, quonam modo noctium suarum ingenia 1

1. **incisas.** This again, as it stands, would be another new expression for opening veins; but perhaps Ritt. may be right in thinking that a syllable has been lost in an abbreviation, and that 'intercisas' (cp. c. 14, 6, and note) should be read, both here and in H. 5. 22, 2. Ritt. also thinks that 'et' has dropped out before 'ut.'

2. **gloriam constantiae.** Compare the exhortations of Seneca (15. 62, 2).

3. **nihil de inmortalitate animae,** etc. With persons of less dissolute character the consolations of philosophy held the place now filled by those of religion; and the philosopher friend of the house was in attendance at the hour of impending death, or gave advice in preparation for it. See the accounts at the end of Thrasea (c. 34, 2), of Rubellius Plautus (14. 59, 2), and several other instances cited in Friedl. iii. 657.

4. **carmina . . . versus;** so coupled in Dial. 9, 1, and probably to be distinguished (with Nipp.) by taking the former term to mean songs or lyrical pieces, the latter, hexameter, iambic, or other poems. 'Levia' and 'faciles' are nearly synonyms in that both are opposites to 'seria' ('frivolous songs and playful poetry'); 'facilis' and 'facilitas' are analogously used of pliant personal character: cp. 'uxor facilis' (6. 1, 5), 'facilitate . . . commendabatur' (6. 15, 3).

alios . . . quosdam. Dr., who notes this coordination as ἅπ. εἰρ., compares 'multos . . . quosdam' in 11. 7, 4; and elsewhere (Synt. und Stil, 135, 1) gives many other such forms of expression.

5. **iniit et epulas.** All MSS. and most of the older edd. have 'iniit et uias,' which seems to describe an impossible action under the circumstances. 'Iniit epulas' is read by Nipp. and others after Markland, 'iniit et epulas' by Halm and Dr.: cp. 'epulas inibat' (15. 52, 1). His last scene would thus resemble that of Libo (2. 31, 1) and Asiaticus (11. 3, 2).

6. **coacta,** 'compulsory': cp. 13. 43, 4, and note. 'Quamquam' is a correction of Rhen. for Med. 'quā' ('quam').

7. **quod plerique,** sc. 'facere solebant': for such ellipses of the verb of doing see Introd. i. v. § 38 b.

9. **sub nominibus,** 'with names prefixed' (or given): cp. 5. 4, 4; 13. 25, 2; Liv. 1. 36, 7; 43, 9; also 'sub exemplo' in 3. 68, 1; 4. 11, 5. That the names given are fictitious, forms no part of the essential meaning of the expression, is not here indicated by the context, and is not in this case a probable supposition. It is plain that Petronius, with all his vices, was not an associate in the worst excesses of Nero, but that he knew all about them, and desired to taunt Nero with his knowledge, and to make it evident to him that all was generally known. Hence he would naturally give names with full accuracy. No trace of such a statement can be found in the Satire, and it cannot be supposed to have had any connexion with it.

novitatem: so all edd. after Neue for Med. 'novitate,' evidently an error for 'novitatē.'

11. **ne mox,** etc. The signet ring of Lucan had been no doubt so used (c. 17, 5). Another of his last acts is mentioned by Pliny (see note on c. 17, 1).

12. **noctium suarum ingenia** = 'quid-

notescerent, offertur Silia, matrimonio senatoris haud ignota et ipsi ad omnem libidinem adscita ac Petronio perquam familiaris. agitur in exilium, tamquam non siluisset quae viderat pertulerat-
2 que, proprio odio. at Minucium Thermum praetura functum Tigellini simultatibus dedit, quia libertus Thermi quaedam de Tigellino criminose detulerat, quae cruciatibus tormentorum ipse, patronus eius nece inmerita luere.

1 **21.** Trucidatis tot insignibus viris, ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano, olim utrisque infensus, et accedentibus causis in

quid nocturnae libidinis ingeniose excogitavisset' (Jacob). 'Ingenium' is often used of persons in the sense of 'inventiveness' (14. 3, 5, etc.); and Plin. mi. has (Pan. 49) 'exquisita ingenia cenarum.' The word is also often used in Tacitus of the nature or qualities of things (cp. 3. 26, 2, and note); and Orelli and others so take it here: cp. 'inmixtis histrionibus et spadonum gregibus et cetero Neronianae aulae ingenio' (H. 2. 71, 1).

1. **offertur**, 'is suggested,' 'occurs to him.'

3. **tamquam**, 'on the ground that'; giving the pretext and explaining the real motive ('proprio odio').

4. **proprio odio**, causal abl. (taken with 'agitur in exilium'), 'on account of his own hate for her.' This is shown to be the meaning by the contrast 'Tigellini simultatibus dedit.'

Minucium Thermum, probably a son of the one mentioned in 6. 7, 2, whence the name is here restored by Ryck, for the Med. 'Municium.'

5. **dedit.** All recent edd. follow Rhen. in thus reading. Med. has 'deditum'; several other MSS. and edd. 'dedidit.' Tacitus generally uses 'dare' in such expressions (cp. 1. 10, 2; 15. 59, 8, etc.); 'dedidit' has been less well defended from c. 10, 5; 3. 23, 1.

quaedam . . . detulerat, 'had brought certain charges vindictively against Tigellinus,' as to which apparently under torture he incriminated his patron. Cp. 'qui . . . criminosius Blaesum insectarent' (H. 3. 38, 3). Orelli takes the words to mean that he had given information of libels spoken against Tigellinus by Minucius; but for this the freedman would have been rewarded, not tortured.

7. **luere**: so Halm, Orelli, Ritt., Jacob, after Acid. All MSS. and other edd. read 'lueret' in the sense of 'was destined to atone.' Dr. compares 'in eas partes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent' (G. 29, 1), and 'res . . . defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram . . . victoriam ederetis' (Agr. 34, 3). On the other hand the 't' might easily have been a repetition from the initial of 'trucidatis'; and Tacitus certainly as a rule uses the plural verb or predicate in such sentences (cp. c. 7, 2; 12. 41, 4; 14. 53, 3; and several other passages here cited by Halm); though the singular can also be defended by instances (see Nipp. Append. to 12. 12), especially if stress is supposed to be laid on the patron's fate (cp. 1. 10, 1; 2. 26, 3; 12. 12, 3).

8. **virtutem ipsam excindere.** In the brief account given by the epitomist of Dio (62. 26, 1), it is stated that they were condemned for no other reason but because they were foremost in rank and virtue. For the expression, Jacob compares 'omni bona arte in exilium acta' (Agr. 2, 2).

9. **Thrasea Paeto**: for his full name see note on 13. 49, 1, where he is first mentioned. Besides the occasions referred to below, he is mentioned prominently in 15. 20, 2; 23, 5, and as alluded to by Vitellius in H. 2. 91, 5. His biography of Cato is alluded to by Plutarch (Cato Min. 25, 37), who elsewhere records an eulogy of Nero on his justice (πολ. παραγγελμ. 14. p. 810 B). Other notices of him, ancient and modern, are given by Mayor on Juv. 5, 35.

10. **Barea Sorano**, only mentioned previously as cos. design. and as voting a reward to Pallas (12. 53, 2). His gentile name appears to be Marcius (see note there). He was at this time advanced in years (c. 30, 4). His son-in-law (l. l.), Annius Pollio, had been already exiled for his supposed share in the conspiracy

Thraseam, quod senatu egressus est, cum de Agrippina referretur, ut memoravi, quodque Iuvenalium ludicro parum spectabilem operam praebuerat; eaque offensio altius penetrabat, quia idem Thrasea Patavi, unde ortus erat, ludis †cetastis a Troiano Antenore institutis habitu tragico cecinerat. die quoque, quo 2
praetor Antistius ob probra in Neronem composita ad mortem damnabatur, mitiora censuit obtinuitque; et cum deum honores

of Piso (15. 71, 6). His name is coupled in Boeth. Cons. 1, Pr. 3 with those of Kanus and Seneca as martyrs to their exaltation above the standard of their age.

2. **ut memoravi**: see 14. 12, 2.

Iuvenalium: see 14. 15, 1. No previous mention is made of Thrasea's conduct in this respect; and we should suppose from 15. 33, 1 that Nero had of late ceased to care to keep up this festival: see however note on 15. 50, 6.

parum spectabilem. All recent edd., except Ritt., read thus, after MS. Agr. Med. has 'parum et expectabilem'; the older edd. either 'parum expectabilem' (after several inferior MSS.), or 'parum expetibilem' (after Bud.), in the sense of 'not such as might be expected' (or 'desired'); 'expectabilis' being found only in Tert. Marc. 3. 16; 'expetibilis' in Sen. Ep. 117, 4. The meaning with either reading would be that he had not joined, or joined but coldly in the applause (see c. 5, 3), or (as the context seems rather to indicate) had not appeared on the stage, as other nobles did (14. 15, 2), and as he had done elsewhere. Ritt., who reads 'parum et vix spectabilem,' takes the words to mean that he had been for the most part absent, and, when present, was unenthusiastic. Dio (62. 26, 4) appears to render them by *οὔτε ἐπεδείξατο οὐδέν*.

3. **penetrabat,** sc. 'animum Neronis': cp. the full expression in 1. 69, 4.

4. **ludis †cetastis.** Halm and Or. retain the unintelligible Med. text, in preference to adopting any of the many emendations (see their critical notes and Walther's). Some light is thrown on the word by an inscription (C. I. L. v. 1. 2787) in letters of a fairly good time, found near Patavium (Padua), to a 'lusor epidixib[us] et cetaes' (which latter word Mommsen there takes to be a Greek dative from 'cetae'; also by a passage in Charisius (p. 100 P.), quoting a letter of Pomponius Secundus (see on 5. 8, 4) to Thrasea, in which the word 'cetariis' (which he agrees with Pliny should have been 'cetaribus') occurs. Hence Nipp. here reads 'cetariis,' and thinks that as Patavium lay near the sea, and had a domain extending to it (Liv. 10. 2, 7), it may have had a festival connected with the tunny fisheries (cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 5, 44) of the Adriatic. Ritt. and Dr. follow Seyffert in reading 'vetustis.' Dio (l. l.) gives no name to the feast, but calls it *ἑορτὴ τριακονταετηρίς*. Its antiquity and rare occurrence may have induced Thrasea to relax so far as thus to take part in it.

5. **Antenore,** the traditional founder of Patavium and coloniser of the district (Liv. 1. 1, 2; Verg. Aen. 1, 247).

cecinerat, i.e. had taken the principal part, and sung the monologue, in a tragedy; *τραγῳδίαν κατά τι πάτριον . . . ὑποκρινάμενος* (Dio, l. l.): cp. 15. 65, 2, and note.

6. **Antistius**: see 14. 48, 1.

ad mortem damnabatur: for the expression cp. 6. 38, 4, and note, also 'damnati ad poenam' (Pl. ad Trai. 32, 1). Tacitus elsewhere has an abl. of the penalty with this verb (H. 4. 45, 3), or a sentence with 'ut' (2. 67, 3), but not the genit. (as 'capitis,' etc.).

7. **cum.** Ritt. reads 'dum' with Heins., thinking that with 'cum' an imperf. indic. or subjunct. would be expected.

deum honores (cp. 15. 74, 4). In his account of the funeral honours of Poppaea (c. 6, 3) Tacitus had omitted this. On the same coins on which the apotheosis of her child is commemorated (see on 15. 23, 4), she is also represented sitting in a temple, with the legend 'Diva Poppaea Aug.' (Eckh. vi. 287; Coh. i. 315). An inscription with the same title exists (Or. 731); and Dio mentions (63. 26, 5) among the last acts of Nero his consecration of her temple, inscribed *Σαβίνῃ θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐποίησαν.*

Poppaeae decernuntur, sponte absens, funeri non interfuerat.
3 quae oblitterari non sinebat Capito Cossutianus, praeter animum ad flagitia praecipitem iniquus Thraseae, quod auctoritate eius concidisset, iuvantis Cilicum legatos, dum Capitonem repetundarum interrogant.

1 **22.** Quin et illa obiectabat, principio anni vitare Thraseam sollemne ius iurandum; nuncupationibus votorum non adesse, quamvis quindecimvirali sacerdotio praeditum: numquam pro salute principis aut caelesti voce immolavisse; adsiduum olim et indefessum, qui vulgaribus quoque patrum consultis semet fautorem aut adversarium ostenderet, triennio non introisse curiam; nuperrimeque, cum ad coercendos Silanum et Veterem certatim concurreretur, privatis potius clientium negotiis vaca-

1. **sponte**, 'intentionally.'

interfuerat: so all recent edd. after MS. Jes., as nearer to the Med. 'interfuerit,' than 'interfuit,' which is read by other MSS. and edd., and appears to have been accommodated to the other tenses ('censuit obtinuitque').

2. **Capito Cossutianus.** In the account of his accusation by the Cilicians (13. 33, 3), the part taken by Thrasea was not mentioned.

3. **iniquus**: cp. 3. 4, 3, and note.

4. **concidisset**, 'he had been condemned'; so in c. 29, 3: so also 'cadere' in 6. 14, 1; H. 4. 6, 2; Cic. Att. 7. 25.

repetundarum interrogant: cp. 13. 14, 2, and note.

7. **solemne ius iurandum**, the oath maintaining the 'acta' of the princeps and his predecessors (see below § 5; 1. 72, 2, and note; 13. 11, 1) which, as well as the 'sacramentum in nomen principis' (see 1. 7, 3, and note), was renewed annually on the 1st of January.

nuncupationibus votorum. The 'vota pro incolumitate reipublicae' were taken on the 1st of January (see 4. 70, 1, and note), those 'pro incolumitate principis' on the 3rd (Plut. Cic. 2). It is shown in 4. 17, 1 (where see note) that all the priestly colleges took part in them.

8. **quindecimvirali sacerdotio**: see 3. 64, 3, and note.

praeditus: so used of this priesthood in 11. 11, 3.

9. **caelesti voce**: cp. 14. 15, 9; also 'flagitantibus cunctis caelestem vocem' (Suet. Ner. 21); and the charges described by Philostratus (Vit. Ap. 5. 7), on the authority of Apollonius, as rife during that time: *οὐκ ἦλθες ἀκροασόμενος Νέρωνος, ἢ παρῆσθα μέν, ῥᾳθύμως δὲ ἠκροῶ, ἐγέλας, οὐκ ἐκρότησας, οὐκ ἔθυσας ὑπὲρ τῆς φωνῆς.*

10. **indefessum**: cp. 1. 64, 5; a word first introduced into prose by Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 70).

qui . . . ostenderet. Nipp. notes that this clause (with which 'olim' is again supplied) adds point to the preceding adjectives.

vulgaribus, 'on everyday matters': cp. 13. 49, 1, where he is mentioned as opposing a decree so termed.

11. **triennio**, etc. Under the Republic, senators were liable to a fine and 'pignoris capio' (cp. 13. 28, 4, and note) for non attendance (see Liv. 3. 38, 12; Cic. Phil. 1. 5, 12), but the enforcement of such penalty appears to have become practically obsolete (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 916). Attendance had been enforced with increased stringency by Augustus and Claudius (Dio, 54. 18, 3: 60. 11, 8); but the language of Nero (c. 27, 2), unless it is to be taken to apply to Thrasea only, would show that it had again become lax.

12. **Silanum et Veterem**: see c. 7, 3; 11, 6. Others were accused on both occasions; but only the principal criminal in each case is here specified. The language is rhetorical, for Vetus was already dead before he was accused.

13. **privatis**, etc., 'gave his leisure rather to the private suits of his clients,' by assisting them in the law-courts. The moral support thus given to clients by the presence of a patron of rank may be gathered from Mart. 2. 32.

visse. secessionem iam id et partes et, si idem multi audeant, 2
bellum esse. 'ut quondam C. Caesarem' inquit 'et M. Catonem, ita nunc te, Nero, et Thraseam avida discordiarum civitas loquitur. et habet sectatores vel potius satellites, qui nondum 3
contumaciam sententiarum, sed habitum vultumque eius sectantur, rigidi et tristes, quo tibi lasciviam exprobrent. huic uni in- 4
columitas tua sine *cura*, artes sine honore. prosperas principis res spernit: etiamne luctibus et doloribus non satiatur? eiusdem 5
animi est Poppaeam divam non credere, cuius in acta divi Augusti et divi Iuli non iurare. spernit religiones, abrogat leges. diurna populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus curatius 6
leguntur, ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit. aut transeamus 7

1. **id**: for this use of the neuter cp. 1. 49, 4, and note.

partes, 'a formation of parties in the state.' Nero was no more than the head of one party; Thrasea that of another.

2. **ut quondam**, as men used to talk of Julius Caesar and Cato (of Utica). The latter was the leading representative of the republican opposition to the former.

3. **te, Nero, et Thraseam**: so all edd. after Put. for Med. 'tenebo thraseā.' Ritt. prefers 'te, Nero, Thraseamque,' as such variation after 'C. Caesarem et M. Catonem' would be in the manner of Tacitus; but the loss of 'et' before 't' seems more probable. The accus. here with 'loquor' may be compared with 'Pharsaliam . . . loquebantur' (H. 1. 50, 3), 'caesos exercitus . . . loquebantur' (H. 4. 12, 1), and is found in Cic. and Liv. Cp. also 'ingredi aliquem' (6. 4, 1), 'disserere aliquid' (1. 4, 2, etc.). It is not necessary to suppose the presence of Nero at this debate, as the princeps is certainly sometimes thus addressed in his absence (see 6. 8, 6).

4. **satellites**, 'his courtiers,' substituted as a more invidious term for 'sectatores'; so used bitterly in 2. 45, 4; 6. 3, 2, etc.

5. **sententiarum**, of his votes in the senate.

habitum, 'his demeanour' (cp. 1. 10, 7, etc.); so joined with 'vultus' in H. 1. 17, 2; 2. 52, 2: cp. 'habitu et ore' (c. 32, 3).

6. **rigidi et tristes.** Suet. (Ner. 37) makes the only charge against Thrasea himself to have been his 'tristior et paedagogi vultus.' The morose expression affected by Stoics is often noticed: cp. 'philosophi vultum et tristitiam et dissentientem a ceteris habitum' (Quint. 1. pr. § 15), 'triste supercilium durique severa Catonis Frons' (Mart. 11. 2, 1), etc. On the Stoic opposition under the Caesars see Introd. p. 83; Friedl. iii. 617, foll.

7. **sine cura**: so all recent edd. after Lips. The insertion is violent, but the alternative of Gron. ('incolumitas tua, tuae artes') not less so, and inferior in sense. The two clauses refer to the charges 'numquam . . . immolavisse.'

8. **etiamne . . . non** = 'num ne . . . quidem': cp. 13. 3, 6, and note. 'Luctibus' refers to the death of Poppaea.

9. **in acta**, etc.: see on § 1. The 'acta' of Tiberius and Gaius were not included in the oath (Dio, 59. 9, 1; Suet. Cl. 11); so that those of Julius, Augustus, and Claudius were alone at this time sworn to (with those of Nero himself). The latter name is, naturally, omitted, as less acceptable to Nero than the two former. The contempt of 'divi' shown by his abstinence explains also his taking no part in the apotheosis of Poppaea. He is thus shown 'spernere religiones'; also his contempt of the 'acta principum,' and his absence from the senate generally, is charged as a virtual 'abrogatio legum.' Tiberius is mentioned (4. 42, 3) as striking a senator off the roll for not swearing to the 'acta Augusti.'

11. **diurna populi Romani**: on these public journals see Introd. i. iii. p. 15.

curatius, 'more carefully': cp. 14. 21, 2, and note; also 1. 13, 7, and note.

12. **quid Thrasea non fecerit.** His abstentions show the disaffected how far they may go.

ad illa instituta, si potiora sunt, aut nova cupientibus auferatur
dux et auctor. ista secta Tuberones et Favonios, veteri quoque
8 rei publicae ingrata nomina, genuit. ut imperium evertant,
libertatem praeferunt: si perverterint, libertatem ipsam ad-
9 gredientur. frustra Cassium amovisti, si gliscere et vigere
Brutorum aemulos passurus es. denique nihil ipse de Thrasea
10 scripseris: disceptatorem senatum nobis relinque.' extollit ira
promptum Cossutiani animum Nero adicitque Marcellum Eprium
acri eloquentia.

1 **23.** At Baream Soranum iam sibi Ostorius Sabinus eques
Romanus poposcerat reum ex proconsulatu Asiae, in qua of-
fensiones principis auxit iustitia atque industria, et quia portui

1. **illa instituta,** the republicanism of Thrasea, explained by 'nova cupientibus' below.

2. **ista secta,** Stoicism, sufficiently understood by the preceding description (§ 3).

Tuberones et Favonios, rhetorical plurals (cp. 1. 10, 3, etc.). Q. Aelius Tubero, a nephew of the younger Africanus and an opponent of the Gracchi, is taken as one of the persons of the dialogue 'de Republica' by Cic., who elsewhere speaks of him as a Stoic of high character, but of austerity amounting to rudeness, and as displaying at times a 'perversa sapientia' (Brut. 31, 117; pro Mur. 36, 75); also as a learned jurist (Cic. ap. Gell. 1. 22, 7). Seneca praises his asceticism (Ep. 95, 72, etc.). M. Favonius, who is often mentioned in the letters of Cicero, was prominent among the optimates, though personally at enmity with Pompeius, and was taken prisoner at Philippi, and put to death. His Stoicism and austerity of demeanour seem to have been part of his servile imitation of Cato of Utica.

3. **imperium,** that of the princeps.

4. **praeferunt** = 'prae se ferunt,' 'make a display of': cp. 2. 53, 4, and note.

5. **Cassium:** see c. 7, 1. He is assumed to be a representative of his namesake, and thus named with Thrasea, who is regarded as emulating Marcus and Decimus Brutus.

6. **nihil . . . scripseris,** he need send no missive, such as was often sent (see 5. 3, 2; 6. 9, 2, etc.), and which would leave the senate no choice; he might safely leave it to be 'disceptator,' to decide between accuser and accused on its own discretion. Nero so far followed this hint as to write without mentioning names (c. 27, 2).

7. **extollit** = 'incendit.' Nero excites still further the spirit of Cossutianus, already eager, from personal animosity ('ira') towards Thrasea (see c. 21. 3). Tacitus has elsewhere 'extollere animos ad superbiam' (4. 17, 3): cp. 'ira . . . extollit animos et incitat' (Sen. de Ira 1. 7, 1).

8. **Marcellum Eprium:** see 12. 4. 5, and note.

9. **acri eloquentia,** 'a man of biting eloquence.'

10. **eques Romanus.** His rank as well as his cognomen distinguishes him from the family of the Ostorius of c. 14, 4, etc. The gentile name is so restored here and in c. 30, 1 (for 'torius') from the Med. text of c. 33, 4.

11. **ex proconsulatu Asiae,** i. e. for matters arising out of it. Soranus had been consul in 805, A. D. 52 (see 12. 53, 2, and note), and his proconsulate has been shown to belong to the year 814–815, A. D. 61–62 (Waddington, Fastes des prov. Asiat. pp. 134–140). It is spoken of as an old story ('vetera haec' c. 30, 2); and Rubellius Plautus, with whose friendship he was charged, had retired to Asia in 813, A. D. 60 (14. 22, 2), and had been put to death there in 815, A. D. 62 (14. 59, 1). The difficulty arising from this date is that it obliges us to suppose either that the introduction of the name of Acratus here is an error, or that his actual mission took place fully two years before the mention of it (15. 45, 3), and had no original connexion with the loss of works of art in the great fire, though it was perhaps extended after it.

12. **industria.** Jacob well compares

Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat vimque civitatis Pergamenae, prohibentis Acratum Caesaris libertum statuas et picturas evehere, inultam omiserat. sed crimini dabatur amicitia 2
Plauti et ambitio conciliandae provinciae ad spes novas. tempus 3
damnationi delectum, quo Tiridates accipiendo Armeniae regno adventabat, ut ad externa rumoribus intestinum scelus obscuraretur, an ut magnitudinem imperatoriam caede insignium virorum quasi regio facinore ostentaret.

24. Igitur omni civitate ad excipiendum principem spec- 1
tandumque regem effusa, Thrasea occursu prohibitus non demisit animum, sed codicillos ad Neronem composuit, requirens obiecta et expurgaturum adseverans, si notitiam criminum et copiam

the sentiment in Agr. 6, 3 'gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit.' His general energy, and especially the opening out of the harbour, seem to be in part the ground of the charge of 'ambitio conciliandae provinciae ad spes novas' (§ 2; cp. c. 30, 1).

1. **aperiendo**, by removing the sand drift. Jacob cites Ulp. in Dig. 43. 11, 1 'viam aperire est ad veterem altitudinem latitudinemque restituere.' The harbour had at all times suffered from the alluvium of the Cayster, and the evil had become aggravated when Strabo wrote (14. 1, 24, 641), owing to some mistaken remedies dating from the time of Attalus ii. (Philadelphus). It is now completely filled up and its site is indicated by a marsh.

insumpserat, with gerundive dat.: cp. 2. 53, 2, and note.

Pergamenae: see 3. 63, 3, and note.

2. **Acratum**: see above on § 1. According to Dio Chrys. Or. 31, 645 R, Pergamum did suffer pillage at that time.

3. **evehere**: so all recent edd. after Baiter (who appears to have been anticipated by P. Victorius). Med. has 'se uehere' (by repetition of 's' from the preceding word); other MSS. and edd. 'avehere.' 'Evecta' is used in a description of similar pillage by Verres at Aspendus (Cic. Verr. 2. 1, 20, 53).

4. **Plauti**: see above on § 1.

ambitio, 'courting popularity': 'spes novas' = 'spes novarum rerum' (cp. 1. 4, 2, etc.)

5. **Tiridates adventabat.** On the expedition of Tiridates see 15. 29–31. On his reception and investiture with the kingdom of Armenia see Appendix to this Book. 'Adventare' takes a simple dat. in 6. 33, 5, and 'venire' a gerundive dat. in 6. 43, 3; 15. 24, 3.

6. **ut ad externa**, etc., 'that the atrocity at home might be less noticed through the general talk turning on foreign affairs.' To insert 'versis' (with Acid.) would be a violent and needless change; the idea of some such a participle being sufficiently supplied from the sense, as in 'exempla . . . ad virtutem et gloriam' (11. 23, 3), and the employment of 'ad' to express such direction or relation being in itself not unusual (cp. 11. 36, 4; 14. 23, 1, etc.).

8. **regio**; i.e. the normal conduct of an Eastern king: cp. 6. 1, 2, and note. The subject of 'ostentaret' can be easily supplied from the sense; and there is no need to insert 'Nero,' with Ritt.

9. **ad excipiendum**, etc. Nero had received Tiridates at Naples, and escorted him to Rome. (See Appendix.) Some interval may naturally be supposed between Capito's attack on Thrasea in the senate (c. 22) and the formal accusation: cp. 'tempus damnationi delectum' (c. 23, 3).

10. **effusa.** The same word is used of a former concourse (15. 23. 5), where also Thrasea was forbidden to go to meet Nero. On the significance of such prohibitions see note there.

11. **codicillos**, 'a petition'; so in 4. 39, 1.

requirens obiecta, 'demanding to know the charge against him.'

12. **expurgaturum**, ἅπ. εἰρ. in Tacitus (who so uses 'purgaturum' in 4. 42, 2). The verb is thus used, especially with personal accus., in the sense of clearing oneself, several times in Plaut. and Ter. and in Sall. Jug. 69, 4. Here we should rather expect the full construction

2 diluendi habuisset. eos codicillos Nero properanter accepit, spe
exterritum Thraseam scripsisse per quae claritudinem principis
3 extolleret suamque famam dehonestaret. quod ubi non evenit
vultumque et spiritus et libertatem insontis ultro extimuit, vocari
patres iubet.

1 **25.** Tum Thrasea inter proximos consultavit, temptaretne
defensionem an sperneret. diversa consilia adferebantur. quibus
intrari curiam placebat, securos esse de constantia eius disserunt;
2 nihil dicturum nisi quo gloriam augeret. segnes et pavidos
supremis suis secretum circumdare: aspiceret populus virum
morti obvium, audiret senatus voces quasi ex aliquo numine
supra humanas: posse ipso miraculo etiam Neronem permoveri.
3 sin crudelitati insisteret, distingui certe apud posteros memoriam
honesti exitus ab ignavia per silentium pereuntium.

1 **26.** Contra qui opperiendum domui censebant, de ipso Thrasea

to be 'et se ea expurgaturum': cp. 'non facile est expurgatu' (Ter. Hec. 2. 3, 4). For the omission of pronouns see Introd. i. v. § 8.

1. **properanter,** 'eagerly,' i.e. he caught at them and read them eagerly.

spe, 'in hopes,' apparently abl. of manner.

3. **extolleret,** 'exalt it,' by humiliating himself to supplicate.

famam dehonestaret. The phrase is taken from Liv. 41. 6, 10 ('famam maculari dehonestarique'), the only passage in which the verb is found before the silver age. Tacitus uses it five times in the Annals (cp. 3. 66, 3; 70, 4; 4. 74, 2; 14. 15, 1). Cp. the substantive 'dehonestamentum' (12. 14, 6, and note).

4. **spiritus,** 'high spirit': cp. 13. 21, 9, and note.

ultro extimuit, 'he even feared,' instead of triumphing, as he had hoped, over his weakness.

6. **proximos,** 'his most intimate friends': cp. 1. 34, 1; 4. 12, 7; Cic. etc.

7. **an sperneret,** 'or disdain it.' So all edd. after G. for Med. 'asperneret.'

8. **intrari curiam,** 'that he should put in an appearance.' With 'esse' 'se' can be supplied as in numberless instances, though the likelikood of its having dropped out between 'securos' and 'esse' gives colour to Ritter's insertion of it.

disserunt: so Haase and all recent edd. for 'dixerunt,' which is read in Med. and other MSS. and older edd.; but which is hardly likely to have stood so near 'dicturum.' 'Disserere' is often used with acc. and inf. (e. g. c. 7, 3; 1. 81, 3; 2. 63, 3, etc.).

9. **gloriam**: Med. has 'gloria'; which makes it possible that 'augeret' is an error for 'augeretur' or 'augesceret': on the prevalence of this idea in his mind see 14. 49, 5.

10. **supremis suis secretum circumdare,** 'throw a veil of privacy over their end': cp. 'planctum et lamenta et supremorum imaginem praesenti sibi circumdata' (H. 4. 45, 1), and other figurative uses of the verb (14. 15, 4; 53, 5; Agr. 20, 1, etc.).

aspiceret, etc., 'let the nation see a man who could look death in the face.'

12. **humanas.** A few edd. endeavour to retain the Med. 'humanos,' in the sense of 'homines,' a meaning found in Lucr. 3, 80 and a few other places (see Munro there); but the correction above (after G.) is a far more probable reading.

ipso miraculo, 'by the very miracle' of such courage.

13. **sin**: so all edd. after inferior MSS. The Med. 'si in crudelitati' might be thought to suggest a reading 'si in crudelitate'; but the verb takes no such construction in the sense of 'persisting.' For the dat. cp. 2. 21, 3; 3. 42, 1; H. 2. 46, 4; 3. 77, 4.

14. **ignavia,** etc., 'the cowardice of those who died without protest,' the 'segniter pereuntes' of c. 16, 2 (for 'per silentium' cp. 11. 37, 5).

15. **domui.** Most recent edd. here re-

eadem, sed ludibria et contumelias imminere: subtraheret aures
conviciis et probris. non solum Cossutianum aut Eprium ad 2
scelus promptos: superesse qui forsitan manus ictusque per
immanitatem ingesturi sint; etiam bonos metu sequi. detraheret 3
potius senatui, quem perornavisset, infamiam tanti flagitii,
et relinqueret incertum quid viso Thrasea reo decreturi patres
fuerint. ut Neronem flagitiorum pudor caperet, inrita spe 4
agitari; multoque magis timendum ne in coniugem, in filiam,
in cetera pignora eius saeviret. proinde intemeratus, inpollutus, 5
quorum vestigiis et studiis vitam duxerit, eorum gloria peteret

tain the Med. text, as a form of 'domi' read by good MSS. in several passages in Cic. etc. In these, however, the text is corrected by many to 'domi'; as here by all older edd. (after G.) and by Ritt.

1. **eadem,** sc. 'disserunt' (Introd. i. v. § 38 a).

3. **superesse,** probably = 'abundare,' as in G. 6, 1; 26, 1, etc.

manus ictusque, these may be taken as a hendiadys, or 'manus' may be used more generally of acts of violence, such as dragging him to prison (cp. 'nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus' Agr. 45, 1), or possibly of threatening gestures, such as are described in the senate in H. 4. 41, 3 ('nec destitit senatus manus intentare Voculae').

4. **ingesturi sint:** so Halm, Dr., Ritt., Jacob, after Acid. The Med. text 'augusti' (without 'sint') is more nearly approached by the emendation of Lips., who reads 'ictusque parent.' 'Immanitatem Augusti etiam bonos metu sequi.' But the emperor is rarely spoken of as 'Augustus' in ordinary language. Many (including Nipp.) read 'ausuri sint' (with Acid.); Ern. and Walth. 'ausuri' (after Boxhorn). 'Ingerere' is used often with 'tela,' etc. (1. 49, 2, etc.), and Seneca has 'capiti suo manus ingerunt' (Ep. 99, 16).

detraheret . . . infamiam. This verb is more naturally used of taking away what is already present: cp. 'materiem sceleri detrahendam' (12. 22, 2); here it has rather the force of 'averteret.'

5. **quem perornavisset,** probably best taken (with Nipp., etc.) to mean, 'of which he had been throughout life the ornament' (cp. 'perviguere' 4. 34, 6). Dr. and others explain it as a superlative form ('of which he had been the great ornament'). The verb is of the coinage of Tacitus (see Introd. i. v. § 69, 3); but 'perornatus,' in the sense of 'very ornate,' is found in Cic. Brut. 43, 158. Halm needlessly reads 'semper ornavisset,' after Lips.

7. **ut Neronem,** etc., 'the hope by which they were prompted, the hope that Nero, etc., was futile.' The order of the words is here studied for emphasis. Cic. has 'in . . . spem induxit ut' (Off. 2. 15, 53), and 'si spem afferunt ut' (de Am. 19, 68); and 'sperare ut' is found in Liv. (34. 27, 3), etc. (see Nipp.). Some, less well, take 'ut . . . caperet' as depending on 'agitari,' in the sense of 'it was their plan that.'

8. **filiam.** Halm, Dr., and Pfitzn. follow Nipp. in thus correcting the Med. 'familiam,' as his daughter was his only child (c. 34, 3). Cp. 12. 2, 1, where a similar alteration has been made, though the cases are possibly not parallel.

9. **pignora;** so used properly of children, but also generally of near relatives (15. 36, 5; 57, 3; Plin. Ep. 1. 12, 3). His son-in-law Helvidius, and perhaps his most intimate friends, would be referred to.

intemeratus, inpollutus. These synonyms, like 'incorrupta et intemerata' in H. 4. 58, 8, serve for rhetorical emphasis. In another rhetorical passage (1. 42, 3) we have 'inausum intemeratumve.' For 'inpollutus' cp. 14. 35, 2, and note.

10. **studiis,** 'their works.'

eorum gloria. This may possibly be explained (with Gerber and Greef) as taken in a pregnant sense (= 'eorum glorioso exemplo'); but the expression 'gloria alicuius finem petere' is so strange as to make its soundness doubtful. Madvig suggests (Adv. ii. 558) that a single stroke has been misplaced, and that 'gloriam peteret fine' ('glorioso fine iis se aequaret') should be read. Stoicism inculcated under certain circumstances the

6 finem. aderat consilio Rusticus Arulenus, flagrans iuvenis, et
cupidine laudis offerebat se intercessurum senatus consulto: nam
plebei tribunus erat. cohibuit spiritus eius Thrasea, ne vana
7 et reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet. sibi actam
aetatem, et tot per annos continuum vitae ordinem non deserendum:
illi initium magistratuum et integra quae supersint.
8 multum ante secum expenderet, quod tali in tempore capessendae
rei publicae iter ingrederetur. ceterum ipse, an venire
in senatum deceret, meditationi suae reliquit.
1 **27.** At postera luce duae praetoriae cohortes armatae templum
Genetricis Veneris insedere. aditum senatus globus togatorum

duty of suicide, described as εὔλογος ἐξαγωγή (see Diog. Laert. 7. 1, 66); and the tenet was enforced by illustrious examples, such as that of Cato.

1. **Rusticus Arulenus**, mentioned in H. 3. 80, 3, as praetor in 822, A.D. 69, and in Agr. 2, 1, as having suffered death under Domitian for his biography of Thrasea. According to Suet. (Dom. 10), who calls him Iunius Rusticus (see 5. 4, 1, and note), the chief offence consisted in his having spoken of Thrasea and Helvidius as 'sanctissimos viros.' Pliny, who was a friend of his brother Mauricus, speaks of him with much respect (see Ep. 1. 14, 2). An inscription has been found at Rome to a freedman 'L. Iunii Rustici, philosophi Stoici' (Grut. 426, 10).

flagrans, 'ardent'; so 'moras nectens quis flagrantem retineret' (H. 4. 68, 4).

2. **se intercessurum.** The 'intercessio' of a tribune under the empire was exercised on sufferance (1. 77, 3) or under peril (6. 47, 1), and was doubtless formally, as well as in fact, subordinated to the tribunitian power of the princeps (Introd. i. vi. 70, 8). It is noticed by Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 309, 1) that the 'intercessio' mentioned in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 4. 9, 2) is the last recorded instance. Some of the other powers of the office had been already curtailed (13. 28, 2, 3).

3. **plebei**: so most recent edd. after Ritt. The Med. 'plebi' was restored to the text (for the general reading 'plebis') by Jac., Gron., and is retained by Orelli and Dr., as a dat. like 'praefectus urbi,' etc. Cp. Liv. 3. 65, 4, and Weissenb. there.

spiritus: cp. c. 24, 3, etc.

vana. Nipp. points out that the notion of futility is expressed by the following words, and that this must mean distinctively a foolish act, done to gratify vanity. Cp. 2. 30, 2; 3. 50, 2, etc.

4. **et . . . non**: cp. note on 1. 38, 4.

sibi actam aetatem, sc. 'esse,' 'he had lived his time.' The same sentiment is expressed by Vergil (Aen. 4, 653), 'vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi.'

5. **continuum vitae ordinem**, 'the whole tenour of his life.'

6. **integra quae supersint**, 'his future was unaffected'; he was not compromised.

7. **multum**, with 'expenderet.' 'Let him weigh well beforehand what political course he would enter on in such times.'

9. **meditationi suae reliquit.** It is seen from c. 34, 1 that he did not personally attend the senate, though he refused to anticipate its sentence.

10. **armatae**, 'in full panoply,' not (as usual in the city) wearing the toga, and armed only with sword and spear: cp. 3. 4, 2; 12. 36, 4.

templum Genetricis Veneris. This temple stood in the centre of the Forum of Julius Caesar, to the north east of the old Forum. The goddess was worshipped under that title as the parent, through Aeneas and Iulus, of the Iulian gens (App. B. C. 2. 68; 102; 3. 28); and this culture appears to have decayed after the extinction of that family, as the title rarely occurs in inscriptions (Or. 1376, 1377, 4046).

11. **insedere**: so Put. and edd. generally for Med. 'insidere,' which Dr. retains, and which can be supported from the first Med. in 3. 61, 2, and from the analogous form 'considerant' in the first

obsederat non occultis gladiis, dispersique per fora ac basilicas
cunei militares. inter quorum aspectus et minas ingressi curiam 2
senatores, et oratio principis per quaestorem eius audita est:
nemine nominatim compellato patres arguebat, quod publica
munia desererent eorumque exemplo equites Romani ad segnitiam
verterentur: etenim quid mirum e longinquis provinciis haud 3

Med. text of 1. 30, 5. The form 'insedi' is however constant in some twenty other places. The verb has this sense in 2. 16, 4: cp. 'arcem insedit' (v. l. 'insidit') in Liv. 26. 44, 2. For a similar instance of surrounding the senate with armed men under Domitian see Agr. 45, 1.

aditum senatus, 'the way to the senate-house' (on which see below).

togatorum. It seems almost impossible not to suppose soldiers in undress to be meant (cp. 'cohors togata' H. 1. 38, 4), in contrast to the two 'cohortes armatae' above; though certainly in speaking of such, 'non occultis gladiis' would be an unmeaning addition, unless we may suppose that the swords were drawn from their scabbards, or otherwise menacingly displayed (cp. c. 29, 1). This difficulty has given some support to the view of Orelli and others, that by 'togatorum' ordinary citizens are meant, who, though usually strictly prohibited from bearing arms (see 4. 21, 3; 11. 22, 1, and notes), yet on this occasion not only had swords, but openly displayed them, as if in defence of Caesar. But it is hardly likely that so dangerous a precedent was sanctioned; and if it had been, we should expect Tacitus to have said more about it, or at least to have used such a word as 'civium,' or some other less misleading than 'togatorum.'

1. **fora ac basilicas.** Besides the old Forum and the Forum Iulium (in which the temple stood), there were close by the Forum Augusti and the Basilica Aemilia. It is to be noted that all these buildings must either have escaped the fire or must have been very speedily restored (see note on 15. 40, 4).

2. **cunei militares**: cp. 1. 51, 1.

curiam. This word might no doubt be used of any place in which the senate met, and Nipp. supposes it here to be used of the 'templum Veneris' (§ 1). But there is no reason why we should not suppose the senate to have met in its usual place, the 'Curia Iulia,' built by Augustus on the site of the old house (the site of S. Martino or S. Adriano) close to the Forum. That it had escaped the late fire would seem from the mention of it as having been burnt in the time of Titus (see Burn, Rome, p. 110). This supposition seems to enable us to give a clearer account of the disposition of the troops: the body of 'togati' is posted at the actual entrance of the 'Curia'; other detachments ('cunei') are in places closely adjoining; and a far larger and more imposing force occupies, as a kind of fortress, the neighbouring temple and precinct, to be available in case of need.

3. **oratio**: cp. c. 7, 3.

per quaestorem eius. The quaestors of Caesar, who are generally identified with the 'quaestores candidati Caesaris' of inscriptions (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 529, 3), i.e. those elected under his 'commendatio' (Introd. i. vi. p. 79), appear to have been attached to him in his proconsular capacity, as answering to the quaestor attached to each proconsul in his province (see Momms. l. l. 569, foll.). They appear to have been two in number (Id. p. 533), but beyond their function, as on this occasion, of bringing and reading to the senate the messages of the princeps (see Suet. Aug. 65; Dio, 54. 25, 5; 60. 2, 2), their duties are unknown.

4. **nemine.** This abl. is found in H. 2. 47, 6; Plaut. Cist. 1. 1, 88; in a fragment of Cic., and in several places in Suet.

6. **verterentur.** The Med. 'uterentur' is retained by Walth., and gives a satisfactory meaning (though 'in' rather than 'ad' might have been expected from the analogy of Agr. 18, 7); but it has been pointed out that probably in Med. a stroke (making it 'ūterentur') may have been effaced, and that the other MSS. may thus have preserved the true reading. A similar confusion of the words is seen in the MSS. of Agr. 18, 1.

haud veniri: so all edd. after Lips. for Med. 'had ueniri,' read in other MSS. and the oldest edd. as 'adveniri.' It seems from the context that those whose absence is thus palliated are the knights

veniri, cum plerique adepti consulatum et sacerdotia hortorum potius amoenitati inservirent. quod velut telum corripuere accusatores.

1 **28.** Et initium faciente Cossutiano, maiore vi Marcellus summam rem publicam agi clamitabat; contumacia inferiorum leni-
2 tatem imperitantis deminui. nimium mites ad eam diem patres, qui Thraseam desciscentem, qui generum eius Helvidium Priscum in isdem furoribus, simul Paconium Agrippinum, paterni in principes odii heredem, et Curtium Montanum detestanda

who neglected their judicial duties to ply their business as 'negotiatores' or 'publicani' all over the empire, and also perhaps such senators as had reasonable ground for being in Sicily and Narbonensian Gaul (see 12. 23, 1), localities which might rhetorically be called 'longinquae provinciae' as contrasted with urban or suburban gardens.

1. **plerique** = 'permulti.' The sentence is so clearly pointed at Thrasea (see c. 22, 1; 34, 1), that the 'plerique' are probably fictitious.

consulatum, etc., i.e. not merely senators, but of the highest rank in that body.

hortorum, etc., 'preferred to give all their energies to the beauty of their gardens' (i.e. to beautifying them); so 'inservire liberis' (Dial. 28, 4), 'commodis suis' (Cic. Fin. 2. 35, 117), 'honoribus' (Id. Off. 2. 1, 4), 'artibus' (Id. de Or. 1. 4, 13). The term seems here used in ironical contrast to such bona fide occupations as might excuse the absence of those above alluded to.

4. **faciente**, aoristic: cp. 11. 35, 3, etc.

summam rem publicam agi: cp. 12. 5, 4, and note.

5. **lenitatem . . . deminui**, 'his disposition to clemency was lessened,' he was forced to sterner courses: cp. 'nec . . . facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit' (Agr. 9, 4).

7. **desciscentem**: cp. 'secessionem iam id et partes' (c. 22, 2).

Helvidium Priscum, perhaps here first mentioned in the Annals (see on 12. 49, 3; 13. 28, 5), but fully described in Hist. 4. 5, where it is stated that he was of municipal and not distinguished origin, and had studied Stoicism from his youth. He is stated to have been quaestor of Achaia under Nero (Schol. Juv. 5, 36), and to have been shortly afterwards (H. l. l.) married to Thrasea's daughter Fannia, who, after many vicissitudes, was still living in Pliny's time (Epp. 7. 19, etc.). After his exile (see c. 33, 3, and note), he distinguished himself by his attacks on Eprius Marcellus (H. l. l.), and became praetor in 823, A. D. 70 (H. 2. 91, 4; 4. 53, 3). His second banishment (soon followed by his execution) under Vespasian was certainly provoked by offence gratuitously given (Suet. Vesp. 15; Dio, 66. 12, 3; Arr. Epict. 1. 2, 19). For his biography written by Herennius Senecio see Agr. 2, 1, for the death of his son Helvidius under Domitian, Agr. 45, 1.

8. **Paconium Agrippinum.** The former name (here in Med. 'ragonium') is restored by Rhen. from c. 33, 3. This person is also a famous Stoic. In a fragment of Epictetus (ap. Stob. 7. 17; Epict. Fr. 56, Ed. Par. p. 21) his modesty is praised, and an account given (repeated with more fullness of detail in Arr. Epict. 1. 1, 28) of his behaviour at the time of his trial (see note on c. 33, 3). He must have been at least of praetorian rank, as he is shown by an inscription belonging to the time of Claudius (C. I. G. 2570) to have been two years proconsul of Crete (διὰ K. Πακωνίου Ἀγριππίνου τὸ β̄).

paterni . . . odii heredem. What is known of his father is noted on c. 29, 3.

9. **Curtium Montanum.** This person takes a prominent part in the senate at the accession of Vespasian (H. 4. 40, 2), and leads the attack on Regulus (Id. 42, 3, foll.). Whether he can be the Montanus of Juv. 4, 107, is treated as an open question by Prof. Mayor, and seems very doubtful (see note on c. 33. 3).

detestanda carmina. The words would imply that he was a libellous satirist. In c. 29, 4 it is denied that his poems were 'famosa,' and it is asserted that he was obnoxious to Nero as a rival

carmina factitantem eludere inpune sinerent. requirere se in 3
senatu consularem, in votis sacerdotem, in iure iurando civem,
nisi contra instituta et caerimonias maiorum proditorem palam
et hostem Thrasea induisset. denique agere senatorem et prin- 4
cipis obtrectatores protegere solitus veniret, censeret quid corrigi
aut mutari vellet: facilius perlaturos singula increpantis vocem
quam nunc silentium perferrent omnia damnantis. pacem illi 5
per orbem terrae, an victorias sine damno exercituum displicere?
ne hominem bonis publicis maestum, et qui fora theatra templa
pro solitudine haberet, qui minitaretur exilium suum, ambitionis

poet ('quia protulerit ingenium'). 'Factitare carmina' is used in describing similar charges in c. 14, 1; 6. 39, 1; 14. 48, 1; 52, 3.

1. **eludere inpune**: 'to mock them unpunished'; so in Liv. 37. 32, 11. Cp. the sense of 'eludere' in 5. 5, 1; 6. 46, 9, etc.

requirere se, etc. Nipp. points out that the equivalent in oratio recta would be 'requiro . . . nisi induit' (perf.). 'I miss the presence (cp. 3. 5, 1) of the consular,' etc., i. e. 'I call him to account for the neglect of his duties in all these capacities (see c. 22, 1), unless we are to suppose that by thus absenting himself he meant openly to assume the character (cp. 1. 69, 2, and note) of a traitor and an enemy to his country, and that "neglect" is far too mild a term for his conduct.'

3. **contra**, 'in defiance of.' Nipp. rather takes it as 'in the face of,' i. e. in spite of being reminded of his duty by the institutions and religion of our forefathers: but the expression is almost identical with that in 14. 43, 1, where such explanation would not be suitable.

4. **agere senatorem**, 'to play the senator,' the character of such as it had been under the old Republic. The time referred to in 'agere . . . solitus' will be that in which he used to be 'adsiduus et indefessus' (c. 22, 1). Madvig (Adv. ii. 558) supports Oberl., in reading (after MS. Agr.) 'ageret,' as a bidding, 'let him play a senator's part' (return to his duty). For the sense of 'agere,' cp. 13. 14, 1; 46, 5, and notes, where it is shown that it may denote the sustaining either of a real or fictitious part. It is here implied that his former prominence in debate had been a mere display of vanity.

5. **obtrectatores**, such as Antistius (14. 48, 1).

6. **increpantis vocem**. The Med. text 'increpatium' (corrected by a later hand to 'increpantium') has been generally altered (after G.) to 'increpantem.' It has been thought however that the termination in Med. may contain a trace of some lost word which would make the rhetorical antithesis more complete. The above, adopted by Halm from Madvig (Adv. ii. 558), is certainly better than Ritter's 'increpantis visum.'

7. **silentium**, etc. Lips. compares the sentiment in Sen. Oed. 537, 'saepe vel lingua magis Regi atque regno muta libertas obest.' In 3. 11, 3 people are said to observe a 'suspicax silentium.'

pacem, etc. At the end of hostilities in Armenia peace throughout the empire had ensued (see 15. 46, 2), and Nero is recorded (Suet. Ner. 13) to have closed the temple of Janus. Coins of this year exist, bearing on the reverse a temple closed, with the words 'Pace P. R. terra marique (or 'ubique') parta Ianum clusit': see Eckh. vi. 273; Cohen i. p. 287, foll. no. 139, etc.

8. **victorias**. The formal submission of Tiridates is meant (15. 27–31), which however was really a compromise arising from Roman disasters (15. 9–17).

10. **pro solitudine haberet**, 'regarded them as a desert.' The multitudes which flocked to them, the public rejoicing which led them there, were nothing to him; he avoided such places as if none were there whom he cared to see.

minitaretur exilium suum. One who threatened to banish himself (cp. the case of L. Piso in 2. 34, 1), as if the state could not do without him. It may also mean that he anticipated a sentence of exile and was imagined to speak of it as Shakespeare makes Coriolanus ('Romans, I banish you').

6 pravae compotem facerent. non illi consulta haec, non magi-
stratus aut Romanam urbem videri. abrumperet vitam ab ea
civitate, cuius caritatem olim, nunc et aspectum exuisset.
1 **29.** Cum per haec atque talia Marcellus, ut erat torvus ac
minax, voce voltu oculis ardesceret, non illa nota et celebritate
periculorum sueta iam senatus maestitia, sed novus et altior
2 pavor manus et tela militum cernentibus. simul ipsius Thraseae
venerabilis species obversabatur; et erant qui Helvidium quoque
3 miserarentur, innoxiae adfinitatis poenas daturum. quid Agrip-
pino obiectum nisi tristem patris fortunam? quando et ille
4 perinde innocens Tiberii saevitia concidisset. enimvero Monta-
num probae iuventae neque famosi carminis, quia protulerit
ingenium, extorrem agi.

1. **compotem facerent.** 'Do not fulfil his desire of exile, but put him to death.'

consulta, 'real decrees of the senate': cp. the sentiment in 4. 19, 3 ('quasi . . . Varro consul aut illud respublica esset').

2. **abrumperet vitam,** etc. = 'abrumperet vitam, et ita ab ea civitate discederet.' The metaphor appears to originate with Verg. Aen. 8, 579 ('nequeo crudelem abrumpere vitam'), and is further expanded in the 'vitae retinacula abrumpit' of Pl. Ep. 1. 12, 8. The words as they here stand could no doubt be understood of banishment, and Nipp. and Dr. suppose them to be designedly ambiguous; but the context points to one meaning only.

3. **exuisset.** For the metaphorical uses of this word see note on 1. 69, 2. Here the harsher metaphor 'exuere aspectum' seems softened by being joined to 'caritatem.'

4. **per haec atque talia,** 'throughout a speech to this effect.'

ut erat: so all edd. after Pich. for Med. 'uteret': cp. 1. 41, 5. The readings vary in the other MSS., after some of which the oldest edd. read 'inveheretur.'

5. **ardesceret,** by zeugma with 'voce.'

celebritate periculorum. This text, that of Med. and all other MSS. and of the oldest edd. is retained by Halm and Dr. Other recent edd. follow Rhen. and Lips. in reading 'crebritate,' a word not otherwise known to be Tacitean, but used in Sall., Cic. etc. 'Celebritas,' if genuine, appears to be here alone used in the sense of 'frequency'; for in the instance quoted from Cic. ad Fam. 7. 2, 14 ('in multitudine ac celebritate iudiciorum'), it might be taken of the presence of crowds (cp. 3. 9, 3; H. 2. 64, 1). The adj. 'celebris' might however be well taken to mean 'frequent' in 1. 74, 1.

6. **altior pavor**: cp. 'altius metuens' (4. 41, 1).

7. **manus et tela,** apparently = 'tela in manibus': cp. 'non occultis gladiis' (c. 27, 1).

8. **obversabatur,** 'was before their minds': cp. 3. 18. 6; 14. 63, 2. It is not implied that he was present (see note on c. 26, 8).

10. **tristem patris fortunam.** In 3. 67, 1 M. Paconius appears as an accuser, nor are we told anything elsewhere of his 'odium in principes' (c. 28, 2); but it may be supposed that he was one of those charged with complicity with Seianus, and that his fate was related in the lost portion of the Fifth Book. It appears from Suet. Tib. 61 that Tiberius had imprisoned him, and afterwards, on being reminded of his existence by a jester, put him to death.

11. **enimvero,** here used to lay stress on a still stronger case ('as for Montanus'): cp. 2. 64, 6, and note.

12. **famosi,** 'slanderous'; so 'famosi libelli' (1. 72, 4), etc. The genit. is here a somewhat harsh instance of that of quality (Introd. i. v. § 34), but is somewhat softened by being joined to 'probae iuventae.' Ritt. needlessly inserts 'auctorem' after 'famosi.'

quia protulerit ingenium, 'because he gave evidence of his talent'

30. Atque interim Ostorius Sabinus, Sorani accusator, in- 1
greditur orditurque de amicitia Rubellii Plauti, quodque pro-
consulatum Asiae Soranus pro claritate sibi potius adcommo-
datum quam ex utilitate communi egisset, alendo seditiones
civitatium. vetera haec: sed recens et quo discrimini patris 2
filiam conectebat, quod pecuniam magis dilargita esset. ac- 3
ciderat sane pietâte Serviliae (id enim nomen puellae fuit), quae
caritate erga parentem, simul inprudentia aetatis, non tamen
aliud consultaverat quam de incolumitate domus, et an placabilis
Nero, an cognitio senatus nihil atrox adferret. igitur accita est 4

(and thus excited Nero's jealousy). Suet. has 'ingenium protulerat' (Ner. 25): the use of the verb in the general sense of publishing or making known is frequent and classical.

1. **interim**, before the vote was taken on Thrasea's case.

Ostorius Sabinus: see c. 23, 1, where the charges brought by him are specified.

ingreditur, sc. 'curiam.' He was not a senator, and would only come in for the purpose of making his charge.

2. **quodque proconsulatum**, etc. In this sentence, 'pro' has the force of 'in accordance with' (as in 4. 72, 2, etc.), and it appears best to suppose that the 'claritas' referred to is not (as Nipp. and Dr. suppose) the distinguished position of Asia among senatorial provinces, but that of Soranus himself (according to the judgment of his own self-esteem). The meaning will thus be 'that he had administered the proconsulate of Asia as a position specially adapted to himself in accordance with his personal greatness (a field in which his greatness might display itself), not from a regard to the public welfare.' We should certainly expect a sentence of this meaning to be introduced by such a word as 'tamquam'; but the sense is hardly mended by reading, with Nipp., for 'pro claritate,' 'popularitate,' which he would apparently take as an abl. of manner ('in the spirit of a demagogue').

4. **alendo seditiones civitatium.** The same charge is expressed in c. 23, 2, as 'ambitio conciliandae provinciae ad spes novas,' and evidently refers to his having inflicted no punishment on the people of Pergamum for their resistance to the extortions of Acratus (c. 23, 1). By thus posing as the protector of the provincials against an emissary of Caesar, it is here charged that he was indulging his own vanity to the detriment of the empire.

5. **vetera haec**: cp. 'recentia haec' (11. 23, 7).

et quo, etc.: so all recent edd. with Jac., Gron. Med. has 'et quot,' which several have corrected by reading 'et quod' (after MS. Agr.). It is however improbable that 'quod' should be twice repeated within so short an interval. Other MSS. and the oldest edd. read 'recens discrimini,' etc. The sense is 'sed hoc, quod filia . . . dilargita est, erat crimen recens, et quo accusator . . . conectebat.' For the use of this verb in the sense of 'implicating' cp. c. 32, 1, and 'innecto' in c. 14, 1; 3. 10, 4.

6. **magis**: see 2. 27, 2. The term 'consultaverat' below would point rather to the employment of astrologers than magicians; but 'magica sacra' are mentioned in c. 31, 1, and the charge appears from the context to be that of attempting not only to divine the result of the trial, but also (cp. c. 31, 1) to influence it. The Schol. on Juv. 6, 552 ('faciet, quod deferat ipse') makes Egnatius (see c. 32, 2) the instigator as well as the denouncer of this act.

acciderat, sc. 'id,' which Ritt. thinks must be inserted.

7. **puellae**, so used of a young married woman in 14. 64, 1.

quae caritate, etc. The full expression would be 'quae caritate (causal abl., as are also 'pietate' and 'inprudentia') . . . consultaverat, non tamen aliud quaesiverat,' etc.

10. **cognitio**: cp. c. 11, 1, and note.

nihil atrox, 'no extreme penalty': cp. the expressions in c. 11, 1; 12. 52, 3, and note.

in senatum, steteruntque diversi ante tribunal consulum grandis aevo parens, contra filia intra vicensimum aetatis annum, nuper marito Annio Pollione in exilium pulso viduata desolataque, ac ne patrem quidem intuens, cuius onerasse pericula videbatur.

1 **31.** Tum interrogante accusatore, an cultus dotales, an detractum cervici monile venum dedisset, quo pecuniam faciendis magicis sacris contraheret, primum strata humi longoque fletu et silentio, post altaria et aram complexa 'nullos' inquit 'impios deos, nullas devotiones, nec aliud infelicibus precibus invocavi, quam ut hunc optimum patrem tu, Caesar, vos, patres, servaretis

1. **diversi**, 'separated from each other': cp. 13. 40, 5; 15. 56, 1, etc.

ante tribunal consulum. The consuls presided at these trials, as at other proceedings of the senate, and their curule chairs were set in a prominent place, with that of the princeps between them (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 932, foll.). The expression strictly refers to their jurisdiction in the 'comitium' (see 13, 4, 3, and note), and is here metaphorically used of the senatorial court, as Mommsen (l. l.) argues from the use of the singular 'tribunal.'

3. **Annio Pollione**, banished for complicity in the conspiracy of Piso (15. 56, 4; 71, 6).

desolata, 'isolated': cp. 1. 30, 4, and note.

4. **onerasse**, 'to have aggravated': cp. 1. 19, 2; 69, 7.

5. **videbatur**, 'she was seeming to herself.'

6. **cultus dotales**, 'the ornaments given at her marriage' (explained in § 2 by 'gemmas et vestes'): cp. 'cultus suos' (13. 13, 6), 'nulla cultus iactatio' (G. 6, 2). The 'monile' is mentioned among nuptial ornaments in Luc. 2, 363.

7. **quo pecuniam . . . contraheret.** She was no doubt impoverished by her husband's exile; and magical rites were probably the more costly from their peril.

longoque fletu et silentio. The abl. resembles that in 15. 54, 1 ('multo sermone'), and may be similarly explained.

9. **altaria et aram.** Those who suppose the senate to have met in the temple of Venus Genetrix (see c. 27, 2, and note), would of course understand the altar to be that belonging to it; but there is also evidence (see Burn, p. 109) that the Curia Iulia had attached to it a statue and altar of Victory. The two terms here used are similarly coupled by Pliny (Pan. 1), when speaking of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ('electus . . . inter aras et altaria'). The latter word (always plural in the best authors) is often used by itself with apparently the same meaning as 'ara.' Where the words are undoubtedly meant to be distinguished, 'altaria' are sometimes smaller superaltars placed upon the 'ara,' to receive burnt or other offerings. In some instances so taken, as Quint. Decl. 12, 26 ('aris altaria imponere'), 'altaria' may well mean 'offerings,' a sense apparently required in Luc. 3, 404 ('structae diris altaribus arae'), perhaps also in Verg. Ecl. 8, 106; Aen. 5, 93; 12, 174; and suggested as an alternative by Servius on Verg. Ecl. 5, 66 (where see Prof. Conington's and Nettleship's notes), though he prefers to explain (with Varro) 'altaria' to be more exalted altars, erected to the gods of heaven. In a fragment of Pacuvius ('exanimis altaribus') a sense has been given, agreeing with the derivation from 'altus,' of a raised threshold or step, whence Nipp. here takes the 'altaria' to be steps of the 'ara.' See Nettleship, Contrib. to Lat. Lex. p. 140.

impios, the proscribed deities invoked by magicians.

10. **devotiones**: see 2. 69, 5, and note.

invocavi. From this verb such a sense as that of 'imprecata sum' is supplied with 'devotiones' and 'precata sum' with 'aliud.' Nipp. compares 'auxilia invocat' (15. 59, 6).

11. **tu, Caesar.** The princeps is sometimes thus addressed when absent: cp. note on c. 22, 2. He would seem however to have arrived at Rome (c. 24, 1).

incolumem. sic gemmas et vestes et dignitatis insignia dedi, quo 2
modo si sanguinem et vitam poposcissent. viderint isti, antehac 3
mihi ignoti, quo nomine sint, quas artes exerceant: nulla mihi
principis mentio nisi inter numina fuit. nescit tamen miser-
rimus pater et, si crimen est, sola deliqui.'

32. Loquentis adhuc verba excipit Soranus proclamatque non 1
illam in provinciam secum profectam, non Plauto per aetatem
nosci potuisse, non criminibus mariti conexam: nimiae tantum
pietatis ream separarent, atque ipse quamcumque sortem subiret.
simul in amplexus occurrentis filiae ruebat, nisi interiecti lictores 2
utrisque obstitissent. mox datus testibus locus; et quantum
misericordiae saevitia accusationis permoverat, tantum irae
P. Egnatius testis concivit. cliens hic Sorani, et tunc emptus 3
ad opprimendum amicum, auctoritatem Stoicae sectae prae-
ferebat, habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti

1. **sic . . . quomodo** = 'quemadmodum' (sc. 'dedissem'); so in c. 32, 3; 4. 35, 3; Agr. 34, 2; Dial. 36, 6; 39, 2; 41, 3; Cic. Tusc. 5. 7, 18, etc.

dignitatis insignia, those of her position as a matron of high rank: explanatory of 'gemmas et vestes.'

2. **isti**, the magicians. Dio (62. 26, 3) follows a different account, making no mention of the other charges, and ignoring such admission of the charge of magic as Tacitus gives, which he represents as grounded on the mere fact of a sacrifice offered (Σωρανὸς μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ μαγεύματί τινι διὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς κεχρημένος, ἐπειδὴ νοσήσαντος αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινὰ ἐθύσαντο, ἐσφάγη).

6. **excipit**, 'interrupts.'

9. **separarent**, 'let them distinguish between her case and his, and he would willingly suffer any penalty.' Ern. notes the similar use of the conjunction in Suet. Vesp. 19 ('centum sibi sestertia darent, ac se vel in Tiberim proicerent').

12. **permoverat**, with accus. of the feeling excited: cp. 1. 21, 4, and note.

13. **P. Egnatius**. His full name is P. Egnatius Celer, and he is called P. Celer in H. 4. 10, 1; 40, 4, where his impeachment by Musonius Rufus and condemnation to exile in 823, A. D. 70, are mentioned. Dio, who mentions (62. 26, 2) that he was highly rewarded on this occasion, says that he was a native of Berytus (Beirut) in Phoenicia.

cliens hic, etc. His ingratitude is eloquently denounced by Juvenal (3, 116, foll.): 'Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum, Discipulumque senex.' He is again thought to be alluded to in 1, 33, as 'magni delator amici,' and the allusion in 6, 552 (see note on c. 30, 2) is referred to him by the Scholiast, who makes the particular charge to which he bore testimony to have been that of magic. In H. 4. 10, 1, and in Dio (l. l.), it is stated that his testimony was false; whence it would seem as if he had represented the purpose and character of the rites employed as very different from that admitted by Servilia herself (c. 30, 3; 31, 1). He is also styled in H. 4. 10, 2 'proditor corruptorque amicitiae cuius se magistrum ferebat.'

14. **Stoicae sectae**. Juvenal speaks of him (3, 117) as 'ripa nutritus in illa, Ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi,' alluding to a famous school of philosophy and learning at Tarsus on the Kydnus, mentioned by Strabo (14. 5, 13, 673) as in his day surpassing even Athens and Alexandria, and known as having produced several eminent persons whom he mentions, especially Athenodorus the teacher of Augustus. Apollonius of Tyana also studied there (Philostr. 1. 7, 1).

praeferebat, 'made display of.'

15. **habitu et ore**: cp. c. 22, 3, and note.

imaginem, 'the semblance': cp. 3. 17, 6.

exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam ac libidinem occultans; quae postquam pecunia reclusa sunt, dedit exemplum praecavendi, quo modo fraudibus involutos aut flagitiis commaculatos, sic specie bonarum artium falsos et amicitiae fallaces.

1 **33.** Idem tamen dies et honestum exemplum tulit Cassii
Asclepiodoti, qui magnitudine opum praecipuus inter Bithynos,
quo obsequio florentem Soranum celebraverat, labentem non
deseruit, exutusque omnibus fortunis et in exilium actus, aequitate
2 deum erga bona malaque documenta. Thraseae Soranoque et
3 Serviliae datur mortis arbitrium. Helvidius et Paconius Italia

1. **exercitus**: so generally read after Lips. and MS. Agr. Med. and other MSS. read 'et exerciti,' whence Ritt. reads 'et exercitus,' marking a lacuna before 'et,' where he thinks that some such word as 'ornatus' has been lost. Cp. 'Graeca doctrina ore tenus exercitus' (15. 45, 4).

perfidiosus, here alone in Tac., but in Plaut. and Cic.

2. **quae postquam**, etc., 'when a bribe revealed these qualities' ('avaritia' and 'libido').

3. **fraudibus involutos**. The contrast to 'specie bonarum artium falsos' shows that these words do not denote hypocritical disguise, but a character 'thoroughly clothed in treachery,' i. e. so wholly perfidious as to wear its character on the surface. So the 'flagitiis commaculati' are those whose infamous lives are notorious.

4. **bonarum artium**, probably to be taken here of his philosophical acquirements, as in 3. 70, 4, of juristic science. More commonly the expression denotes virtuous qualities, as in 2. 73, 4; 11. 22, 4; 14. 52, 1, etc. 'Falsos,' 'hypocritical': cp. 1. 7, 2, and note.

5. **amicitiae**. It is possible that 'specie' may be repeated in thought; otherwise 'amicitiae fallax' will be a solitary instance of a construction analogous to the genitives with 'pervicax,' 'procax,' etc. (Introd. i. v. § 33 e γ).

6. **Idem . . . dies . . . tulit.** For such personifications cp. Introd. i. v. § 75.

Cassii Asclepiodoti. Dio (62. 26, 2), who calls him Κάσσιος, says that he was a native of Nicaea (cp. 'praecipuus inter Bithynos'), and that his exile, from which he returned under Galba, was inflicted for bearing witness in favour of Soranus.

8. **florentem . . . labentem**: cp. the antithesis of 'florens' and 'adflictus' in 4. 68, 4; 71, 7.

celebraverat, 'had honoured': cp. 3. 6, 1; 6. 11, 6, etc.

9. **aequitate deum.** The abl. is generally taken as causal ('since the gods were indifferent to examples of good and evil'); the deities being assumed to have caused what they had not overruled. Ritt. inserts 'pari' after 'deum,' and makes the abl. absolute; and others, as Ruperti, so take it as it stands. Dr. notes the similar sense of 'aequitas' in Cic. in Pis. 12, 27 ('quo quidem in spectaculo mira populi Romani aequitas erat.'). For the sense of 'documentum' cp. 12. 6, 4 ('statueretur . . . documentum'). This sentiment is the most Epicurean (see 6. 22, 2) that has been preserved to us of Tacitus, and would seem to show that such scepticism grew upon him towards the close of his work. For his general opinions on Divine Providence see Introd. i. iv. p. 21.

11. **datur mortis arbitrium**: cp. 'data exilia' (15. 71, 6).

Helvidius et Paconius Italia depelluntur. The former is stated in the Schol. on Juv. 5, 36, to have spent his exile at Apollonia, and to have returned under Galba. For his further career see note on c. 28, 2. Respecting Paconius we have the record preserved in Arr. Epict. 1. 1, 28 of his behaviour on this occasion: ἀπηγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Κρίνῃ ἐν συγκλήτῳ. Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἀλλὰ ἦλθεν ἡ πέμπτη (ταύτῃ δ' εἰώθει γυμνασάμενος ψυχρολουτεῖν)· ἀπέλθωμεν καὶ γυμνασθῶμεν. Γυμνασαμένῳ λέγει τις αὐτῷ ἐλθὼν ὅτι κατακέκρισαι. Φυγῇ, φησίν, ἢ θανάτῳ; Φυγῇ. Τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τί; οὐκ ἀφῃρέθη. Εἰς Ἀρίκειαν οὖν ἀπελθόντες ἀριστήσωμεν.

depelluntur. Montanus patri concessus est, praedicto ne in re publica haberetur. accusatoribus Eprio et Cossutiano quin- 4 quagiens sestertium singulis, Ostorio duodeciens et quaestoria insignia tribuuntur.

34. Tum ad Thraseam in hortis agentem quaestor consulis 1 missus vesperascente iam die. inlustrium virorum feminarumque 2 coetum frequentem egerat, maxime intentus Demetrio Cynicae

His further history appears to be unknown.

1. **patri concessus est,** 'was forgiven for his father's sake'; so 'precibus alicuius aliquem concedere' (2. 55, 2; 4. 31, 1). Some, less well, take it to mean that he was given up to his father to deal with. Of this father no previous mention has been made; but recent edd. have generally identified him with the gourmand courtier, some twenty years later, of Domitian (Juv. 4, 107, and 131 foll.), who is certainly said (v. 131) to have been a boon companion of Nero, to whom the son (see c. 28, 2) would appear to have been obnoxious rather than acceptable.

praedicto, 'injunction being given' (cp. 13. 36, 1, and note). This participle is here alone thus used in abl. abs. (see Introd. i. v. § 31 a).

ne in re publica haberetur. This would mean that he should not continue in the service of the state, should not hold any magistracy.

2. **quinquagiens,** five million H.S.: 'duodeciens,' 1,200,000. In H. 4. 42, 5 Regulus is spoken of as 'septuagiens sestertio saginatus.' These enormous rewards given to accusers must have far exceeded the one-fourth of the property of the accused, which they could claim by law (4. 21, 3). The smallest sum here mentioned is more than the minimum senatorial census.

3. **quaestoria insignia.** Ostorius, being a knight (c. 23, 1), receives thus the ornaments of the lowest grade of senatorial rank. For precedents see note on 11. 4, 5. This distinction (11. 38, 5), and even higher 'ornamenta' (12. 53, 2), had also been given to freedmen.

5. **in hortis agentem:** see the charge aimed at him in c. 27, 3.

quaestor consulis. Each consul had attached to him in old times one quaestor, and from 716, B. C. 38, two (Dio, 48. 43, 1), chosen in old times by lot (Cic. pro Sest. 3, 8), but at this time by selection (Plin. Ep. 4. 15, 6-13), and apparently continuing throughout the year in office, notwithstanding change of consuls (Id. 8. 23, 5). For further account of them see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 567, foll. As the consuls presided at the trial (c. 30, 4), their quaestors would be the proper persons to communicate the sentence to the accused. From the expression (*μαθὼν τὸν ταμίαν ἐπὶ δικαιώσει αὐτοῦ πάροντα*) in Dio's account (58. 4, 6) of the death of Fufius Geminus (see 5. 2, 2), it would also appear that the quaestor had to see the sentence executed, as he in in fact did in the case of Thrasea (c. 35, 2).

6. **vesperascente die:** cp. 'vesperascit' (Ter. Heaut. 2. 3, 7). On the variety of expressions used by Tacitus for this fact see Introd. i. v. § 93.

7. **coetum frequentem:** so Halm, Dr., Pfitzn, after Ritt., for the Med. 'coetus frequentem.' Other MSS. and edd. correct this to 'coetus frequentes,' taking the plural of the separate groups composing the whole assemblage; as Suet. (Cal. 32) uses 'coetus epulantium' of the guests grouped at each table.

egerat = 'coëgerat.' Dr. compares 'multis millibus armatorum actis ex ea regione' (Liv. 44. 31, 11).

Demetrio. This philosopher is frequently mentioned with great admiration by Seneca, who in one place (de Ben. 7. 8, 2) speaks of him as raised up to instruct and reproach the age, in another (Ep. 20, 9) calls him 'non praeceptor veri sed testis'; and again says (Ep. 62, 3), 'quidni admirer? Vidi nihil ei deesse.' Philostratus, who speaks of him (Vit. Ap. 4. 25) as teaching at Corinth, and as a strong opponent of Apollonius, calls him *ἀνὴρ συνειληφὼς πᾶν τὸ ἐν Κυνικῇ κράτος.* We find him in H. 4. 40, 5 stooping unworthily to defend Egnatius Celer (see c. 32, 2); but he is noted for having said to Nero (Arr. Ep. 1. 25, 22), *ἀπειλεῖς μοι θάνατον, σοὶ δ' ἡ φύσις,* and for free speech to Vespasian, who replied *κύνα ὑλακτοῦντα οὐ φονεύω,* but exiled him

institutionis doctori, cum quo, ut coniectare erat intentione vultus et auditis, si qua clarius proloquebantur, de natura animae et dissociatione spiritus corporisque inquirebat, donec advenit Domitius Caecilianus ex intimis amicis et ei quid senatus cen-
3 suisset exposuit. igitur flentes queritantesque qui aderant facessere propere Thrasea neu pericula sua miscere cum sorte damnati hortatur, Arriamque temptantem mariti suprema et exemplum Arriae matris sequi monet retinere vitam filiaeque communi subsidium unicum non adimere.

1 **35.** Tum progressus in porticum illic a quaestore reperitur,

with other philosophers in 824, A. D. 71 (Dio, 66. 13, 3; Suet. Vesp. 13).

Cynicae institutionis. This school, which had been the precursor of the Stoic, but had been eclipsed by it, at this time and afterwards regained some prominence. See Juv. 13, 121, and the passages there cited by Mayor.

1. **coniectare erat,** for 'licebat': cp. 'ex quo est coniectare' (Gell. 6. 6, 11). Nipp. notes that the only other prose instances of this Graecism, so frequent in Latin poets, are 'est videre' (G. 5, 4) and 'negare sit' (Liv. 42. 41, 2).

intentione, 'the earnestness'; so in the only other passage in which it is used by Tacitus (Dial. 14, 1): 'suspicatus ex ipsa intentione singulorum, altiorem inter eos esse sermonem.'

2. **auditis, si qua,** etc., 'from hearing such words as.'

3. **dissociatione,** used only here and in Pl. N. H. 6. 1, 1, 2; 7. 13, 11, 57. Such subjects of discussion would not only be natural to the occasion, but suggested by the example of the last hours of Socrates as described in the Phaedo, and, as is implied by the contrast drawn in c. 19, 3 (where see note), were usual in the last hours of men of intellect and character. The belief of Thrasea on immortality may be gathered from the saying quoted in note on c. 35, 3; that of Tacitus from Agr. 46, 1.

4. **Domitius Caecilianus,** not elsewhere mentioned.

5. **queritantes:** so in Med. and other MSS. and most edd. The frequentative 'queritor' is only known in the participle, and even in that form questioned. Its use in the fifth century by Paulinus Nolanus gives but slender authority for it, and, though it occurs in MSS. of Liv. 39. 8. 8; 10, 7; 40. 9, 7; and in MSS. and all older edd. of Plin. Pan. 29 ('nequiquam queritantibus sociis'), it has been altered by all edd. after Drakenborch in the former author, and by recent edd. in the latter, to the participle of the better known 'quiritare.' The same alteration has been made here (after the suggestion of Rhen.) by Lips. and others, whom Orelli follows.

6. **facessere,** here alone in Tacitus in the sense of 'abire'; so in Cic., Liv., etc.

neu. Nipp. reads 'nec'; but the construction is less harsh than that of 'neu mortem' in 1. 35, 2, and may be defended by the imperative character of the sentence. For the infin. with 'hortari' cp. that with 'monet' (as in 11. 1, 2, etc.) below, and others in Introd. i. v. § 43.

8. **Arriae matris.** Her mother (whose name she bore) had voluntarily shared the death of her husband Caecina Paetus, condemned for his share in the conspiracy of Camillus Scribonianus against Claudius in 795, A. D. 42 (Dio, 60. 16, 6). Her heroism in dying first to inspirit her husband, and her words, 'Paete, non dolet,' have been made famous by Pliny (Ep. 3. 16, 6) and Martial (1. 14). The old Life of Persius states that he was related to the younger Arria, and through her enjoyed much of the society of Thrasea. The latter had married her before the death of her mother, whom he also endeavoured to turn from her purpose (Plin. l. l. 10). This Arria lived to share the exile of her daughter Fannia (on whom see note on c. 28, 2), when the latter was banished for the third time (Pl. Epp. 7. 19, 4) under Domitian, and her stepson the younger Helvidius put to death (Id. 3. 11, 3), and to return with her under Nerva (Id. 9. 13, 5).

que . . . non = 'neque,' thus separated in 1. 1, 4; G. 17, 3; and put together in 4. 50, 6; 61, 1: see Nipp. on 1. 38, 4.

laetitiae propior, quia Helvidium generum suum Italia tantum arceri cognoverat. accepto dehinc senatus consulto Helvidium 2 et Demetrium in cubiculum inducit; porrectisque utriusque brachii venis, postquam cruorem effudit, humum super spargens, proprius vocato quaestore 'libamus' inquit 'Iovi liberatori. specta, 3 iuvenis; et omen quidem di prohibeant, ceterum in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expediat constantibus exemplis.' post lentitudine exitus graves cruciatus adferente, obversis in Demetrium * * *

1. **Italia arceri.** The same expression is used in 4. 31, 5: so 'aqua atque (or 'et') igni arceri' in 3. 23, 2; 50, 6.

3. **porrectis,** probably to the physician (cp. 15. 69, 3). The Schol. on Juv. 5, 36 preserves this touch ('secandas venas praebuit').

4. **humum super.** On such anastrophe of prepositions see Introd. i. v. § 77, 1.

spargens = 'sprinkling it'; so 'sparso aceto' (H. 5. 6, 6), 'spargitque cruorem' (Lucr. 2, 195), 'per . . . domum Spargens . . . aquas' (Hor. Epod. 5, 25), etc.

5. **libamus.** The old edd. read 'libemus' (after G.). In Dio (62. 26, 4) the words are given as *σοὶ τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα, ὦ Ζεῦ Ἐλευθέριε, σπένδω.* The Schol. on Juv. (l. l.) makes him address them to Demetrius, 'nonne tibi libare videor Iovi liberatori'? For the similar action of Seneca see 15. 64, 4.

6. **iuvenis.** It is natural to suppose the quaestor (who need not have been more than twenty-five years old) to be here addressed. Some take the words as spoken to Helvidius, who, if he was trib. pleb. ten years earlier (see 13. 28, 5), could not have been less than thirty-seven, but might nevertheless be a youth to Thrasea.

8. **cruciatus.** See the description of Seneca's death (15. 63, 6).

obversis in Demetrium. The next word must have been 'oculis,' unless we are to read 'obversus,' with Acid. The Schol. on Juv. (l. l.) adds (after the words quoted above), 'atque singulis amicis oscula offerens exanimatus est.' Other of his last sayings are given: *σήμερον ἀναιρεθῆναι θέλω μᾶλλον ἢ αὔριον φυγαδευθῆναι* (Arr. Epict. 1. 1, 26), and *ὁ Νέρων ἀποκτεῖναι μέν με δύναται, ἀπολέσαι δὲ οὐ δύναται* (Dio, Fr. Sturz. vol. ix. p. 102: Dind. vol. v. p. 193).

APPENDIX III.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS BETWEEN THE END OF BOOK XVI. AND THE DEATH OF NERO.

NOTE.—Besides the usual sources of information, many obligations are here to be acknowledged to Mommsen's 'der letzte Kampf der Römischen Republic' (Hermes xiii. 1878, 90–105), also to the introduction and notes in Mr. Hardy's edition of Plutarch's Lives of Galba and Otho.

THE arrival of Tiridates in Rome must have been coincident with the trial of Thrasea and Soranus[1]. His journey from the East, with all the vast retinue of royal state[2] and a large bodyguard both of Parthian and of Roman troops, had taken him no less than nine months, and cost an unprecedented sum[3]. He had journeyed by land[4], crossing no other sea than the Hellespont, and entering Italy at the north[5], whence he was conducted to Nero's presence at Neapolis, and attended games celebrated at Puteoli with great magnificence by the freedman Patrobius. After this, Nero escorted him to Rome, where the whole population flocked to greet him. The great ceremony took place in the Forum, where Tiridates knelt before Nero, delivered as hostages his own sons and those of his brothers Vologeses and Pacorus, and of the Adiabenian prince Monobazus[6], and did homage in terms of the utmost submission[7]; in return for which Nero solemnly gave him the kingdom of Armenia, and placed the diadem on his head. After this, special games were held by decree of

[1] See 16. 23, 3; 24, 1.

[2] Dio says (63. 2, 1), Ἡ θεραπεία ἥ τε παρασκευὴ ἡ βασιλικὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ συνηκολούθει, τρισχίλιοί τε ἱππεῖς τῶν Πάρθων καὶ χωρὶς ἕτεροι Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ συνείποντο. It is added that his wife also accompanied him.

[3] Dio, 63. 2, 2. The daily expense, borne apparently by the Roman treasury, is reckoned at 200,000 drachmae (800,000 H.S.): see also Suet. Ner. 30.

[4] On the reason for this see note on 15. 24, 3.

[5] All the following particulars are given in Dio, 63. 2–7; some also in Suet. Ner. 13.

[6] On this prince see 15. 1, 3, etc.

[7] See Introd. p. 124, 7.

the senate; the theatre being gorgeously decorated for the occasion, and Nero again making public exhibition of all his accomplishments. Tiridates was dismissed with most costly presents[1], and permitted to rebuild Artaxata, for which purpose a large number of workmen followed his retinue. He took a different route from that by which he had arrived, crossing from Brundusium to Dyrrhachium, and visiting the cities of Asia. Some restriction was placed by Corbulo on his train of workmen, but he was able to rebuild his capital, and is said to have called it after his patron[2].

This year also saw the commencement of the great Jewish rebellion, arising in reality from long-standing causes of discontent[3], but immediately occasioned by the tyranny of the procurator Gessius Florus, whose acts are thought to show even a desire to provoke an outbreak[4]. He had endeavoured to extort a fine of seventeen talents from the Temple treasure, and on disturbance arising, had massacred some 3600 persons[5]; and soon afterwards a large number of citizens had been trampled to death or otherwise maltreated by his soldiers, who had entered the city with him in a purposely truculent manner[6]. Notwithstanding this, the people had been kept in hand by the earnest efforts of the High Priest and others; and Florus had departed, leaving a cohort[7] in the palace of Herod in the Upper City[8], besides the usual garrison in the castle of Antonia. But the Zealots now became more preponderant. Herod Agrippa, who had addressed the people and urged submission even to Florus till a successor should be sent to him, was assaulted and forced to fly the city[9]; and an open revolt began with the storming of Masada, near the Dead Sea, and massacre of its Roman garrison[10], and with the rejection, by Eleazar, the captain of the temple, of the sacrifice which Romans had been accustomed to present within the sacred precincts[11]. A state of siege ensued, in which the castle of Antonia and the Upper City were held by the High Priest's following and by the Romans, reinforced by 3000 horsemen sent by Agrippa to assist the cause of order[12]; and the Lower City and Temple were in the hands of the in-

[1] Suet. (Ner. 30) reckons the sum presented to him at 100,000,000 H.S., Dio (63. 6, 5), at twice that amount.

[2] If the city was ever called Neroneia, as Dio states, it had evidently returned to its old name in Juvenal's time (2, 170).

[3] See Introd. p. 40.

[4] Jos. Ant. 20, 11, 1; B. I. 2. 14, 2, foll.

[5] Jos. B. I. 2. 14, 6–9. This took place in April.

[6] Id. 2. 15, 3–5.

[7] This cohort was distinct from those which had entered with him (2. 15, 6).

[8] This palace was in fact a fortress: cp. 'alia intus moenia, regiae circumiecta' (H. 5. 11, 7).

[9] Jos. B. I. 2. 17, 1.

[10] Id. 2. 17, 2.

[11] Josephus (l. l.) makes this the true beginning of the war. Its date would be about the end of July. Eleazar was the son of the High Priest Ananias.

[12] B. I. 2. 17, 4.

surgents under Eleazar and his rival Manahem [1]. After seven days of comparative inaction, the contest was soon decided. The castle of Antonia was carried after two days' assault, and its garrison put to the sword; the palace of the Upper City, after a more vigorous resistance, was evacuated under capitulation by the troops of Agrippa, and the remaining Romans, who had taken refuge in the three towers of Herod, were induced to surrender on similar terms, and then slain in defiance of the agreement [2].

A great massacre of Jews by Greeks, which had taken place at the same time [3] at Caesarea, and had been followed by similar scenes at many other places [4], made the struggle more internecine; and the victorious party at Jerusalem, encouraged, as they believed, by the voice of prophecy [5], took the offensive in the surrounding country.

A greater crisis now ensued on the advance of Cestius Gallus, the legatus of Syria [6], with a large force of legionary and other troops, to put down the insurrection. After meeting with little resistance and inflicting many cruelties elsewhere [7], he sustained a severe check near Beth-horon [8], but was enabled by the dissensions of his adversaries to advance to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and even into the city; whence, after feeble attempts to assault the Upper City and the Temple, he set out on a retreat almost degenerating into a rout, in which nearly 6000 of his troops were killed [9]. On this success not only Judaea, but also Galilee, Samaria, Peraea, and Idumaea, burst out into a blaze of open rebellion.

The Roman government had now become aware of the serious nature

[1] He was the son of the rebel Judas of Galilee, and was soon overpowered and killed by Eleazar (2. 17, 8, 9).

[2] 2. 17, 5–10. The dates given by Josephus would coincide with Aug. 15 for the attack on Antonia, Sept. 6 for the surrender of Agrippa's troops, Sept. 17 for the slaughter of the remaining Romans (Schiller, pp. 219–220).

[3] According to Josephus (2. 18, 1) this was on the same day and hour as the massacre of the Roman soldiers. A great feud, resulting in the exclusion of the Jews from civil privileges, had previously occurred there (Id. 2. 14, 4).

[4] Besides those in Syria and Palestine, a great massacre took place in Alexandria (Id. 2. 18, 7, 8).

[5] 'Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Iudaea rerum potirentur': (H. 5. 13, 2; cp. Suet. Vesp. 4; Jos. B. I. 6. 5, 1). The words are evidently a distortion of Messianic prophecy, but are taken by the Roman writers to have been fulfilled in the exaltation of Vespasian.

[6] On this person see 15. 25, 5, and note. He had already come to Jerusalem at the Passover and had made some show of listening to their complaints against Florus, and had afterwards sent a centurion to report on the state of the city (Jos. B. I. 2. 14, 3; 16, 1). He had now with him some 30,000 soldiers, including one whole legion (the 12th) and detachments from others (Id. 2. 18, 9).

[7] He is stated (2. 18, 10) to have slain over 8000 unresisting persons in Joppa alone.

[8] Id. 2. 19, 1, 2.

[9] Id. 2. 19, 4–9. His final defeat is dated Nov. 8. According to Suet. Vesp. 4, the eagle of his legion was lost.

of the insurrection and of the need of sending ample forces and thoroughly capable commanders to deal with it[1]. The whole army set free by the settlement of the Partho-Armenian war was available; and Vespasian was appointed, with three legions[2], to conduct the actual war as extraordinary 'legatus Augusti pro praetore' in Palestine, while the vacant province of Syria, with its ordinary garrison of four legions[3], was given to C. Licinius Mucianus[4].

Also before the close of this year Nero had set out on the famous journey to Greece, which he had purposed some time before, but postponed till now[5]. The freedman Helius[6], with Polycleitus as his assistant[7], was left with absolute power to govern Rome and Italy; Nero being attended by Tigellinus[8], and followed by a train of musicians, actors, and other such artists, equivalent in numbers, as we are assured, to a formidable army[9].

A.U.C. 820, A.D. 67, L. FONTEIUS CAPITO, C. JULIUS RUFUS, COSS.

Vespasian, on taking up his command, found the whole country, except Caesarea and some other Greek towns on the coast, in possession of the enemy, who, however, were now standing wholly on the defensive. He began active operations in this spring, with the reduction of Galilee, where the insurgents had many strong places and the best supplies of men and food. The organisation of the resistance in this district was entrusted to the young Pharisee Josephus[10]; but his heart seems not to have been in the attempt. His force of 60,000 men[11] was a mere rabble, and was distributed among isolated strongholds; and his conduct has been thought to give colour to the suspicion of guilty and treasonable neglect[12]. Vespasian, after being joined by his son Titus, with large reinforcements[13], besieged Josephus and his main force in Jotapata, on

[1] Cestius died, apparently from vexation (H. 2. 10, 2). The expression 'caeso praeposito' (Suet. Vesp. 4) would show that Florus had been at some time killed; certainly no more is heard of him.

[2] These were the Fifth, Tenth, and Fifteenth; and a large body of auxiliaries, besides the contingents of allied princes, raised his total to a nominal strength of about 60,000 (Jos. B. I. 3. 4, 2), representing probably an effective army of about 50,000 (see Momms. Hist. v. 534, 1; E. T. ii. 211); which was afterwards largely increased.

[3] The Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Twelfth (see Momms. H. v. 533, 1; E. T. ii. 210, 1).

[4] On his antecedents and character see H. 1. 10.

[5] 15. 33, 2; 36, 1.

[6] Dio, 63. 12, 1: see 13. 1, 3.

[7] Id. 63. 12, 3. [8] Dio, l. l.

[9] Dio, 63. 8, 3, 4.

[10] Jos. B. I. 2. 20, 4, foll.

[11] Id. 2. 20, 8.

[12] In his Life, Josephus represents himself as all along the secret ally of Rome; but Dean Merivale seems rightly to give more credit to his earlier representation of himself (B. I.) as having done his best for the national cause, though without hope of success.

[13] By these his army was made up to the total given above (note 2).

May 24, and carried the place by storm on the forty-seventh day of the siege[1], and had purposed to send Josephus to Rome, but was induced to retain him in honourable custody[2]. Joppa, Tiberias, Taricheae, Gamala, Gischala, were either surrendered or taken by storm in the course of this year's campaign, by the end of which all Galilee and the North were reduced[3]. Meanwhile the population of Jerusalem had been swelled by various country bands, through whom the fanatical party had got more and more the upper hand. Disunion was everywhere prevalent; no single leader obtained general recognition; and things were rapidly drifting into the state of anarchy and confusion in which they were found at the beginning of the actual siege[4].

For the rest of this year we have little more than a narrative of Nero's doings in Greece. The calendar had been altered, so as to make all the great Greek games fall within the same year; and at all of them he entered as a competitor in various contests, even such as had not usually formed part of the programme[5], acted all kinds of parts, however undignified or unmanly, and affected to conform to all rules of the profession, and to stand in fear of the decision of the judges[6]. He attained, as a matter of course, the honours of a περιοδονίκης[7]; the names of the famous musicians Terpnus, Diodorus, and Pammenes being mentioned among those defeated by him[8]; and he is stated to have given large sums to the Hellanodicae for their decision, and to the Pythia for a felicitous prophecy, but to have taken vengeance on the adytum of Apollo for some fancied insult[9]. He entered himself also (employing the consular Cluvius Rufus as his herald) in the local contests of all Greek cities, except Sparta and Athens, deterred in the former case (as was supposed) by the associations of the laws of Lycurgus, in the latter by the fear of the Erinnyes[10].

It is stated that he also pillaged the cities and temples of their works of art, carrying off 500 statues from Delphi alone[11]; also that he put to

[1] Jos. B. I. 3. 8, 9.

[2] Josephus represents himself as having worked upon Vespasian by predicting his future exaltation, and by showing that he had been a true prophet otherwise (B. I. l. l.).

[3] Id. 3. 9–4. 2.

[4] Id. 4. 3–6.

[5] Among such innovations is noted the introduction of a musical contest at the Olympic games (Suet. Ner. 23).

[6] Suet. Ner. 24; Dio, 63. 9, 1–4.

[7] Dio, 63. 10, 1.

[8] Id. 63. 8, 4,

[9] The Hellanodicae are said to have received a million, the Pythia 400,000 H.S. (Id. 63. 14, 1–2); and Dio adds that these sums were among those reclaimed by Galba (see H. 1. 20, 2), as was also the case, according to Plut. Galb. 16, with the largesses squandered on actors and athletes (see Suet. Ner. 30; Galb. 15).

[10] Dio, 63. 14, 3. Schiller rightly treats these reasons as mere guesses.

[11] Paus. 10. 7, 1. Other such accounts are collected in Schill. p. 248, and questioned by him (see Introd. p. 67, 10).

death a number of rich Greeks to get their property[1]. The executions of illustrious Romans also were continued by Nero even amidst his contests. Corbulo was summoned to his presence from the East, in a letter full of terms of fulsome compliment, and was met at Cenchreae with an order to despatch himself, which he obeyed instantly, saying, 'I deserved it[2].' The two brothers Scribonius Rufus and Scribonius Proculus, who had been governors of the two 'Germaniae,' were similarly sent for on some pretext, and accused and put to death without being heard in defence or allowed to see Nero[3]. Paris the dancer was also put to death, and Caecina Tuscus, praefect of Egypt, was banished for using a bath constructed in expectation of Nero's visit. Similar crimes were perpetrated in Rome by Helius, who put to death Sulpicius Camerinus for bearing the surname of 'Pythicus,' and others, on various pretexts[4]. The 'coniuratio Viniciana,' of which nothing further is known than that it was detected and suppressed at Beneventum, may have taken place during this period[5].

Nero remained in Greece during the whole year, and rewarded the province for its entertainment of him by declaring it free; and is said to have compensated the senate for its loss by giving over to it the government of Sardinia[6]. He also initiated a canal to be cut across the Isthmus of Corinth[7].

A.U.C. 822, A.D. 68. TI. CATIUS SILIUS ITALICUS, M. GALERIUS TRACHALUS TURPILIANUS[8], COSS.

Vespasian had employed the winter in settling the districts which he had already gained[9]. In the early spring he took Gadara[10], the chief stronghold beyond Jordan, and in the course of the spring had completed the reduction of Peraea by the capture of Gerasa[11], and by despatching

[1] Dio, 63. 11, 1, foll.; see Introd. l. l.

[2] As a penalty for his confidence.

[3] Dio, 63. 17, 1, foll. It is probable that many others, besides those mentioned by Dio, were put to death at this period (see Introd. p. 86).

[4] Id. 63. 18, 1-2.

[5] The only mention of it is that by Suet. (Ner. 36), that after the conspiracy of Piso at Rome, 'posterior Viniciana Beneventi conflata atque detecta est.' It has been thought that its head was Annius Vinicianus (on whom see 15. 28, 4, and note), and that it may have been thus an indirect cause, or (as some think) a result of the fall of Corbulo (see Introd. p. 87). Some evidence for placing it in 819, A. D. 66, is afforded by the record of an Arval offering in that year; which appears to be ['ob dete]cta [nefariorum con]silia' (see Schiller, p. 229).

[6] On this statement see note on 13. 30, 1.

[7] Dio, 63. 16, 1.

[8] The former of these is the well-known poet, who outlived all the Neronian consuls and died at the age of 75, probably about A. D. 100 (Plin. Ep. 3. 7). The second consul was a distinguished orator (see H. 1. 90, 2), famous especially for his voice and manner (Quint. 10. 1, 119; 12. 5, 5; 10, 11).

[9] Jos. B. I. 4. 8, 1.

[10] Id. 4. 7, 3. The date given coincides with the latter part of February.

[11] Id. 4. 9, 1.

flying columns under his lieutenants Placidus and Traianus against the scattered Zealots[1]. He himself had constructed a fortified camp at Emmaus in Judaea[2], from whence, in one short expedition, he reduced Idumaea, and in another, Samaria[3]; subsequently to which another strong position was taken up at Jericho[4]. After these successes the reduction of Jerusalem alone remained: and vigorous preparations were being made for its siege when the news of the death of Nero obliged him to await further instructions[5]; and subsequent events prevented any active resumption of the war till a year and a half afterwards.

Helius, who had frequently pressed Nero to return, went in person to tell him that a great conspiracy was on foot in Rome, and that his presence was urgently needed. Nero immediately set sail, and narrowly escaped shipwreck from a storm. Several persons who had counted on his destruction and rejoiced at it were put to death[6]. His return was marked by extravagances surpassing all before. He entered Rome through a breach in the walls, after the tradition of victorious Greek athletes, in a triumphal chariot, bearing the Olympian crown, and holding in his hand the Pythian, amid the acclamations of the populace[7], and displayed all his crowns, in number 1808, on the obelisk in the circus, and again exhibited himself as a charioteer and musician[8].

Soon afterwards he left Rome for Naples, where, on the anniversary of the murder of his mother[9], the first news was brought to him that C. Julius Vindex, the legatus of Gallia Lugdunensis[10], had raised a great insurrection in his own and in the adjoining Gallic provinces. The account of the nature and purpose of this rising, in the abridgment of Dio by Xiphilinus, which has been most generally followed[11], represents him as

[1] Id. 4. 7, 4–6; 8, 1. A terrible massacre is described on the banks of the Jordan.

[2] Id. 4. 8, 1.

[3] l. l. The Idumaeans had previously formed one of the most violent sections in Jerusalem (B. I. 4. 4–6).

[4] Id. 4. 8, 1.

[5] Id. 4. 9, 2. By the death of his emperor, he was no longer properly a legatus, and by the time his position was confirmed by Galba, the season was past. In the following year he was preparing to resume operations when he was proclaimed emperor.

[6] Dio, 63. 19. The conspiracy cannot be identified, and may have been a fiction.

[7] Id. 63. 20. According to Suet. (Ner. 25), he had already thus entered Neapolis and other places, and the triumphal car in which he entered Rome was that which had been used at the triumph of Augustus.

[8] Dio, 63. 21.

[9] Suet. Ner. 40. The date is thus fixed to March 19–23 (see note on 14. 4, 1).

[10] Vindex is stated by Dio (63. 22, 1) to have been an Aquitanian of royal descent, whose father had become a Roman senator (probably under Claudius, see 11. 25, 1). His position would show that he had himself attained praetorian rank.

[11] Besides that here given, two other views have been put forth; the first being that of Mommsen (Hermes, xiii. 1878, pp. 90–105), who regards this rising as a genuine effort to restore the Roman Republic. This is supported by words of Zonaras (11. 15), possibly from some statement of Dio omitted by Xiphilinus, that Vindex made his followers swear allegiance to the senate and people of

stirring up the people against Nero personally, by describing his outrages and extravagances at Rome [1], and as offering the empire [2] to Galba, who had then been for eight years legatus of Hispania Tarraconensis, and was a man of the highest family, great services, and enormous wealth [3].

Before this offer was made, the rising had already taken formidable proportions. The chief Rhenish tribes, as the Treveri and Lingones, held aloof from it [4], as did also the colony of Lugdunum [5], the great capital of the 'tres Galliae' [6]; but Vindex was joined by large numbers from all parts of Gaul, especially by the richest and most central tribes, the Arverni, Aedui, and Sequani [7], by the nobility generally [8], and even by

Rome, bidding them kill even himself, if he set up to rule over them. The expression 'adsertor a Nerone libertatis' (used of him in Pl. N. H. 20. 14, 57, 160), on its most natural interpretation, confirms this view, as does also the similar profession of allegiance made at first (Plut. Galb. 5) by Galba (the titles 'Hercules adsertor,' and 'Mars adsertor' cited by Mommsen from the coins issued during the rising, are more ambiguous). On the other hand the view of Schiller (p. 261, foll.) and others, adopted also by Mr. Hardy (see note on Plut. Galb. 4), would take the support either of the Republic, or of Galba as emperor, to have been, like the pretended allegiance of Civilis to Vespasian (H. 4. 13, 2), a mere temporary device to cover a real design of restoring the independence of Gaul. This view is thought to have been that taken by Tacitus, on the strength of several passages in the Histories; where the movement is often called 'bellum' (H. 1. 51, 1; 65, 4; 89, 1); the legions are represented as looking upon the Gauls as 'hostes' (1. 51, 4); and Vocula is made to class Vindex with Sacrovir (see Ann. 3. 40, 1) and Civilis (H. 4. 57, 3). Expressions appearing to imply a similar view are also cited from Plutarch and from Zonaras; but perhaps none are sufficiently unambiguous to be decisive, and the arguments from general probability are somewhat balanced. It is difficult on the one hand to suppose that so large a force would have joined Vindex in mere abhorrence of the enormities of Nero's personal conduct, or with any expectation that their tribute or other national grievances (see 3. 40, 1; H. 4. 17, 3; Dio, 63. 22, 2) would be remedied by restoration of the Republic or by a change of emperor. It is no less difficult on the other hand to imagine the colony of Vienna, which had enjoyed full Roman rights for probably nearly thirty years, and had constantly contributed members to the Roman senate (see 'Oratio Claudii' ii. 9, and note), joining in any movement for Gaulish independence; and the weakness of the support which an undoubted rising for that object received two years later, is against the idea of a widespread desire in Gaul for separation from Rome. In the absence of clear knowledge, it is perhaps best to suppose that the movement was intended to be variously understood by different sections of those who joined in it, and to bid for support from all quarters, but that in its progress it so far determined itself as a rising for Galba that its supporters were generally called by their opponents 'Galbiani' (H. 1. 51, 5), and were rewarded as such by Galba after his success (H. 1. 51, 6; 65, 2, etc.).

[1] Dio puts into his mouth a speech on these topics.

[2] Mommsen notes (Hermes, l. l.) that Vindex is described (Plut. Galb. 4; Dio, 63. 23, 1) as offering Galba the ἡγεμονία, which might only mean the leadership of the Republican movement, and that it would seem to have been in that sense that Galba first accepted it.

[3] See Plut. Galb. 3. The relationship of Galba to Livia, wife of Augustus, there mentioned, is otherwise unknown, and appears to be improbable.

[4] H. 1. 51, 5; 53, 5; 4. 69, 2.

[5] H. 1. 51, 8.

[6] By this expression, the three Caesarian provinces, Aquitania, Gallia Celtica, and Gallia Belgica, in distinction from the old senatorial province of Narbonensis, are meant. On the peculiar position of Lugdunum, as their common capital, see Momms. Hist. v. 79, foll.; E. T. i. 87, foll.

[7] H. 1. 51, 6; 4. 17, 5.

[8] Jos. B. I. 4. 8, 1.

the Roman colony of Vienna in the Narbonensian province; which appears to have become his headquarters [1], and to have carried on a desultory warfare, embittered by old animosities, against its rival Lugdunum [2]; and his force, gathered no doubt from the militia of the various cantons [3], is given as consisting of 100,000 [4] men.

Galba was already alarmed for his own security [5], and was urged to action especially by T. Vinius [6], and apparently, on April 2, so far accepted the salutation of his troops as to call himself no longer legatus of Nero, but general of the senate and people [7]. He was soon afterwards forced into more decided courses by being declared a public enemy [8]; but as he was supported by but one legion [9], and the governors of other provinces who had joined him brought no important accession of strength [10], while Vindex was wholly without Roman troops [11], it was plain that all depended on the action of the German armies.

Fonteius Capito, the legatus of Lower Germany, was vicious and incapable [12], so that the real master of the situation was L. Verginius Rufus [13], the legatus of Upper Germany, who promptly marched with his own army and detachments from that of the Lower Province [14], against Vesontio (Bezançon), the chief town of the Sequani, which Vindex hurried to defend [15]. The most commonly received account of the sequel alleges that a conference here took place between the generals, and that both agreed to declare against Nero [16], but that the German

[1] In H. 1. 65, 4, it is called 'sedes Gallici belli.'

[2] H. 1. 65, 1, 3. A blockade of the latter town by the former is there alluded to.

[3] A force of this description, kept up by the Helvetii, is mentioned in H. 1. 67, 2.

[4] Plut. Galb. 4.

[5] Suet. states (Galb. 9) that he was aware of orders sent to his procurators to put him to death, and was forced to declare himself by a message from the legatus of Aquitania, invoking his aid against Vindex.

[6] This officer seems then to have been his legatus legionis; but the expression τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ τάγματος ἡγεμών (Plut. Galb. 4) is difficult to interpret (see Mr. Hardy's note).

[7] Plut. Galb. 5, Suet. Galb. 9. By reckoning backwards from the day of his death (Jan. 15), and taking the computation of his rule as of nine months and thirteen days (Dio, 64. 6, 5), it is seen that his 'dies imperii' is reckoned from the salutation of the soldiers on that day, whatever answer he may have then given to it. From a similar salutation, not from the death of the predecessor, the 'dies imperii' of Vitellius and that of Vespasian are reckoned.

[8] Plut. Galb. 5.

[9] He had also two alae and three cohorts, and set to work to raise fresh troops and to create a sort of senate on the spot (Suet. Galb. 10).

[10] It is said that others joined him (Plut. Galb. 6); but the only one distinctly mentioned is Otho (Id. 20).

[11] In this sense his province is called 'inermis' (H. 1. 16, 5).

[12] H. 1. 7, 2.

[13] See on 15. 23, 1. He and Capito had become legati on the execution of the brothers Scribonii in the preceding year (Dio, 63. 17, 3).

[14] Probably in all at least 30,000 legionaries and auxiliary troops.

[15] Dio, 63. 24, 1. From the head-quarters of Verginius at Moguntiacum, this would be the nearest rebel position to strike at: it was also an important road centre.

[16] This is so far true, that the attitude even of Verginius is no longer that of a loyal legatus of Nero.

army under some mistaken impulse furiously attacked the Gallic troops, killed 20,000 of them, and dispersed the remainder, on which Vindex slew himself in despair; and Verginius mourned for him, and retired to his province [1], refusing himself to be proclaimed emperor or to allow any one else to become so, except by the nomination of the senate and people at Rome [2]. These events drove Galba almost to despair, and he went into retirement at Clunia in his province [3].

Nero meanwhile was acting with the greatest weakness and indecision. He is stated to have at first wholly disregarded the news of the rising of Vindex, and even to have professed his joy at the opportunity offered for extortion from the Gauls [4]. After eight days [5] spent in all his usual amusements at Naples, he returned to Rome and issued a proclamation [6]. Then he was thrown into consternation by the news that Galba had been proclaimed emperor, and was receiving general support [7]. Some show was now made of vigour, and the available troops were collected by recalling the forces already on their way to the Caucasus [8] and to Aethiopia [9], summoning others from Illyricum [10], and forming a new legion of the 'classiarii' [11]. Nero himself assumed the consulship [12], and appointed as leaders of his troops Petronius Turpilianus and Rubrius Gallus [13], and sent 'Calvia Crispinilla to instigate Claudius Macer, the imperial legatus in Africa, to ensure the fidelity of Rome by threatening it with famine [14].' The news

[1] Dio, 63. 24. Plutarch (Galb. 6), while also making the battle arise from the impetuosity of the soldiers, knows of no understanding between the generals. Tacitus, in alluding to the battle (H. 1. 51, 1), says nothing to show that he regarded it as an accidental collision; and that Verginius at a later time desired to take credit for it is shown by the epitaph composed by him for himself (Plin. Ep. 6. 10, 4): 'Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam Imperium adseruit non sibi sed patriae.'

[2] Dio, 63. 25. Tacitus thinks it an open question whether he would have accepted the empire if elected regularly (H. 1. 8, 7). It is also suggested that his want of family distinction was both a disqualification for empire, and also a protection from the danger of refusing such an offer (H. 1. 52, 7). An inscription found near Milan (C. I. L. v. 5702) 'pro salute et victoria L. Vergini Rufi' (the usual formula for an emperor) shows the light in which he was regarded during his hesitation.

[3] Plut. Galb. 6; Suet. Galb. 11.

[4] Dio, 63. 26.

[5] Suet. Ner. 40.

[6] Dio, 63. 23, 2.

[7] Dio, 63. 27, 1; Plut. Galb. 5; Suet. Ner. 42.

[8] H. 1. 6, 5. On the probable purpose of this expedition see Introd. p. 125, 7.

[9] H. 1. 31, 8; 70, 2.

[10] H. 1. 9, 4.

[11] H. 1. 6, 4.

[12] Suet. says (Ner. 43) that he held it without a colleague, having forced both consuls to resign.

[13] Dio, 63. 27, 1; Zonaras, 11. 13. The former mentions Rubrius only; the latter adds that Petronius was found to be in league with Galba; a statement which his subsequent death at Galba's hands 'ut dux Neronis' (H. 1. 6, 2) makes improbable. He had been legatus of Britain (14. 39, 4), and had received 'triumphalia' after the suppression of the Pisonian conspiracy (15. 72, 2). On Rubrius Gallus see H. 2. 51, 3, etc.

[14] H. 1. 73, 2. Such a scheme may be conceived as forming part of Nero's plan for abandoning Rome. Macer pursued only a system of plunder and extortion on his own account (Plut. Galb. 5.

of the defeat of Vindex brought him little comfort, as the attitude of Verginius remained so ambiguous [1]; and all kinds of wild schemes of vengeance or flight were reported as contemplated [2].

A new danger now arose in what had been hitherto his great source of strength, the praetorian guards. Both the praefects of that body appear to have proved false to him [3]; but Tigellinus, enervated by vice and disease, was cast into the shade by the bolder schemer Nymphidius Sabinus [4], who, when Nero had departed from the Palatium to the Servilian gardens [5], persuaded the soldiers that he had already fled to Egypt, and induced them to proclaim Galba emperor by offering in his name an enormous donative of 30,000 H.S. each [6].

At midnight Nero found himself forsaken by the cohort in attendance [7] and deprived of the poison which he kept for the last extremity [8], and fled in disguise, with four attendants, to a villa of his freedman Phaon, distant about four miles from Rome, between the Salarian and the Nomentan way [9]. The decision of the praetorians emboldened the senate to proclaim Galba emperor, to declare Nero a public enemy, and to sentence him to be put to death 'more maiorum [10].' In his hiding-place he was informed that the soldiers were upon his track, and after vain attempts to despatch himself, received his deathstroke partly at his own hand, partly at that of his freedman Epaphroditus [11]. He died on June 9 [12], aged thirty years, five months, and twenty-six days, having ruled thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days; and received honorable burial at

[1] The statement that Nero heard *περὶ τοῦ Ῥούφου ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἀπέστη* (Dio, 63. 27, 1) is inaccurate; but Verginius was evidently ready to recognise any new emperor appointed by the senate. Dio adds that Nero was 'deserted by all alike,' and Suet. speaks of 'ceterorum exercituum defectio' (Ner. 47). This may refer to the troops under Rubrius and Petronius, some of which are said to have opened communications with Verginius (H. 1. 9, 4).

[2] Suet. Ner. 43; Dio, 63. 27, 2.

[3] The only full account of the action of Nymphidius, that of Plutarch, makes him not actually depose his colleague Tigellinus till after the death of Nero (Galb. 8), but wholly to act without him at the crisis here mentioned (Galb. 2). That Tigellinus was suffering from an incurable disease is stated in Plut. Oth. 2, and the fact may explain his inaction; but Tacitus, in calling him the 'desertor ac proditor' of Nero (H. 1. 72, 2), certainly charges him with an important share of some kind in causing the treason of the guards; and Josephus (B. I. 4. 9, 2) speaks of both praefects as entering into the plot.

[4] On his antecedents and appointment to the 'praefectura praetorii' see 15. 72, 3.

[5] Suet. Ner. 47; see 15. 55, 1, and note.

[6] Plut. Galb. 2. The donatives of Claudius and Nero reached only half that amount (see on 12. 69, 2): a sum of 5000 H.S., according to Plutarch, was also now promised to all the legionaries, but neither largess was ever paid.

[7] Suet. Ner. 47; Dio, 63. 27, 3.

[8] Suet. l. l.

[9] Suet. Ner. 48; Dio, l. l. Epaphroditus, Phaon, and Sporus are mentioned among the four followers.

[10] Suet. 49.

[11] For the whole description see Suet. l. l.; Dio, l. l.

[12] See the reckoning of Dio at the death of Vespasian (66. 17, 4), and other data

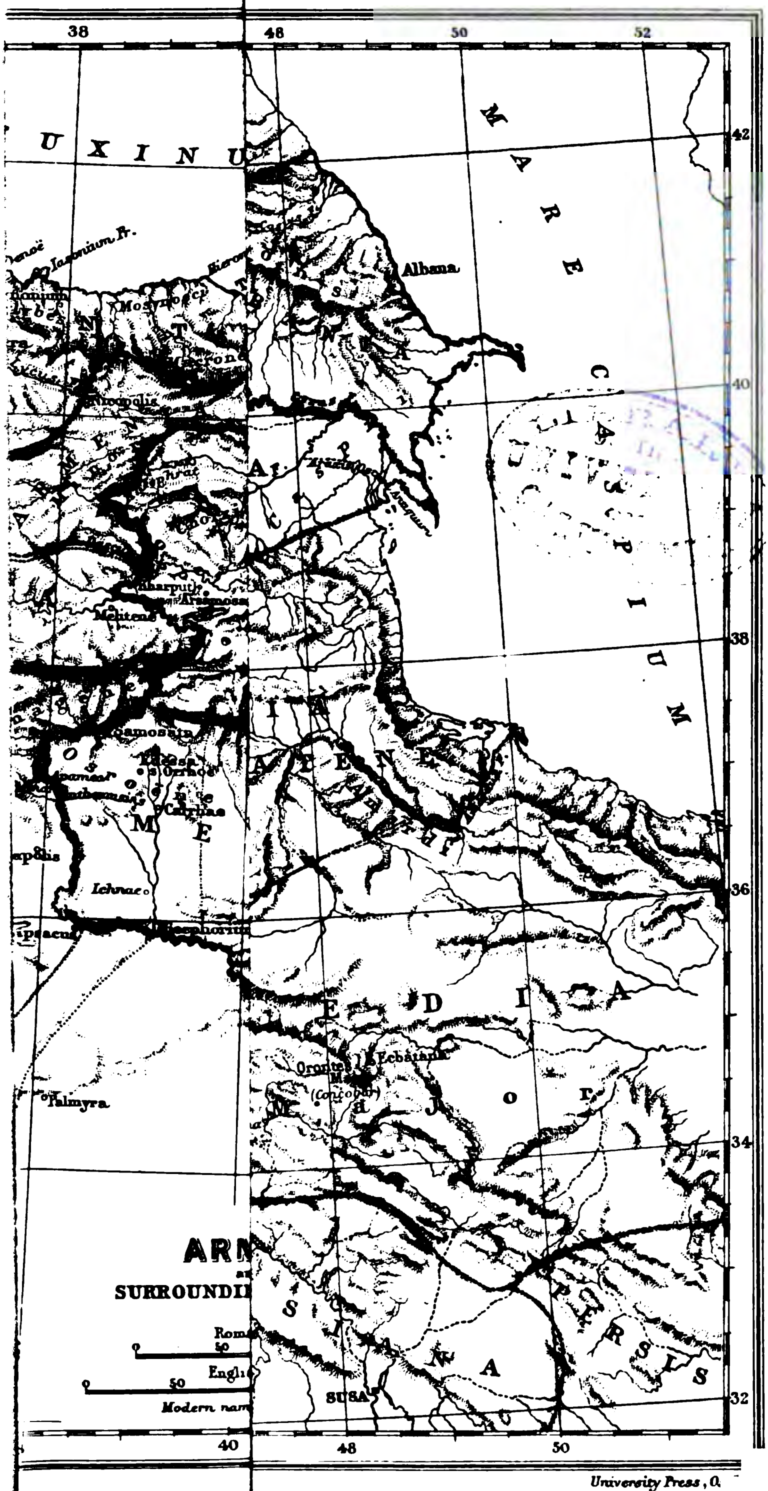
the hands of two women who had nursed him in childhood, and of his concubine Acte[1].

At his death, the nominal power rested with the senate, but the real masters of the situation were Nymphidius and the praetorians. The action taken at Rome accelerated the movements in other quarters; the hesitation of Verginius was overcome, and the choice of Galba as emperor was generally ratified, though not without still remaining discontent and disaffection[2].

given in Schiller 286, 5. Suet. states (c. 57) that the day of his death was the anniversary of that of Octavia.

[1] Suet. Ner. 50.

[2] It seems impossible to suppose that the whole of these events, which in the abridgment of Dio occupy one third of the whole space given to the rule of Nero, could have been dealt with by Tacitus in the subsequent portion of the Sixteenth Book. He may indeed have disdained to dwell at length on some of them; but at least the first three years of the Jewish war, the movement of Vindex and the fall of Nero would no doubt have been related with a fullness proportionate to their importance. It is also probable that the narrative was carried on beyond Nero's death to the close of the year, so as to complete the connexion with the Histories. There is therefore much reason for the supposition that the Annals when complete consisted of eighteen Books, falling into three equal subdivisions, corresponding to (1) the rule of Tiberius, (2) that of Gaius and Claudius, (3) that of Nero. It must however be admitted that such a view seems to make it very difficult not to suppose some error in the statement of Jerome (in Zach. B. iii. c. 14), that the whole work of Tacitus, from the death of Augustus to that of Domitian, was contained in thirty Books.



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INDEX I.

HISTORICAL INDEX TO THE TEXT.

INDEX II.

INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTIONS, APPENDICES, AND NOTES.

In this Index, the references are to the Volume and Page.

THE END.